THE Compleat Hiſtory OF THE WARRS OF FLANDERS:

WRITTEN in ITALIAN
BY THE
LEARNED and FAMOUS
Cardinall *BENTIVOGLIO*:

ENGLISHED

By the Right Honorable

HENRY

Earl of *MONMOUTH*:

THE

WHOLE WORK.

ILLUSTRATED
With many *Figures* of the chief Perſonages
mentioned in this HISTORY.

LONDON, Printed for *Humphrey Moſeley* at the Sign
of the Prince's-Arms in St *Pauls* Churchyard, 1654.

The Translators Epistle
To his Countrey-men
THE
READERS.

WHILST *I was pursuing my Custome of avoyding* Idleness, *the* Mother *of all* Mischief, (*and yet I justly may, and thankfully doe say,* Deus mihi hæc Otia fecit) Providence *threw me upon This* Piece: *for I began it Before there was any appearance* (*at least as I conceiv'd*) *of our falling out with the* United Provinces; *which seeing we have Since done, those that are concerned in the Carrying on of That business, if they will peruse This Book, may thereby be acquainted with the* Scituation, Strength, Government, Customes, Incomes, Expences, Havens, *and* Strong-holds *of That countrey; as also with their* Manner *of* Warfaring *and* Treating: *Out of which they may* Pick *something which peradventure may prove* Serviceable *to them, by applying* Practice *to* Theory. *But this, if it shall So fall out, is upon the* By; *I challenge no* Thanks *for it; for it was no part of My intention, who was never an* Abettor of Warr, *but* born *and* brought up in Peacefull times, *and wish I may live to see a well-setled and Lasting* Peace *in* England, *between good and honest Men, proceeding from the motions of well-weighed* Reason *illuminated from* Above, *which makes us* Well-wishers *to one anothers Good; and which being nourished by so perfect a* Radicall humor *may keep still* Fresh *and* Alive, *as a* Tree planted by the Rivers side, that bringeth forth Fruit in Due season; *and it is my* Prayer *that we* English-men *may have the desire of this* Peace *lodg'd in our* Hearts, *so to help towards the re-*

turning of our Countrey *to her* former Beauty: *Wherein methinks all Good men ſhould joyn with* Me, *and ſay,* AMEN. *For ſuch a* Peace *is the effect of* Concord; *which when ſhe begins to withdraw her ſelf, in a* Kingdom *or Commonwealth,* Vertue *and* Juſtice, (*though they may keep* Here *and* There *amongſt their Particular friends, where they are ſure to be well received*) *yet they appear but little in* Publique: *whereas* Warr *proceeds from* Diſcord, *which occaſioneth* Irreverence towards God, Diſobedience of Magiſtrates, Corruption of Manners, Alteration of Laws, Contempt of Juſtice, Neglect of Learning, no Reſpect of Conſanguinity, Forgetfulneſs of Friendſhip, Change of civil Government, *and all the Miſchiefs that can be done by* Fire *or* Sword: *Many of which, we in the Dominions of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland *have of Late too Sadly experienced. And yet* Domeſtick greatneſs *woun by* Vertue, *and according to the* Laws, *is* Aſſured *and* Happy; *whereas that which is hoped for by* Warr, *is* Uncertain *and* Unfortunate.

But I will forbear launching farther out into ſo Dangerous *and ſo High-going a* Sea; *and return to tell Thee* (my Reader) *that a Deſire to* Serve *my* Countrey *and* Country-men *according to my* Ability, *and that I may not be ſaid to have Totally buryed my* Talent, *was the Cauſe why firſt I Penn'd then Publiſh'd this my* Tranſlation *of* BENTIVOGLIO. *For which All that I crave of my Readers, is, that They will turn* Tranſlators *with* Me, *be it but of my* Authors Name; *and therein ſay unto Me,* I WISH THEE WELL

Monmouth.

THE STATIONER TO THE READER.

IF I ſay this Book hath been often call'd for, you may believe me. For, none who are not un-read or un-travail'd, but know what value is paid to *BENTIVOGLIO*; not only in *Italy*, whoſe Language it weare's, and in *Flanders* which gave it Subject; but in *France* and *Spain*, who by worthy *Tranſlations* have made it their own. 'Tis therefore no wonder it hath been ſo oft Re-printed in *French*, but that it came no ſooner into *Engliſh*. And the rather becauſe (to ſpeak the *Author's* words) *Whoſoever ſhall conſider the ſucceſſes of this Warr, ſhall find ſo many and ſo illuſtrious Scenes of various accidents, as he ſhall be compell'd to confeſs, that never any afforded more matter of humane inſtruction.* For marvelous it is, that a few Fiſher-men ſhould fight ſo long with a Monarch, ſo vaſt and puiſſant, that the Sun both riſes and ſets in his Dominions, when the opening of a Sluice, or cutting of a Damm would

drown them and their Countrey. How this was done, the *Riſe* and *Growth*; the *Deſigne*, as well as the *Action* are skilfully and clearly told you in this Book. If you ask why 'tis call'd The *WARRS OF FLANDERS*, which ſtrictly taken is but One Province of *Seventeen*, (and this Book ſpeaks equally the Warrs of all the reſt) our *Author* himſelf Anſwer's it, *Page* 2. And if you read but the very firſt Leaf, 'twill furniſh you ſufficiently (without farther Preface) to the whole WORK. It likely may diſpleaſe you to ſee him ſtile, the Enemy *Heretick* and *Schiſmatick*; but conſider 'tis the uſuall Language of that Church whereof he was a Member; and Writers who are of the contrary Perſwaſion, do beſtow as ſharp Epithets on Him and his Friends But, which more becomes my Duty to acquaint you, take notice how the *Printer* (according to his Cuſtome) hath miſtaken a few Figures on the head of ſome Pages; *viz.* In the *firſt Part*, pag. 50, for 55. and pag. 129, for 139. In the *ſecond Part*, pag. 193. *Book* II. for *Book* I. And in the *third Part*, pag. 413. *Book* VI. for VII. Now I hope none will miſtake this Hiſtory for that other Book of his which I lately publiſh'd; call'd (*HISTORICALL RELATIONS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES*) which poſſibly ſome may do, becauſe both have the ſame *Author*, and the ſame *Honourable* Tranſlator, and *FLANDERS* is the ſubje& Matter of both: But the former treats properly of the *Scituation* of the *Countrey*, the *Nature* of the *Inhabitants*, Form of their *Government* in particular Provinces, and in their generall *Union*, their *Intereſt* and *Religion*, the *Title* and *Right* of *Dominion* over them; with the *Religion* and *Intereſt* of all their *Friends* and *Enemies*: Which Book was ſo wiſely and uſefully Written, that it hath been Tranſlated and often Printed in moſt Languages of *Europe*. This I now offer, is an accurate Hiſtory of the *WARRS OF FLANDERS*, and is a diſtinct entire Work of it ſelf. The *Author* wrote this after the former; and how he hath perform'd it, there needs no Evidence but the word of Learned GROTIUS, who (in a Letter to Monſieur *Du Maurier* the French Ambaſſador at the *Haghe*) ſay's,

ſay's; " *I confeſs my Expectation was much deceiv'd*
" *in Cardinall* BENTIVOGLIO; *I could not hope from*
" *the hand of an Enemy to receive ſo impartiall a Hiſtory*
" *of our Warrs: I doubted not his Ability, for I had*
" *formerly ſeen ſome Diſcourſes of his; but this ſhews he*
" *knew what to write, and wrote what he knew: His*
" *Education abroad, and long Reſidence in* Flanders *ena*
" *bled him for both; My Countrey will by this be a Gai-*
" *ner and a Loſer: Our* Courage *and* Diligence *was equall*
" *to theirs, our* Swords *as ſharp; but now* BENTI-
" VOGLIO *hath Conquer'd us with his* Pen, *and will*
" *wound us to Poſterity.*

Ad

Ad Comitem Monumethenſem de *BENTIVOGLIO* ſuo.

Floribus Angligenis *non hanc tibi necto Corollam,*
Cum ſatis indigenis te probet ipſe Liber;
Per me Roma *ſciet tibi ſe debere, quòd* Anglo
Romanus *didicit cultiùs ore loqui;*
Ultima quæ tellus Aquilas duce Cæſare *vidit,*
Candida Romulidûm *te duce ſcripta videt:*
Conſilio ut quondam Patriam nil juveris, eſto,
Sed ſtudio cives ingenioque juvas;
Namque dolis Liber hic inſtructus & arte Batavâ,
A Belgâ *nobis ut caveamus, ait;*
Horremus per te civilis dira furoris
Vulnera, diſcordes Flandria *quaſſa monet;*
Hìc diſcat Miles pugnare, orare Senator,
Qui regnant, leni ſceptra tenere manu:
Macte (Comes) *virtute novâ veſtri ordinis ingens*
Ornamentum, ævi dæliciæque tui;
Dum ſtertunt alii ſomno, vinóque ſepulti,
Nobilis antiquo ſtemmate digna facis.

ED. WALLER.

To the Earl of *MONMOUTH*:

On his Tranſlation of BENTIVOGLIO.

THoſe who could rule the ancient World with eaſe,
Could ſtrictly govern all, yet none diſpleaſe,
Were thoſe who cheriſh'd Learning; not becauſe
It wrapt in rev'renc'd Myſterie the Lawes,
Nor that it did the Nobles civilize,
But rather that it made the People wiſe;
Who found by reading Story (where we ſee
What the moſt knowing were, or we ſhould bee)
That only *Peace breeds bliſs*, and only they
Breed Peace, who (*wiſely fooliſh*) Pow'r obey.
Of ſuch importance for the Publick good
Is Learning, when by th' People underſtood;
But thoſe who dreſs it in a *forreign Tongue*,
Serve *Meat* in cover'd *Plate* to make them long;
Whilſt thoſe who forreign Learning well *tranſlate*,
Feed weak Minds full, and at the cheapeſt rate.
This you have done, *my Lord*! which only ſhowes
How free your Mind in publick Chanels flowes:
But if that good to which ſome Men are born,
Doe leſs then good-acquir'd our Names adorn,
The ceaſleſs nature of your Kindneſs then,
Still ready to inform un-languag'd Men,
Deſerves leſs Praiſe, if rightly underſtood,
Than does your Judgment how to doe Men good;
Which none can value at too high a rate,
Judging the *choice* of *Authors* you *tranſlate*.

WILL. D'AVENANT.

To the Reader of Cardinal Bentivoglio's Guerra di Fiandra, *Tranſlated by the Right honorable the Earl of* Monmouth.

THere are who *Languages* a *Myſterie*
Would make, that yet does undiſcover'd lie;
Boaſting the *Spaniard* lofty, *Toſcan* ſweet,
And *aery-French* to dance with gracefull feet;
Whoſe *well-tun'd-Layes*, in Times, then *Ours*, leſs rude,
By ſuch, whoſe haſty *Vanity* t'intrude
Into the *Preſs*, having been rendred hoarſe,
Senſe, and Words maſſacred without remorſe:
Thoſe, by *Fantaſtick prejudice*, condemn,
Young *Travellers* infection, root and ſtem
Of all *Tranſlations*; as implicitly,
As ſome damn all who on a *Scaffold* dy.
But 'tis not now as when *Squire-Jeffrey* liv'd,
The tongue's not cramp'd ere it can be repriev'd:
Words, here, are facil, apt, ſignificant;
Such, as not make the *Senſe* too wide, nor ſcant.
His *Pen* not racks the *Reader*, as ſome do,
But gives us *eaſe*, *pleaſure*, and *profit* too.
He is our Underſtanding's *Optick*; Wee,
By ſuch a *Perſpective*, much clearer ſee.
The *Mapp* of *Italy*'s choice Language, here,
To *Britiſh*-eyes, in *Landskip* does appeare:
Though, that the *Garden* of the World we do
Eſteem; *This* is that *Garden's Garden* too;
Where flowers, tranſplanted thus, become more fair,
Fragrant, and rarifi'd, by *ſuch* pure air.
Nor is't an eaſie Task; ſince two, we ſee,
Were fain to joyn i'th' *Gallick-Hiſtorie*.
His ſingle pains carry's the evener thread,
And *Monarch* of *Interpreters Hee*'s read:
One, anſwering one, in juſt proportion fits,
Nor breeds a *tumult* of diſſenting *Wits*.
As *Bentivoglio*, then, the *Peace*, not breaks,
When *Spaniard*, *French*, or *Dutch*, his language ſpeaks;
So the ſame calm, of *this* ſmooth-Pen, unites,
And levels to our *Dialect* their *heights*.
The *Cardinal*'s Soul, (her ſuperſtition fled)
Is ſo transfus'd in *Him*; ſhould, from the dead,
Pythagoras now riſe agen, by this
Alone, Hee'd prove his *Metempſychoſis*.
But I preſume no *praiſe*; that fits *Him* beſt,
Who can contain *Himſelf*, and ſuch a *Gueſt*:
Only in honour to *Nobilitie*,
That with ſome *treine* it ſtill attended be;
Though made, by Moſt, our *Countrey*'s *ſin* and *ſhame*,
To help ſupport *His ſtate*, not raiſe *His fame*;
In this *Corteggio*, I, a Servant loe,
Crowd, when *His vertues* in *Proceſsion* goe.

R. BAKER.

To the Right Honourable the Earle of *MONMOUTH*:

Upon his Translation of BENTIVOGLIO.

MY LORD,

AS their great *Letter* of *Exchange*, by you
The learn'd of Foraign Nations, make a true
Payment to us, of what they wisely thought
Fit to *Instruct*, or for example *Taught*.
You are the *Bank*, where they address their Store;
You give it all to us, yet make it more:
For, see how much in knowledge we do thrive
By reading them in You; they doe derive
From You so much of *Honor* and *Renown*,
Which makes this Nation love them as their own.
Now what shall we return, my *Lord*, who are
Improv'd by You, without our *Cost* or *Care*;
We can but wish Your *Fact'ry* to *Increase*,
Your *Credit* and *Employment* ne'r to cease;
Learn'd Correspondents, to advance Your gains
In honor, the Reward of Learned pains.
That oblig'd *Rome* may to your Name present
But as much Fame, as to her Son y'have lent;
And *Belgia* when shee on her *Reckoning* looks,
Confess her self a *Debtor* in your *Books*.

Your Lordships most humble Servant,

PH. FROWDE.

Provinces into one body, and
[illegible] the Kingdom of Scotland came to possess and govern them in greater
[illegible]

AMSTERDAM

ANTWERPEN

GHENDT

A Gentlman

A Brabander

A Hollander

A Fisher Man

PICAR DIA

PART OF FR ANCE

THE BRITAINE OCEAN

BOULONNOIS

Le Pas de Calais

PART OF ENGLAND

A Catalogue of the Cities et Villages in everie Province.

Brabant	26	700
Gelder et Zutphen	22	300
Limburg	5	123
Luxemburg	23	1169
Flanders	35	1178
Artesia	12	754
Hannonia	24	950
Holland	33	400
Zeeland	10	101
Namure	4	185
Marchion. Emp.	1	—
Mechlinia	1	9
Utrecht	5	70
Freesland	11	395
Overissell	11	101
Groning	1	145

Cities. Villag.

The Explication of the Notes

Cities ... Villages ...

Castles ...

Monasteries ...

Forrest or Wilderness ...

Picquigny

Conty

Amiens

Abbeville

Montreuil

Hesdin

Terrouenne

Bethune

Aire

Arras

Cambray

Bouchain

Valenciennes

Lisle

Tournay

Douay

Orchies

Lens

Bapaume

Peronne

Roye

Nelle

Cappy

Bray

Corbie

Demrij

Morlaix

Han

Bouhan

Fonsomme

Croix

Ghuise

Landrecy

Guise

Proisy

Syssy

Capelle

Avesne

Le Quesnoy

Bavay

Maubeuge

Landrecies

Tourne

Master Pre

Brrie

Roye

Montdidier

Roy

Compiegne

Soissons

Noyon

Ham

Peronne

Bapaume

Arras

Douay

Lens

Lisle

Tournay

Courtray

Oudenarde

Ghent

Dendermond

Alost

Brussels

Louvain

Tirlemont

Namur

Dinant

Mons

Binche

Charleroy

Thuin

Philippeville

Rocroy

Mezieres

Sedan

Stenay

Montmedy

Thionville

Metz

Longwy

Luxemburg

Arlon

Virton

Florenge

Montmedy

Rheims

Chalons

Vitry

Bar le Duc

Commercy

Toul

Nancy

Pont a Mousson

Metz

Verdun

Clermont

Ste Menehould

Rethel

Mezieres

Sedan

Rocroy

Philippeville

Namur

Huy

Liege

Maestricht

Tongres

Hasselt

Sittard

Ruremond

Venlo

Gelder

Nimuegen

Arnhem

Zutphen

Deventer

Zwol

Groning

Leeuwarden

Harlingen

Staveren

Amsterdam

Haerlem

Leyden

Delft

Rotterdam

Dort

Gorcum

Utrecht

Amersfort

Harderwyck

Campen

Kampen

Enchuysen

Medenblick

Horn

Alkmaer

Edam

Purmerent

Monnikendam

Naerden

Gooylandt

Woerden

Schoonhoven

Oudewater

Gouda

Schiedam

Delfshaven

Briel

Goree

Helvoetsluys

Ysselmonde

Putten

Barneveld

Elborch

Hattem

Zwol

Kampen

Campen

Steenwyck

Meppel

Coevorden

Groning

Dockum

Franeker

Harlingen

Staveren

Sloten

Workum

Hindeloopen

Stavoren

Sneek

Leeuwarden

Dokkum

Bolsward

Harlingen

Franeker

GRONINGEN

ZVTPHEN

VTRECHT

ARNHEM

A NEW MAPE OF THE XVII PROVINCES OF LOW GERMANIE,

mended a new in manie places.

Anno 1654.

R T

O F

THE GERMAN OCEAN.

THE NORTH SEA.

West OCCIDENS

North-West

North SEPTENTRIO

North-East

East ORIENS

Walcheren

ZEELAN:

DIA.

Vielandt.

Der Schelling.

Amelandt.

IVLAN

Dreil

IAE. PARS.

EAST FRIESLAND

Embden

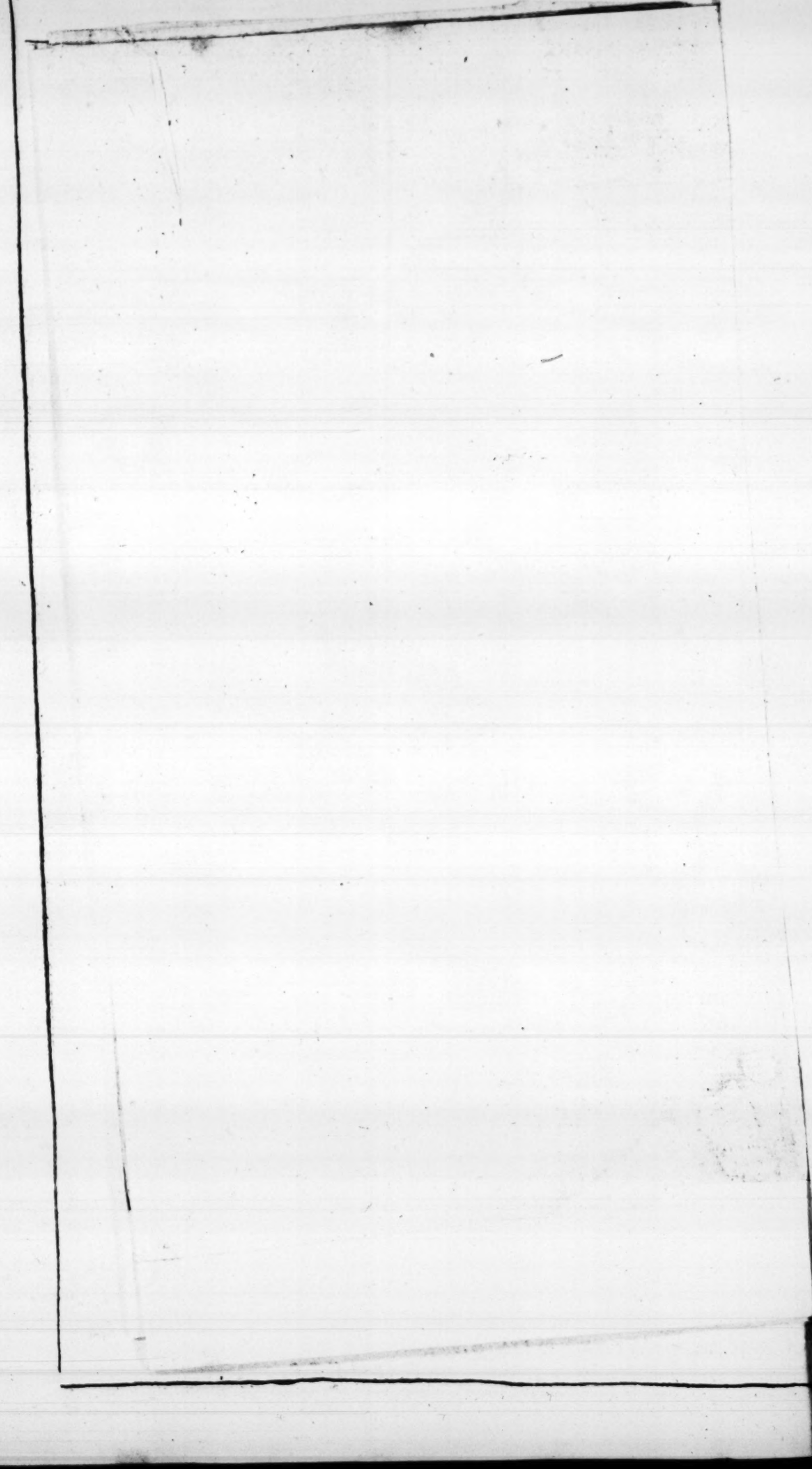
A Gentlewoman

A Brabanders wiffe

A Hollanders wiffe

A Fishers Wiffe

A Country



THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK I.

The Contents.

An Introduction to the History. The Situation and Government of the Provinces of Flanders. *The first occasions of the War described. In what condition* Flanders *was, when the Catholick King,* Philip *the second, resolved to leave those Countrys, and to return for* Spain. *The general States, upon his departure, are assembled together at* Gaunt. *His Speech to the Dutchess of* Parma, *(whom he leaves Regent of those Provinces.) Concerning the manner of Governing them. He departs, and goes his journey by Sea. Divers difficulties which the Dutchess meets withall at the beginning of her Government, and especially in matters of Religion. The Nobility begin to stirr, and cannot tollerate the too great authority of Cardinal* Granville; *but chiefly the Prince of* Orange, *the Counts of* Egamont *and* Horne. *Their grievances or complaints, they write all three joyntly to the King, declaring openly against* Granville, *and desire that he may be removed from* Flanders. *The King will not give way thereunto. They are scandalized at the refusal, and together with the rest of the Nobles, are so much the more incens'd against* Granville, *they come to open contempt of him. And finally, force the King to remove him from thence.*

THE Provinces of *Flanders* in former ages, were divided one from another: almost every one of them had its particular Prince; but rather Titular, then essential. Afterward, at several times they by degrees joyned one with another. The male line failed in many of them, and Women came to succeed; by whose Marriages the States in those Parts began chiefly to increase; and together with the strength of the States, the prerogative of Princes. By this means the house of *Burgundy* did at last unite those Provinces into one body, and govern'd them with such greatness. And afterwards the House of *Austria* came to possess and govern them in greater glo-

ry. The firſt of this Family on whom the Inheritance fell, was *Philip* the firſt, Son and Succeſſor to *Mary*, the laſt Princeſs, and Heir of the *Burgundian* bloud. From *Philip* who dyed in the flowre of his age, came *Charls*, and from *Charls*, *Philip* the ſecond. *Charls* poſſeſt *Flanders* in great quiet; but in the firſt year of *Philips* ſucceſſion, thoſe Provinces grew into ſuch alteration, through divers home-bred, and foreign occaſions, as the miſchief creeping in from the very beginning by degrees, now in one ſort, now in another, it at laſt broke forth into open tumults; and from tumults into one of the longeſt, and moſt bitter Wars that hath at any time happened. The events of this war is that which I undertake to deſcribe; which doubtleſly are the greateſt and moſt famous which can be expos'd to the Worlds Theatre. Forty years of continual troubles have paſt over ſince the firſt tumults, to the beginning of the Truce for twelve years. In which time, as alſo in the times following, wherein the Truce being ended, Arms were reaſſumed: he who ſhall conſider the ſucceſſes of this war, ſhall find ſo many, and ſo illuſtrious Scenes of various accidents, as he ſhall be compell'd to confeſs, that never any afforded more copious matter of Humane Inſtructions; or that any war more memorable then this, was ever written of, either in Antient or Modern Hiſtories. You ſhall ſee Countries of a ſmall circuit, conteſting with a mighty Monarchy; but you ſhall ſee them ſo favour'd by the Arms of Nature, by the Sea, and Rivers, and by Forces from abroad with all poſſible aſſiſtance, as it is not to be wondred if they have made ſo long oppoſition, and if they continue ſtill to make it more vigorouſly then ever. You, in their unvanquiſh'd Rebellion, ſhall ſee the rage of Hereſie againſt the Church, joyned to the like of Subjects againſt their Prince: And *Flanders* divided within her ſelf, miſerably to conſume by wars, cauſed no leſs by Religion, then by State-Intereſt; and ſet on fire no leſs by internal, then by external Forces. You ſhall ſee bloudy battels, unheard of ſieges, dreadfull ſackings, firings, and ruins: Succeſſes at Sea, which will not yield for cruelty, to thoſe by Land; and wars carryed with no leſs Atrocety from the neighbouring Seas of *Europe*, into the moſt remoted Seas of the *Indies*. Buſineſs will ſometimes appear amidſt Arms: and amidſt the raging noyſe of war, the natural deſire of peace. Yet ruine, death, and deſtruction, ſhall be ſeen to prevail on all ſides; And it ſhall appear, that on the fatal fields of *Flanders*, as on the Liſts of a publick Combat, almoſt all the Nations of *Europe* have ſtrove, and as it were vied to vent forth their anger and malice, and with their ſword in hand, to buckle themſelves ſtill more obſtinately one againſt the other.

But before I enter upon my intended Narration of the mentioned Affairs, it will be requiſite that I take their beginnings from a little further off; ſhewing firſt what the condition of the Provinces of *Flanders* was, and how the Neighboring Countreys were diſpoſed, when the mentioned Commotions began; to the end that their more inward cauſes being known, the future ſucceſſes may be the better underſtood. 'Tis then known to all men that the Provinces of *Flanders* paſt from the Line of *Burgundy*, into the houſe of *Auſtria*, in manner as hath been already ſaid. The aboveſaid Provinces are ſcituated upon the utmoſt confines of that Northern Continent of *Europe*, which neighbours moſt upon *Germany* and *France*. Some of them therefore go under the name of *Galla Belgica*; but all of them in common under the name of the Low-Countries of *Germany*; and more commonly by the name of *Flanders*. In time paſt, when they were all joyned together in one body, they made up the number of 17 Provinces, and were divided into the Dukedomes of *Brabant*, *Limburg*, *Lucemburg*, and *Gelderland*: into the Counties of *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Holland*, *Hennault*, *Zealand*, *Namures* and *Zutfen*: into the Marqueſate of the Holy Empire; and into the Lordſhips of *Frieſland*, *Mulines*, *Utricht*, *Overiſſel* and *Groningen*. To which Countries was added, (but not as of the ſame body) the City of *Cambray*, together with the Territory of *Cambreſis*; and likewiſe the County of *Burgundy*, which is divided from all the reſt by the Interpoſition of *Lorain*. Theſe Provinces were very conformable one to another, in the inſtitution of Laws and Government. The Catholick Religion flouriſht equally in all of them, and the States repreſenting each of them, were generally formed of three ſorts of Perſons: Eccleſiaſticks, the

Nobility,



The Emperour Charles the 5th
Prince of ye Low=Countreys.

2

Ro. Vaughan sculp:

Nobility, and the more common ſort of people. The Eccleſiaſticks were for the moſt part Monaſticall Abbots, who lived in their Monaſteries, which were uſually ſeated in the Country. The Nobles, were of the beſt qualified families, who likewiſe reſided commonly in the Country, in their Lordſhips, and Caſtles: and the meaner ſort of people were Tradeſmen, and Artificers living in Cities; Civill and criminall cauſes were within the Cogniſance of the Counſels of each Province, or of the Magiſtracy of every City; according to the quality of the affaire, and the Inſtitutions of the Place: and Appeals were generally made to a ſupream Tribunall, which was placed in *Malines*, as the place moſt commodious for the whole Country. Three moſt remarkable Councels handled the affaires of Government at Court; The Councell of State, the privy Councell, and the Councell of the Exchequer, or Treaſurie. The firſt was compoſed of ſome of the chiefeſt Lords of the Provinces, and of ſome Churchmen likewiſe and Gownmen, and things of greateſt conſequence were therein treated of: in the ſecond, which conſiſted wholly of Lawyers, ſuch matters of Juſtice were reſolved on, for which it was neceſſary to have recourſe to the Supream Authority of the Prince. And in the third, the Prince his Patrimoniall revenues were managed, as alſo all contribution monies, according to the need of the Provinces, which paſt through the hands of two or three of better account, and of other inferior Officers: and ſometimes the States Generall of the whole Country were aſſembled: but this was onely in the moſt weighty affairs; and wherein neceſſity more then good will brought the Prince to ſee his people united together in one body: leſt they upon ſuch occaſions might be ſo bold as rather to impoſe laws then receive them. This was the former form of the Government of the Provinces of *Flanders* in Generall. The People there have alwayes injoyed many Prerogatives and priviledges in the form of their government: and therefore have yielded unto their Princes an obedience mixt with libertie. No place can more abound in all things requiſit for humane life, then *Flanders* doth, ſet wine and ſome other things aſide. The winters there are not too exceſſive cold, the colds being rather long, then ſharp, and tranſgreſſing much more in moiſture then in hard weather. The Country is full of navigable rivers; and which for the moſt part, by the flowing of the ſea, bring the ſea it ſelf, and the commerce thereof very far into the continent: but it is no leſſer full of great towns, Cities, and inhabitants, who for the moſt part are tall of ſtature, of a candid aſpect, and almoſt of as candid nature, much given to Traffick, and of a pleaſant, and tractable nature, when they are not angred; but altogether as contumcious, implacable, and revengefull, when offended.

The poſſeſſion of theſe parts, falling (as hath been ſaid) upon *Philip* of *Auſtria*, he begot his eldeſt ſon *Charles*, in *Gaunt*, which is the chiefeſt City of the peculiar Province of *Flanders*: who likewiſe inherited the Kingdom of *Spaine*; and not long after was made Emperour of *Germany*. This *Charles* being born in *Flanders*, paſt his firſt childhood there, and was afterwards oftner ſeen there, then in any other part of his ſo many Kingdoms and Provinces, in the ſo frequent voyages which he continually made for the adminiſtration of their ſeverall governments: together with the inclination which nature had given him towards the Dutch by his being born and bred up amongſt them, he alwayes ſhewed a particular affection to them, by making uſe of them in his weightieſt, and moſt important affairs, Signeur *De Ceures* had the charge and government of him in very Ample manner in his youth; Cardinall *Adrian*, who was afterwards Pope *Adrian* the ſixth, together with *Ceures*, govern'd *Spain* in his abſence; *Charles De Lanoia* governed the Kingdom of *Naples*, as alſo all the affairs of *Italy*, for a long time, with almoſt an abſolute Authoritie. And in the wars of *Germany*, eſpecially in thoſe which burſt forth often in his time towards the Frontiers of *France*. Of all other his Dominions, he made moſt uſe of the *Flanders* forces; upon all which occaſions, the Flemiſh Nobility was alwayes greatly honoured, and favoured by him, and very great was the demonſtration of love which he ſhewed towards thoſe Countryes: the people whereof forgat not *Charles* his great affability to them in his tender years, and how graciouſly he alwayes heard and received them: and that of a Prince becomming a private man, he would oft times lay aſide his publike Majeſtie, to make his particular affection

towards them appear the more; which caused them alwayes to shew all requisit obedience, and constant devotion toward him, unless it were in that little Commotion in *Gaunt*, which was quieted as soon as begun. *Flanders* after this injoyed full and perfect felicity as long as he lived; for except it were in the Frontiers toward *France*, which sometimes suffered by taking up of Arms, all the rest of the Provinces injoyed a flourishing Peace, and perpetuall tranquilitie, in such sort, as it cannot be expreſt how much the inhabitants plenty, the frequencie of traffick, the beautie of Cities, and abundancy of all things requisit therein, were augmented. Particularly you would have thought that *Europe* had chosen *Antwerp* for the Universal staple town of her traffick; in so great numbers, and with such varieties of Merchandize, did all forrein Nations, even from the remotest regions flock thither: which was much occasioned through the moderate and wise government of two Princesses, whose names will for ever be celebrated in *Flanders*: which were; the Lady *Margaret*, Aunt to the Emperour, and her sister, the Lady *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*: the one or the other whereof governed all those Provinces almost all the while that the Emperour lay in the field. *Charls* (as hath been said) had no son but *Philip*, who was born and bred up in *Spaine*; and because his Father foresaw how much the keeping of *Flanders* well united to the rest of the Monarchie of *Spaine* did conduce to his sons greatness, he made *Philip* come thither when he was yet very young, that he might be sworn his successor, after his death by the Flemish, as he was: *Philip* staid not long in *Flanders* the first time: he returned thither a second time, when he was of more mature years, having been in *England* with his wife Queen *Mary*, and then he staid some years in *Flanders*, after that his Father the Emperour had resigned over unto him, all his Hereditary States and Dominions; till upon very urgent occasions it behoved him to return again to *Spaine*: whilst *Philip* aboad amongst the Flemings, they saw the difference of Natures, and inclinations between the Father, and the son; great was both their Pieties and Religion; great their Justice, and constancy of Minde. But *Philip* was as much given to Peace, as *Charles* was to War: the one was affable and gracious; the other extraordinarily grave, and composed: the latter acquainted with all languages, and accommodating himself to all Nations; whereas the other as well in his language as in all things else, seemed as if he knew not how to adapt himself to any thing, but the *Spanish* Garbe. It was therefore generally conceived in *Flanders*, that *Philip*, by reason of his Nature and customes, would shew himself to be wholly a Spanyard, would retire into *Spaine*, and put the government of *Flanders* wholly into the hands of Spanyards, which opinion was confirmed in them by the particular favour which he was alwayes seen to bear to Prince *Ruygomes Di Silva*, to the duke of *Alva*, and to the Conde *De Feria*; and that he communicated all his most weighty affairs, and even those which did more properly concern the interest of *Flanders*, with them, and with Monsieur *De Granville*, a *Burgonian*, Bishop *of Arras*. They therefore apprehended an alteration in their government; and so much the rather for that they knew that *Charles* had towards his end, begun to be somewhat jealous of them, and *Philip* much more afterwards: one of the chief reasons whereof was the infection of Heresie which from the neighboring parts began to break forth in *Flanders* whilst *Charles* did yet live. The chief Heresies which then raigned in *Germany*, *France*, and *England*, all of them neighboring upon *Flanders*, were three. In *Germany* Lutherisme, in *France* Calvinisme, and in *England* a compound of both these, together with a reservation of some outward shew of the Catholike Religion: nor was the number of Anabaptists few, which were mingled with the Lutherans in that part of *Flanders* which lies towards *Germany*. This so powerfull evill required no lesse powerfull remedies; and therefore *Charles* in his time had publish'd many severe edicts against the infected, which were afterwards confirmed by *Philip*: which had occasioned imprisonments, exiles, confiscation of goods, and even death it self to many of the inhabitants: and because a particuler office was erected to purge the Country of Heresie, which was in the hands of Church men, and which did much resemble the inquisition; the Flemish began even from the beginning to grumble at, and to shew open repugnancy to such an office, to the which they gave hatefull names, fearing to finde

the



Philip the Second King of Spaine,
Prince of the Low-countreys.

4

Ro: Vaughan sculp:



William of Nassau
Prince of Orange

the effects thereof daily more hatefull. Neither did the common people apprehend this more then did the great ones. Who seemed more moved thereat, for that either Authority which govern'd the Provinces was increased by protecting the Inhabitants. There were then many in *Flanders* of much eminency for birth, valour and and adherency: especially two who did much exceed the rest: which were, *William* Prince of *Orange*, *Lamoral* Count *Egmont*. *Orange* was born an Heretick in *Germany*; and coming whilst yet a youth into *Flanders* to inherit large possessions, both by the Father and Mothers side, became a Catholick, and was always very much favoured by the Emperour. And *Egmont* being come wholly of Flemish parentage, had always enjoyed the prime places of Honour and esteem in *Flanders*, especially in Military affairs; great part of the victory which the King got at the memorable battel of St. *Quintain* was attributed to his valour; and to him alone that of *Graveling*, where he commanded the Kings Army.

These two personages, though of almost clean contrary genius and nature, were in equal authority and favour with the *Flemish*. *Orange* was more for Civil, then Military affairs; wary, wise, a great Master of speech, and no less good at Councel; in his fashion and behaviour popular; and of whom it was questionable whether his ability was greater in comprehending businesses, or his wariness in managing them. Rare qualities all of them when they are level'd at right ends; but do strangely degenerate when they are made use of (as they were afterwards by *Orange*) to ambitious and corrupt designes. *Egmont* on the contrary was more given to studie war then peace: of a free nature, candid in his thoughts and words; popular likewise, but rather amongst soldiers in the fields, then with the vulgar within walls: and in all things else. Much apter to win preferment amongst Arms then at Court. The Government of the Provinces, and Military commands, were put into these two mens hands, and some others of the chiefest of the Country. And though till after the Kings departure thence, none of them had any ways opposed the aforesaid Edicts, yet it was well enough known, that many of them were not well pleased with them; and 'twas feared that those would make use thereof, who under palliated pretences, had a mind to disquiet the present Government, and introduce some novelties. *Orange* had till then given greatest suspitions thereof; for whilst he was in *France* with *Henry* the second for one of King *Philips* hostages, in performance of the peace which was concluded in *Cambrey* between those two Kings the year 1559. he honesting the occasion thereby, slipt into *Flanders*, and revealed to his adherents a strong plot, which those two Kings had in secret, to extirp Heresie. And the Nobility of *Flanders* having spent very much in *Charls* his time, and many of the best of them being but in bad condition, therefore the King being to leave *Flanders*, they did in that behalf begin to murmure aloud, and very much to complain; as if by the Kings perpetual future absence, the *Dutch* were to be deprived of those advantages, which they had so largely enjoyed in the time of his Father the Emperour. Which might occasion fear that they would endeavour the preservation thereof by exciting of troubles, as having but little hopes to effect it by the way of peace. Nor were many of the Church-men much better satisfied then were the people, and the Nobility, by reason of the new erection of Bishopricks, which were instituted in the chiefest Cities of the Country: which being at first procured by *Charls*, for the better Church-government in *Flanders*, and especially to bridle Heresie, were after compleated, and constantly continued by *Philip*. Upon the reason of these new erections, it was necessary to suppress many Abbies and Priories. And the Bishops being to enjoy the first place in Ecclesiastical Orders, the Abbots held themselves thereby offended, who formerly made the greatest number of Ecclesiasticks, and held the chief place at publick meetings. To these several distastes in all the three Provincial Orders, another was added; [with the introducing of forainers, as *Germans*, and *Spaniards* into the chief Forts, which were formerly Garison'd by people of their own Provinces: These, and many other passions, wherewith the minds of the *Flemish* were agitated, were not unknown to the neighbouring Princes, who watched all occasions which might cause commotions in *Flanders*, and were desirous to propagate them. And though they

they were not all of a mind in point of Religion, and divers other things, yet they all joyned in one end, which was to ſee the greatneſs of the houſe of *Auſtria* ſomewhat leſned, and eſpecially the King of *Spains* power. And none of them were well pleaſed to ſee the Provinces of *Flanders* joyned to his Crown: which by reaſon of their ſituation, circuit, and opulency, were of ſuch conſideration, as when they were only in the hands of the houſe of *Burgundy*, had oft-times reduced *France* to great ſtraits, and troubled *England*, and the near adjacent parts of *Germany*, more then once. In *France*, after the unfortunate miſchance of *Henry* the ſecond, who was wounded as he was running a Tilt, and died at the celebration of his daughters marriage with the King of *Spain*, and his ſiſters with the Duke of *Savoy*; *Francis* the ſecond ſucceeded in the Crown whilſt he was yet a child. The Government of the Kingdom was therefore wholly in the hands of his mother *Catherine* of *Medicis*: but ſo diſtracted, and ſo full of factions, as it could not be in greater diſorder, nor more confuſed. Hereſie which was firſt in ſecret, and fraudulently crept into *France*, ſhew'd it ſelf now bare-faced. And her Fautorers, hiding their own ambitious ends under the deceitfull viſard of conſcience, proceeded from their firſt Court-contentions, to the taking up of arms, to the great detriment of the whole Kingdom. Thoſe hereticks were called *Hugonots*: (nor is it well known from whence that word proceeded) and *Lodovick* of *Burbone*, Prince of *Conde*, made himſelf the chief head thereof: he was brother to *Anthony*, King of *Navar*, firſt Prince of the bloud-royal; and his chief rather guider then follower, was *Jaſper di Coligni*, Admiral of *France*, who proved afterwards the plague of that Kingdom; and at laſt his own ruine. But the chief heads who maintained the Catholick cauſe, were not leſs ſuſpected, and eſpecially thoſe of the houſe of *Guiſe*; out of a received opinion, that under the ſpecious zeal to religion, they hatched divers deſignes of bringing themſelves to greater power. *France*, whilſt thus afflicted within her ſelf, could not contribute much to the afflictions of others. Yet it was evidently diſcerned, that what fomentation from thence could be expected to the troubles of *Flanders*, would never be wanting, eſpecially by the inſtigation of the *Hugonots*.

In *England*, the ſucceſſion of that Kingdom, and of *Ireland*, was fallen to *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Henry* the eight; Queen *Mary*, who was wife to *Philip* King of *Spain*, dying without iſſue. *Mary* was not more reſolute in reſtoring the Catholick faith in *England*, then *Elizabeth* was in reſuppreſſing it, incited thereunto by the example of her mother *Anne* of *Bullen*; and for fear leſt by the Laws of the Church, her ſucceſſion might prove illegitemate; from which fear ſhe thought her ſelf ſecure under the *Dogmata* of hereſie. *Elizabeth* making Religion thus ſubſervient to State Intereſt, would have hereſie to be received throughout all *England* and *Ireland*. And deteſting the Pope, and King of *Spain*, by which two ſhe might be the moſt indamaged, ſhe likewiſe endeavoured to prejudice them as much as ſhe could. She therefore perſecuted the Church infinitely in *England*, and was very intent upon all thoſe ſiniſter ſucceſſes, which might befall the King of *Spain*, eſpecially in *Flanders*, where his power was neareſt unto her, and from whence ſhe did moſt ſuſpect it.

From thoſe parts of *Germany* which lie neareſt to *Flanders*, all thoſe heretick Princes who were there Maſters of any States or Dominions, ſhewed the ſame diſpoſition againſt the Church and the King of *Spain*. But the moſt conſiderable amongſt them, and of whom the greateſt fear was had, for that he was more amidſt the *Auſtrian* Forces of *Germany* and *Flanders*, was the Prince Elector *Palatine* of *Rhine*. 'Twas therefore much to be feared that from theſe external parts, all the inward commotions of *Flanders*, were upon all occaſions to be fomented. This was the condition of Affairs, and the diſpoſition of minds in *Flanders*, when the King was there, and upon his departure for *Spain*.

I will take my riſe in the Hiſtory which I undertake to write from hence; after having with as much brevity as I could, acquainted you with what hath already been ſaid. The King was reſolved to go for *Spain*; to the which he was moved not only out of his particular natural addiction to thoſe Kingdoms, as out of mature wiſdome and adviſed choice. He ſaw his vaſt Empire hardly well ſetled and conſolidated, after the ſo many voyages and great pains of his Father; and finding

finding it compoſed of ſo many members, and ſo far divided one from another, he thought it expedient, that he ſhould ſhare out and diſperce the vigor and ſpirit of government from out the principall part thereof, as doth the heart in humane bodies, and certainly *Spain* was to be reputed not onely the moſt important but the fitteſt place for this purpoſe; there wanted not moreover many other urgent neceſſities, which required the Kings preſence, and particularly thoſe which were occaſioned partly by the danger of Hereſie which was already begun there, and partly by jealouſies of the *Moors* wherewith *Spaine* was greatly infected, and with whom it was greatly feared that upon any inteſtine commotion, the neighbouring *Moors* of *Africa* would joyn themſelves.

The chiefeſt buſineſs which before the Kings departure was taken into conſultation, was to whom he ſhould leave the government of *Flanders* in his abſence. Two Ladyes neerly allyde unto the King by blood were taken into conſideration; the one was *Chriſtierna* Dutches of *Loraine*, who was daughter to a ſiſter of the Emperour *Charls* the fifth, and the other *Margaret* Dutches of *Parma*, naturall daughter to the ſame Emperour, great was the conteſtation, before it was reſolved which of the two was to be preferred. *Chriſtierna* was the elder: very well known in *Flanders* by reaſon of the neighbor-hood of *Loraine*: praiſed for her great wiſdom, in having worthily diſcharged the Government of that State, remaining ſtill a Widdow: and the afore mentioned Peace of *Cambray*, which by her means, (ſhe being there preſent in perſon) was managed and concluded, had very much increaſed her reputation. By which ſucceſſe, *Flanders* being freed from the moleſtation of Arms, ſhe won more upon the affection of the Flemings. *Orange* was chiefly for her, out of the hopes he had of marrying one of her Daughters, and therefore labored her Election as much as he could; hoping alſo by that marriage that the government of *Flanders* might be more ſway'd by him then by *Chriſtierna*. But the Kings inclination bore him at laſt to like beſt of *Margaret*; as ſhe who had been born and bred up in *Flanders*; and who having her Husbands Eſtates of *Parma* and *Piacenſa* in midſt the forces of the Dukedom of *Millan* in *Italy*, and reſolving to ſend her onely ſon *Alexander* to the Court of *Spain*, promiſed a more abſolute dependency upon the King: where on the contrary the houſe of *Loraine*, by reaſon of the condition of the Country, and more in reſpect of intereſt was inforced to depend almoſt wholly upon the Crown of *France*, beſides the great deſire which the Flemiſh themſelves ſhewed to have *Chriſtierna* for their Regent, made the King & Spaniſh officers more averſe thereunto: with whom the Biſhop of *Arras* joyned in opinion who was one of the moſt imployed Miniſters of the Court. Out of theſe reaſons they alſo hindred *Orange* his afore mentioned Marriage; it appearing to them that it was not good to conſent to ſuch an Alliance, ſo neer to the King himſelf; and that it would make *Orange* yet greater in *Flanders*, by the neer leaning ſtock of *Loraine*, and would cauſe yet more ambitious deſires in him, then thoſe which had more then once been already diſcovered in him: when the King had choſen the Dutcheſſe of *Parma* to be Governeſs of *Flanders*, and cauſed her therefore to come from *Italy*, he thought it fitting before his departure to call a generall Aſſembly of all the Provinces, the which he held in *Gaunt*. Where the Deputies being aſſembled together, the King ſpoke firſt ſeverally with every of them apart, concerning the affairs of chiefeſt importance; and at the firſt opening of the Aſſembly, he was preſent himſelf in perſon, together with the new Governeſs, where after a great ſilence, The Biſhop of *Arras* began to ſpeak by the Kings command to the Deputies; and inlarged himſelf into a long diſcourſe, wherein he ſhewed the reaſons which forced the King to go for *Spaine*, and afterwards apply'd himſelf to the particular affairs of *Flanders*. He ſaid,

That his Father the Emperour had no for the ſpace of many years ſeen Spaine, and that at laſt he went thither out of no other end but to ſee his Nation there; that the preſent King had alſo abſented himſelf from thence for many years, yet to abandon Flanders, which was then expoſed to the greateſt danger of War, which was very hot between him and the King of France. *That at laſt the peace of Cambray was inſued; the Marriage with the Daughter of Henry the ſecond, and all good intelligence and concord betwixt both the parties: that the affairs of Flanders being thus*

ſetled

setled, reason did require that he should now turn himself to the affairs of Spaine, *to provide in those parts likewise for many things, which did necessarily require his presence: that the King hoped either to return quickly himself to* Flanders, *or else to send his son thither: that he did acknowledge those Provinces to be his principall Patrimony; and that from thence he had his rise to the succession of so many Kingdoms: and that therefore he would vie with his Father in his love to them, and endeavour to exceed him in his favouring of them: that certainly of all goods that could befall them, peace was to be preferred, which occasioned commerce; commerce traffick; and traffick the plenty which the people of* Flanders *did now injoy: that in peace likewise the Church did most flourish in her Ministery, and the Nobility injoy their greatest priviledges: that then this quiet was equally advantageous for all the three orders of the Country, and that the King was therein interested more then any others, by reason of the dangers whereinto the Princes Authority doth usually fall through the peoples turbulencies: that the King knew nothing could more crosse this his so wise and pious object, then Heresie: the monster of impiety and Sedition: and that when people did once arm themselves against their God, they did at the same time arm themselves against their Princes; of which the neighbouring Countries did afford too horrid and dreadfull examples: that therefore the King, as a Father no lesse then as a Prince, did exhort the Provinces to preserve the purity of the ancient Faith; to wit, that faith which their Forefathers had for so many Ages professed with such lively zeal, and caused to flourish with such constant Pietie. That therefore they should cause the Edicts to be observed, which were first published by his Father, and afterwards confirmed by him, in this point: that they should not suffer themselves to be abused by false words, taking licentiousnesse for liberty: that they should take example from the evils of others not to fall into the like themselves: that they should give all due obedience and respect to their new Governess: and that they should assure themselves, that as the King went from them full of Gratitude for the good service which they had done him and his Father, so he would alwayes continue his Fathers and his own affection towards those Provinces: to witness which he would presently cause all forrein Garrisons to be drawn from forth their fortresses, and take away all unusuall contributions from the Country.*

These were the chief things which the Bishop of *Arras* uttered in the Kings name. The answer which the Provinces did at the present give was full of Humility and obsequiousnes, and seemed to breath forth fidelity: but those States ended afterward with very little of satisfaction to the King: For touching the things spoken of before, wherein the Country seemed to be distasted, he saw the ill disposed minds of the Provinces, in the faces of their Deputies, and might judge that affairs would not continue long in the condition he left them. The Flemings were then chiefly vexed through fear of having the inquisition introduced amongst them; and there wanted not some who spoke their mindes therein publikely in the States.

That Flanders *was not accustomed to such Rigors: that it was terrified at the very name of the inquisition: which would be the cause of deserting traffick, and Merchandizing, throughout the whole Country. How much better would those evils be remedied by fair meanes, then by fire and sword? That every Humane body had its particular Habit: and so every Nation its proper and natural constitution of temper. That what did become Spain and Italy, might not be fit for* Flanders; *nor for the other more Northern people of* Europe. *Who were more naturally inclined to liberty then those of the Southern parts.*

By these and such like words wherewith they pierced the ears of the King, they would either have had him, have annul'd the published Edicts before his departure, or at least have moderated them. But he would never assent thereunto. But gave this remarkable answer to one of his Officers, who represented unto him the danger which he thereby might run into of losing either all, or many of those Provinces, and that therefore he might do better somewhat to connive, alledging the neighbouring Countreyes for his example. *That he would rather be without Kingdoms then injoy them with Heresie.*

Moreover the King with no lesse maturity of judgement, then zeal of Religion, foresaw the pernitious consequences which might from thence arise in his other

Dominions;

Dominions; for ſuch an example would have encouraged the reſt to have made the like deſires: and would be very dangerous to be admitted of; and no leſſe dangerous to be refuſed. He therefore remained reſolute to have the ſaid Edicts put in execution; as alſo fully to eſtabliſh the new Erection of Biſhopricks. The King in the yeare 1555 had renewed the Edict which his Father the Emperour had made in the year 1550, wherein by Authority of the Apoſtolick See the form was ordained which the inquiſitors were to obſerve in the expunging of Hereſie. The ſubſtance whereof was; That they ſhould proceed with all rigor in ſeeking out thoſe who were infected with Hereſie, and in puniſhing them according to the penalties appointed, the execution whereof was committed to the Magiſtrates of Cities, and to the Provincial Councels, with proviſion to be had that no particular Tribunals ſhould be introduced for the inquiſition as it was formed: and as for the new Erection of Biſhopricks, it was carried as hath been ſaid in the relation.

The King having ordered matters of Religion thus, declared that for all things elſe the former ancient Government ſhould be continued: wherein next unto the Regent, the Councel of State ſhould have the firſt place; of which were many of the chief Lords of *Flanders*; and becauſe it was impoſſible to confide in them all, therefore the King gave private inſtructions, that the Regent in matters of greateſt jealouſies and weight, ſhould abridge the number to a few, and intruſt the chief managing thereof in the hands of the Biſhop of *Arras*; whom to this purpoſe he left with her. Before the King went from *Gaunt*, he would make a new creation of Knights of the golden Fleece in the places of many that were dead. And amongſt others, he honoured ſome Lords of that Country with that Order, whoſe Anceſtors had formerly been thereof. Finally the King preparing for his journey, and being deſirous firſt to give ſuch inſtructions to the Dutcheſſe of *Parma* as were moſt convenient for the adminiſtration of Government; he took her one day aſide, and as it is reported, ſaid thus unto her.

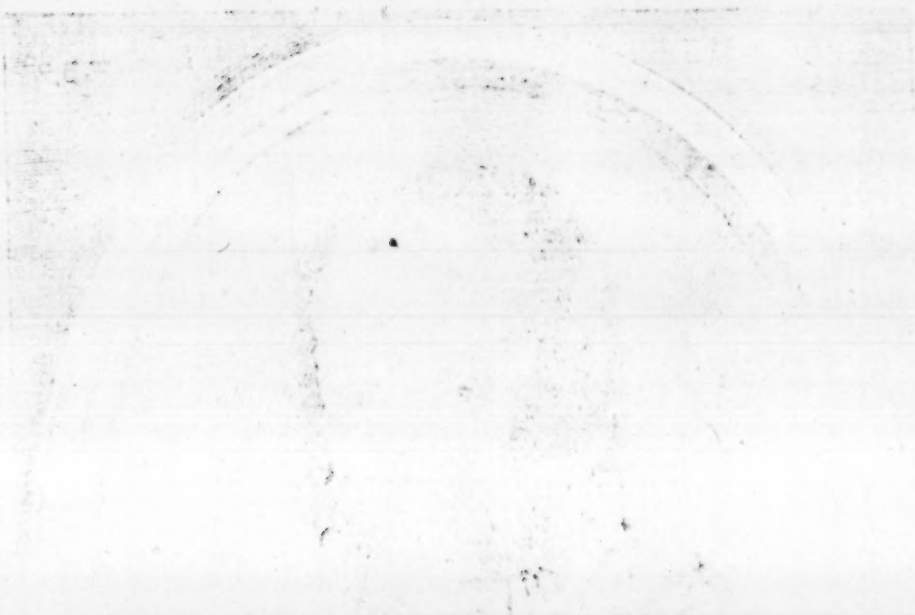
'I could not give you a greater teſtimony (my beloved Siſter) of my confidence 'in you, then that which I have now depoſited into your hands, in aſſigning 'over unto you the Government of theſe Provinces of *Flanders*. You ſee their 'ſituation; by how much they are the more remote from my other Kingdoms, ſo 'much the neerer are they to be endangered by the States which do inviron them. 'Tis true, *France* is now at peace with me, but 'tis not ſo within it ſelf; being 'full of Factions, and in the hands of a childe, who inſtead of giving Lawes, will 'be enforc'd to receive them; to boote, that the emulation which hath alwayes 'been, and ever will be between *France* and *Spain* is too much known. The 'Queen of *England* who Oppugnes the Religion which I defend, will alwayes be 'plotting to the prejudice of my forces, particularly thoſe of *Flanders*; the ſame 'ſuſpitions almoſt out of the ſame reaſons, may be had of the Heretick Princes 'of the neighbouring parts of *Germany*. As alſo for the ſpite they bear to ſee the 'Empire continue ſo long in my blood. Theſe neighbours will ſtill be practiſing 'ſome innovations here. And the moſt dangerous buſineſs which can be apprehended from them, will be their infecting the People with Hereſie, and the 'making the Nobility, upon ſuch occaſions, aſpire to Novelties. They will then 'endeavour to incite the vulgar people to madneſs by the poiſon of falſe opinions, 'and to withdraw them by degrees from liberty to licenciouſneſs; from licenciouſneſs to tumults; and from tumults to Rebellion. And without doubt the 'introducing of Hereſie being permitted, theſe other evils will conſequently follow. True piety, and falſe cannot cohabit together. And when people begin 'once to differ in their beliefe, the great ones break forth preſently into Novelties, 'and by a thouſand falſe pretentions turn Religion into Faction. Miſerable effects 'are ſeen hereof in *Germany*, and no leſſe miſerable are already begun in *France*. 'Therefore to preſerve *Flanders* from ſo dangerous evils, care muſt be had above 'all things to keep her free from Hereſie, and that only the Catholike Religion 'be practiſed there; Which is the true and ancient Religion; and which alone is 'profeſt in my other Kingdoms: From hence doth my Family acknowledge her 'chiefeſt greatneſs; and by the means thereof, as Subjects are more united within

'themſelves in the worſhip of the Altars and Temples, ſo are they by her means 'alſo the cloſer tyed together in obedience to their Princes and Magiſtrates. So as 'I by defending and ſuſtaining of her, am by her defended and ſuſtained. And 'rendring hereby the greateſt ſervice that I can to God, I do conſequently the grea-'teſt advantage I can to my Crown. I go from hence therefore reſolved that the 'Edicts publiſhed againſt the Hereticks in theſe Provinces, be inviolably execu-'ted; wherein I ſhall deſire you to uſe your greateſt vigilancy, and to be ſure 'that your ſence be the ſame that mine is: which is not notwithſtanding that a 'ſetled Inquiſition be introduced here. I ſee the differences between theſe Pro-'vinces, and thoſe which have received it. But on the other ſide, the greateſt e-'vils require the ſtrongeſt remedies. To boot that this doth not oppoſe the pri-'viledges of the Provinces, nor the form of that Government which I have pro-'miſed and ſworn unto: Nay to tollerate the introducing of hereſie, would be 'the greateſt violation thereof I could commit. Since hitherto it hath wholly 'been grounded upon the Catholick Religion; and all things would be diſtur-'bed, and quite overthrown, if I ſhould give any allowance to the bringing in 'of hereſie. When this danger ſhall be provided for, it will make the remedy 'the eaſier for the other which may ariſe from ſome peccant humour of ambition 'in ſome of the great ones. Ambition uſually ſeeks out pretences, ſo as courſe 'muſt be taken that no ſuch be found. Of all other pretenſions, that of conſci-'ence is the moſt ſpecious; and they who plot moſt againſt the common good, 'ſeem by this way to be moſt zealous in procuring it. Let this ſo plauſible occa-'ſion be taken away, the other which may move the people to commotions will 'the more eaſily ceaſe. You (my ſiſter) very well know the humours of the peo-'ple of *Flanders*, and how they ought to be govern'd: They are born almoſt 'as much to liberty, as to ſubjection. He that commands muſt entreat; and 'oft-times muſt yield inſtead of obtaining. To ſuch natures 'tis fit to adjuſt a 'proportionate Government. You muſt therefore uſe all poſſible diligence in 'maintaining the accuſtomed Priviledges and Immunities of the Country, and 'endeavour to ſatisfie the people in them, they being almoſt wholly conſtituted in 'their power. The common people live peaceably when at eaſe and quiet; and 'tis little to be feared, that the ambitious can either diſcompoſe them by hidden 'fraud, or grow more bold by open conſpiracy to move them to commotion: and 'yet you muſt by all means endeavour to keep the Nobility devout to my ſer-'vice. by particularly giving them their due imployments, their due reſpects, 'and by aſſuring them that they ſhall always ſee my father ſupervive in me, in fa-'vouring and protecting them. Thus it may be hoped that affairs may here ſuc-'ceed happily, and that none of the great ones inſtead of expecting honours and 'favours from me, will provoke me to rigour and ſeverity. But howſoever, it is 'in you that I place my chiefeſt hopes of being well ſerved in theſe Countrys: 'n you who are ſo near unto me; and who in all reſpects, as well your own, as 'of the Family of *Ferneſe*, ought to aſſiſt to all my greatneſs, and eſteem my for-'tune as yours: For what remains, if the preſent calamities of *Europe* ſhall 'prove ſuch, as it ſhall be impoſſible for humane wiſdom to preſerve *Flanders* 'from ſharing therein, we muſt leave the event to God. But I truſt he will 'never abandon his Religion, which is mine, nor thoſe intereſts which out of juſt 'ends, ſhall be alwayes by me conſtantly imbraced, and with equall conſtancy 'defended.

The Dutcheſs her Anſwer unto the King was,

That ſhe received thoſe his councels as ſo many oracles of piety and wiſdom; and that ſhe would imploy all her ſtudy in ſeeing them executed; and that for all things elſe his Majeſty might be confident, that both her ſelf, her husband, her ſon, and the whole family of the Ferneſes, *would always place all their fortune in abſolute dependency upon that of the Royal Houſe of* Spain.

The King going afterwards from *Gaunt* to *Fluſhing*, which is the neareſt haven of *Zealand*; he took ſhip, and made for *Spain*; where he proſperouſly arrived about the latter end of *September*, the year 1559. though he was not well landed when a horrible tempeſt aroſe, which rent and ſunk many of his ſhips, almoſt in his own ſight. The King being gone, the Dutcheſs came to *Bruſſels*; and preſently





Anthony Perenott Cardinall Granvel
Counsellour of Estate to Margaret of Parma

ſently applyd her ſelf wholly to the affairs of Religion; to prevent the enſuing of ſuch novelties, as by reaſon thereof was to be feared in *Flanders*. A buſineſs which was notwithſtanding very difficult; for as nothing could more move the minds of men to novelties, then the introducing of hereſie into the Country; ſo was there no more odious remedy to be found, then that of the Inquiſition, in what manner ſoever it ſhould be handled. The Dutcheſs began quickly to find divers difficulties, in thoſe erections of Biſhopricks which were not yet wholly eſtabliſhed. The Abbots never gave over their former complaints; but endeavouring to add publick murmurings to their own particular grievances, they exagerated, 'That theſe Erections were made contrary to the priviledges of the 'Provinces, whoſe conſents ſhould have been given thereunto. That formerly 'the Abbots were choſen in the Country, who did above all things lay to heart 'the intereſts thereof: whereas henceforward Biſhops will be choſen by the 'Pope, at the King of *Spains* nomination, and will have their chief dependency 'upon the Court of *Rome*, and that of *Spain*. Theſe reaſons prevailed with ſome of the Provinces; and eſpecially with *Brabant*, which is the chief for dignity, and hath moſt priviledges, in ſo much, as divers of her Deputies came to *Bruſſels*, deſiring the Regent that ſhe would conſider better upon this buſineſs. They preſt in particular that no new Biſhoprick might be erected in *Antwerp*; which is a City united to *Brabant*, and which as it was feared, might by this occaſion ſuffer much prejudice in the freedom of her Traffick. In this behalf the Regent though that for the preſent, ſatisfaction might be given to that Province: in the reſt ſhe would have all things done as was decreed, not without the great indignation of many; who being either too much wedded to their own opinions, or too much inclin'd to novelty, called Biſhops, Spaniſh Inquiſitors, and much vilified the new erection of Biſhopricks. The Regent treated but little of this affair in the Counſel of State; for as a buſineſs already reſolved on by the King, ſhe rather thought to ſee it executed, then to hear new opinions concerning it. And if ſhe did at any time treat thereof, it was with the Biſhop of *Arras*, or ſome other confident, and not in full Counſel; as ſhe did likewiſe in other matters of greateſt jealouſie. And this was in nature of a ſecret or Cabinet Counſel; and ſo did the reſt of the Counſellers term it with a great deal of bitterneſs, who were not admitted thereinto. Next to the Regent, the Biſhop of *Arras* had the chief ſtroke in Government, as hath been ſaid: and to him two of the graveſt Counſellers of State did openly adhere; *Vighlio*, a Lawyer of great eſteem, and Preſident of the Privy Counſel; and Monſieur *de Barlemont*, one of the chief of the Treaſury; who being both of them abſolutely reſolv'd to follow the Kings ſenſe, would acknowledg no other interpreter thereof then *Granville*, in whoſe breſt they knew that the King had chiefly depoſited them. Jealouſies began therefore ſuddenly to ariſe amongſt the Counſel, and from jealouſies they ſoon paſt to factions, to the great prejudice of Government, and of the Kings affairs. In the new erection of Biſhopricks, the King had made *Granville* Archbiſhop of *Malines*; as well that he might be heightned in preferment, as alſo that he might not be forced to abſent himſelf from the Regent, whoſe reſidency was uſually to be at *Bruſſels*, a Town within the Dioceſs of *Malines*. He likewiſe the next year 1560. did by the Kings favour obtain the dignity of Cardinalſhip; ſo as with this his increaſe of honour, his Authority in the Government was much increaſed. *Antonio Cardinal di Granvilla* (for ſo he ſtiled himſelf) was ſon to *Nicholas Perenot*, a *Burgundian*, Lord of *Granville*, who had a long time, and with great credit, been Secretary to the Emperour *Charls* the fift; whom his ſon ſucceeded, as well in his Office, as in his fathers favour, being made Biſhop of *Arras*. In this his fathers Shool, and among the *Arcana* of this Prince, *Antonio* had much better learnt the art of abſolute, then of limited command. And paſſing from *Charls* his ſervice to the like of *Philip*, in equal imployment and power; and being afterwards left in *Flanders* with the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, as Arbitrer and Moderator of her Government, he could hardly be brought to temper that Authority which the Kings paſſionate affection gave him in *Flanders* in ſo high a degree; but being haughty and cholerick by nature, and of a mind which taſted more of the Laick, then of the Eccleſiaſtick; he loved to boaſt how great his

power was with the King, rather then to keep it conceal'd. He loved in contestation and envy to be above all others, in rather an imperious then moderate manner: in all things else he was an able Minister of State without all question, through his knowledge of many tongues, and many sorts of learning, aided by the experience of so many things, seen and managed by him, in the service of so memorable Princes. On the other side it was hard for the chief and prime Lords of *Flanders* to tollerate the Cardinals imperious power. *Orange* and *Egmont* were principally moved hereat, as also Count *Horne*, who was Admiral of the Sea, a man of a fierce and rash nature: he enjoyed the place of Admiralty in *Flanders*; *Orange* the Government of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, together with that of *Burgundy*: and *Egmont* was Governor of the particular Province of *Flanders*, and of *Artois*. These were all three of the Councel of State; and being scandalized to see the continuance of the Cabinet Councel, wherein many things of weighty consequences were resolved on without their acquaintance; they murmured publickly against it in all places.

Was this the reward of their past services and merits? That the King, under the name of the Dutchess of Parma, *should make their Country be governed, and domineered over by the Cardinal* Granville? *that the King did only confide in him, and made him only acquainted with his true intentions? That they were allow'd votes in the Councel, and places in the Provinces, only as* insignificant *cyphers, that the weightiest affairs were treated of in secret, unknown to the Councel; and that such Laws were given to* Flanders *as best liked a stranger, an imperious* Burgundian; *and one of so mean a beginning, as those of his Family would not disdain to serve them. That the Inquisition was chiefly the of-spring of his advice: That he would thus bring in the Government of* Spain *and* Italy *into* Flanders, *and rule over their consciences as well as their persons. That the estates, the honours, nay even the lives of the most innocent amongst them, was expos'd to the rigour of the Inquisition, upon any appearance, any report, how false, how slight soever it was. Let* Spain *and* Italy *groan under such a burthen; the one so infected with the* Moors, *and the other so often over-run by* Barbarians. *That* Flanders *enjoyed the purity of its antient blood, and the moderation of its peculiar Laws. That it had been Catholick thus long of its own will, and would of its own will be so still.*

Orange and the other two spread abroad these complaints, not only amongst the Nobility, but amongst the common people; and 'tis not to be believed what a commotion they begot: For nothing more plausible could be touched upon, then what had respect to the preservation of their publick priviledges, nor more odious then the Inquisition, by which they expected to be every day more and more prejudiced. They forbare not to shew their sences herein to the Regent her self; who set upon on the one side by the absolute decrees of *Spain*, and on the other by the apprehension of so bitter complaints, could do no otherwise but give good answers, and hopes of timely remedy. That which she was most troubled at, was to hear that *Orange* in particular had propounded a Convocation of the States General, as the most efficatious remedy which could be apply'd to the evils in matter of Religion, which at that time threatned *Flanders*. He seemed to propound this out of his zeal to the love of Religion, and of the King: saying, that thus, by the opinion of all the Provinces, the Inquisition might either be moderated, or wholly suppress't, by the applying of some more moderate remedy in the lieu thereof, and which ulted with the satisfaction of the Country, might be altogether as efficatious.

This advice could not be well received from *Orange*, who was esteemed mighty ambitious, and very crafty. It was rather thought he endeavoured thus anticipately to work upon the peoples inclination, to the end that he might afterwards rule this publick Assembly when it should be called, according to his own will, and his own ends. The Cardinal did not let slip these occasions to raise the greater jealousies in the King, of *Orange* and the rest, who seemed to contrary him, and detracted from his actions. He shew'd,

'How much such a Convocation would redound to the Kings prejudice; and 'how that the meeting of this Assembly was to be shun'd at all times as much as 'might be; which coming the better to the knowledge of its power by its union,

'endeavoured

endeavoured alwayes to lessen the Princes Authority and Prerogative, and to advance their own. But of how much greater danger would this be at such a conjuncture of time, wherein such a preparation of peccant humors were seen to be in all the degrees of the Country? So as it was to be held for certain that the Abbots would appear discontented, the meaner sort of Gentry would be wrought upon by the greater; and the common People, of themselves alwayes greedy of Novelty, would much more willingly obey their Deputies, and the rest of esteem amongst them of their own degree, then the King, the Regent, or any other of the Kings Officers. That therefore the King was not by any means to admit of such an Assembly; but that it was better to temporize a while between rigor and mildness, till this inclination to Innovation should passe over; it being to be hoped for that *Orange* and the rest would never endeavor it, when they should see no hopes of bringing it to passe.

The King would have been averse enough of himself from the calling together of the States General, for these very reasons which he himself very well knew: but the Letters which *Granville* writ to him to this purpose, and which were fully confirmed by the Regent, made him be much more so: inasmuch as the King perceiving him more and more in the execution of the Edicts against the Hereticks, renued his orders therein often to the Regent; and by her the Commissions were reiterated in the Provinces: where the Magistrates meeting every day with greater difficulties in making them be executed, saw their Authority often times scorned and derided. Heresie had by this time got too deep rooting, and still corrupting the peoples minds more and more by the alluring liberty of her Tenets, had begun to beget in them an open alienation from their due obedience to the Lawes and Magistrates: contrary to publike orders, papers were every day given abroad by the Hereticks, first in writing, and then in Print; first in matters onely which concern'd conscience; and then in such things as might make the people the more fear to see the form of Government altered to their prejudice. On the part of *France*, these pernitious practises were managed in the *Walloon* Provinces; under which name are comprehended those Provinces of *Flanders*, which are situated towards *France*; and wherein there is great commerce of wine, and other Merchandize, with that Kingdom; and especially in the two Cities of *Tourney*, and *Valenciennes*. On the side of *Germany*, the Hereticks fought in like manner to infect *Friesland*, and all that neighbouring part of the low Countryes within land. But the infection was greater, which was brought both by Sea and Land, into *Holland* and *Zealand* by meanes of the commerce which the Cities in the *Baltick* Sea had in *Amsterdam*, and in *Middleburg*; both of them places of great Traffick; as also in many other towns of great Traffick both in *Holland* and *Zealand*. Great was the commerce of Traffickers likewise into both those Provinces from *England*. And Hereticall Ministers entring on all sides, under the profession of Merchants, they accompanied their seditious writings, with words of mouth yet more seditious; reproving the Flemish in particular of their too much remisness, and patience, in bearing the yoke, which as they said, was laid upon their consciences.

That Germany *had thrown it off long ago, as they might see; even against the forces of* Charls *the fifth: that* England *had now happily done the like: and that the reformed Religion made daily great advancements in* France; *that they might then know their own power, and how to make use of it; that the Regent was a woman, wholly in their power:* Granville *a forreiner, and hated by the Country: that the King was far off, and but little hopes of his ever returning thither in person: and to what end did the disarmed Authority of the Princes serve, but to make them be the more scorned and lesse feared.*

The Heretical Ministers, and other Sectaries fill'd the ears, and mindes of the Flemish in all parts with these conceits, which infused impiety and sedition. And in concourse of time it was discovered, that *Orange* held intelligence particularly with the Admirall of *France*: which was contracted upon the occasion he had of entertaining himself in *France* with *Henry* the second, as one of the hostages of *Philip* the second, in performance of the Peace of *Cambray*, as hath been said: and time produced at last, that *Orange* took for his fourth and last wife a daugh-

ter

ter of the same Admirals (though the Admirall was then dead) as shall be said in its due place. This correspondency in endeavours between them was easily contracted by the similitude of their natures. For both of them were very Ambitious and Fraudulent; and did equally endeavour to advance their own private Fortunes by the publike ruine. In fine, in the opinion of all men the one was born to be the cause of *France's* misfortunes, the other of the calamities of *Flanders*. And both of them by their Tragical ends, shewed what punishment is reserved for those, who losing all respects either of Lawes or God, do erect their Altars here below to Ambition, and impiety; and to the Idols of other immoderate and blinde Humane passions. The Kingdom of *France* was at this time involved in great troubles. *Francis* the second was dead: whom *Charls* the ninth, succeeded at the age of ten years. *Catherine* of *Medicis*, mother to them both, retained the chief place in Government in *Charls* his time as well as she had done in his Brothers, who not able to sustain it but by intreaty, or prayer, was forced to devide it sometimes with the Catholikes, sometime with the *Hugonots*. But still in danger of the Ambitious designes, which was discovered in both the parties. *France* was never agitated with greater Tempests then these. And the *Hugonot* faction prevailing then continually more in the Kingdom, 'tis no wonder if the Hereticks took the boldness to foment the evils from that part, which were a hatching in *Flanders*, expecting that by the conjuncture of times and actions, they might come from secret fomenting, to open conspiracy. Amidst so many forreine Plots, and home difficulties, the Regent was every day more straitened in matter of Religion. On the one side *Granville* encouraged her to have the Edicts executed; one the others side, the Governours of the Provinces desired to be excused; shewing that the number of the Hereticks was already too great; and that in many places the Magistrates themselves were infected with Heresie. It was known notwithstanding that they did not what they might have done; were it either that they desired some dishonour and shame might redound to *Granville* from such disorders, who had the chief stroke in Government; or that the King should be the more inforced to seek for remedy therein by their means. They continued their former complaints against *Granville*; and discovered an apparent hatred and scorn of him: as was particularly seen upon a certain occasion, which was thus. At a certain Feast there hapned to be, Count *Egmont*, the Marques of *Berghen*, (who was likewise one of the chief Lords of the Country, and Governour of *Henault*) and Min Here *Montigni*, Brother to Count *Horne*, and divers other of their Friends: where a discourse hapned (were it casuall, or premeditated) upon the Liveries which the Pages and foot-men of the Lords and other chiefest of the Court wore: here one of them rising up, said, Why doe we not all make one and the same Livery, which by the similitude of our colours, may denote the conformity of our mindes? the proposition was instantly entertained, and lots being drawn, who should chuse the Livery, it fell to *Egmont*; and he chose one with a certain Odde Coule, or Hood, which in *Flanders* are Buffonelike, and are wont to be put on the heads of Fools or Jesters. Many others of the Court presently took up this livery; and for divers dayes there was no other work done in *Brussels*. The *Dutchesse* was hereat offended; for none doubted but that this habit had relation to the Cardinals habit; and that this was done in derision of him. Besides, it might be feared, that this might be the beginning of a league, and union within the Court, which might soon spread abroad throughout the whole Country to the great prejudice of the King. The Dutchess laid this particularly to *Egmonts* charge; who excused it, as a thing which had hapned casually, and without any intention of offending the Cardinal, and much lesse, of proving prejudicial to the Kings service. They then left off their Coule and took for their common impresa, a bundoll of Arrowes tide up together; which was an impresa often used in the Kings coyn. They would have it beleeved that this signified their joynt union in the Kings service; but it was generally thought, that this union had for its end, the defence of publike Priviledges, and their conformable sense to conspire unanimously against *Granville*; nor was it long ere this conspiracie broke forth: for people growing still more haughty, not being able to discend to dissimulation, as neither was the Cardinal on his

his behalf, nor yet to any ſort of going leſſe, eſpecially when he ſaw himſelf ſo bitterly provoked; *Orange*, *Egmont*, and *Horn*, together with divers others, combined joyntly together againſt him; and theſe three in particular, reſolved to write a letter to the King; which was to this purpoſe.

How great our devotions have alwayes been to your Majeſties ſervice in theſe parts, we beleeve may be ſufficiently known, both by our ſo faithfull ſervice to your Majeſtie, and by thoſe favours which in lein thereof you have upon all occaſions ſo graciouſly confer'd upon each of us. The ſame zeal makes us now perhaps tranſgreſſe the rules of reverence, that we may not prove faulty in thoſe of Loyalty. Your Majeſty, at your departure left the Government of theſe Provinces in the Dutcheſs of Parma; *ſo vertuous a Princeſs as ſhe hath fully anſwered the applauſe of ſo worthy a choice. It was beleeved that the Biſhop of* Arras, *now Cardinal, was left with her to Councell and adviſe her, and not to be Arbitrer in the Government: but he arrogating unto himſelf the abſolute diſpoſall of all things, and leaving nothing of Regent to the Dutcheſs but the bare name, diſpoſes of theſe Provinces, as he would do of his own private houſe. He orders all things as he pleaſes; he handles and reſolves the weightieſt affairs without the knowledge of the Councell of State: and doth this ſo imperiouſly, and with ſuch contempt of all the Nobility, as the manner is more odious then the thing it ſelf. If the evils which inſue from hence did terminate in our own private offences, we might at laſt reſolve to bear with them; but experience doth ſhew daily more and more, that this maladie is already become Publike; and that not ſtopping in the Court, it paſſes, and breakes out into the Provinces, with great danger that the effects will ſtill prove worſe. As long as Cardinal* Granville *ſhall tarry in* Flanders, *ſo long will theſe inconviencies and diſorders increaſe; and becauſe they may perchance in time arrive at ſuch a height, that it will be too late to remove him from hence; We therefore have thought it ſuited with the obligation which the Candor of our fidelitie, and the condition of our ſeverall imployments impoſeth upon us to acquaint your Maieſty with what hath been ſaid, to the end that you may apply ſuch remedy as is neceſſary: which certainly conſiſts in taking the Cardinal from* Flanders, *as ſoon as may be. Thoſe who are here of the beſt ſort, and generally all the reſt of the Provinces are of our opinion; in which let not the Cardinal boaſt himſelf that he deſires the integrity of the Catholike Religion more then we; for we may rather juſtly glory, that had it not been for us the Worſhip thereof would have been much more damnified, and diminiſhed in them.*

This was written in *March* 1563 thoſe who writ it, knew very well, that the Cardinal did nothing but by expreſs command from the King; and therefore to blame him, was thorough him to blame the King; the King forbore from anſwering them ſome months; and at laſt, with ſuch brevity and ſtate as became a King, he anſwered thus.

'I am glad that I can attribute all that which you all three have written touch-
'ing Cardinal *Granville*, to the particular reſpect of my ſervice. I commend
'your zeal, and am well pleaſed with your carriage. But on the other ſide, I do
'not uſe for any complaint made by others, to bereave any Officer of mine of
'his imployment, without hearing him ſpeak for himſelf. Moreover, it is fitting
'in buſineſs of this nature, to come from generalities to particular offences; to
'the end that if the accuſed cannot juſtifie himſelf, his puniſhment may be the
'greater. But becauſe theſe are things which peradventure may better be diſcuſt
'by word of mouth then by Letters, I think it beſt that ſome one of you to that
'purpoſe, come over to me in perſon; with aſſurance of being here by me, both
'willingly heard, and honourably received.

Orange and the reſt were much confuſed at this Letter: they were not therewithall ſatisfied; but being the more incenſed, they writ again unto the King, a longer Letter, complaining that after ſo long a delay, the King ſeemed ſo much to ſlight their endeavours. They ſaid in that Letter,

That they had not ſubſcribed themſelves in their former Letter, as the Cardinals accuſers, but as his Majeſties Councellers; and therefore bound to acquaint him with that which they conceiv'd made moſt for his ſervice; that they did not deſire the Cardinal ſhould be any ways damnified by their means; but did rather wiſh him all encreaſe of honour and employment, ſo as it were out of Flanders; *that his being in* Flanders

did

did too much harm, for the reaſons they had formerly alleadged, which were ſo known, as they needed no further proof. For what remained, they did not put ſo great a value upon the Cardinal, as that any of them ſhould come into Spain *upon his ſcore. And ſince the King did ſo little believe them, they deſired he would be pleaſed that from hence-forward they might forbear coming to the Councel; where they could no longer either ſerve the King, or do themſelves any honour.*

This in ſhort was the contents of the ſecond Letter. To which the King after a while did alſo anſwer, to this effect.

'That he would conſider of what was beſt to be done concerning the Cardinals 'perſon; that in the mean time they ſhould continue to do him that ſervice which 'he expected at their hands, as well in the Councel, as in their other employ-'ments, for which they were to expect from him by way of recompence, all grate-'full acknowledgement.'

There paſt little leſs then a whole year in the intercourſe of theſe Letters; but *Orange*, *Egmont*, and the reſt, continuing ſtill their boldneſs, and knowing that there was little good to be hoped for from *Spain*, touching *Granvilles* removal from *Flanders*, they reſolved to put ſuch ſcorn upon him, and ſo to deſpiſe him, as he himſelf ſhould deſire to be gone from thence. They treated little with him: they ſeldom appeared in Councel; they termed ſuch as adhered therein to him, Cardinaliſts: in their meetings, at their feaſts, and almoſt at all times and in all places, they mockt and laught at him: and there wanted not ſome of them who affirmed that the ſpeedieſt way of ridding *Flanders* of him, was to rid him of his life. So as the Cardinal being reduced to thoſe terms, as that he could not ſerve the King to any purpoſe in thoſe parts, nor ſtay there with ſafety to his own life; he himſelf at laſt craved leave of the King to be gone. Who agitated awhile between the neceſſity of granting his requeſt, and his own dignity in denying it, reſolved at laſt to give way thereunto, ſince he could now put on no more vigorous reſolutions. But this injury remained notwithſtanding, deeply imprinted in his mind: which he reſented upon other occaſions, as we ſhall hereafter ſee. The Cardinal *Granville* went then from *Flanders* in *March* 1564. and going firſt into *Burgundy* about his Domeſtical affairs, he was afterwards ſent for by the King with much honour into *Spain*; and was there made one of the Councel of State, and employed in the moſt weighty affairs of that Crown. Many were of opinion that the Dutcheſs was not much troubled to ſee *Granville* gone, as one who was upheld by the King in too great Authority with her. Yet the truer opinion was, that ſhe was very much grieved to be deprived of ſuch a man, and one ſo well experienced in the affairs of *Flanders*. To boot that upon any ſiniſter events, (whereof many, and of very great moment did enſue after his departure) he might have juſtified her behaviour therein unto the King, and have eaſily freed her from thoſe accuſations, which were afterwards, often laid unto her charge in the Councel in *Spain*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO*.

BOOK II.

The Contents.

The Nobility are glad at Granvilles *departure. Factions in the Councel of State. The Regent makes the Councel of* Trent *be received;* Orange *opposeth it, and shews an unquiet disposition. Heresie begins to appear bare-faced in* Flanders. *The Inquisition still more detested.* Egmont *goes into* Spain. *The King persists in his former resolutions.* Egmont *returns, and the Country is distasted. The Nobility do in particular conspire, and form an Instrument in writing, by the name of Compromise or Covenant. Some of the chiefest meet together at* Breda, *a Town belonging to the Prince of* Orange. *The Dutchess grows very apprehensive of these proceedings. She understands that a great many of the Nobility meet together, to present her with a Petition; she endeavours, but in vain to hinder the delivery of it.* Brederodes *Oration to his other Companions. They present the Petition. They take upon them the name of Beggers. And why they do so. The Marquis of* Berghen *and Monsieur* Montigni *are sent into* Spain; *and are not admitted of by the King. The practise and profession of heresie is publickly introduced in* Flanders. *The Nobilities audaciousness in defending it. Their assembling together at* Getrinberg. *The Regent endeavours to satisfie them. And is at last inforced to take away all manner of Inquisition. The hereticks and unquiet people are hereby encouraged. From whence they come to open violencies against the Churches.*

WHen Cardinal *Granville* was gone from *Flanders*, occasion of complaining did rather cease in *Orange* and the rest, then a will to complain. And therefore seeming very well satisfied with this the Kings resolution, they made publick demonstrations of joy in all places.

That now the Country was freed of him who sought to oppress it; The Councel left in its former dignity; and the Regent her self in the reputation which was due to her in the Government: That Flanders *had not a sorer enemy then the Cardinal; nor the Nobility a more malitious interpreter of their actions to the King. Let him in Gods name, carry that pride and arrogancy which he so much joy'd in, somewhere else; and*

let him exalt himſelf, where either the obſcurity of his birth was not known, or where the ſplendor of others was leſs eſtemed of.

They accompanied the Cardinals departure with theſe words, full of bitterneſs, not yet ſatisfied with the hatred, which whilſt preſent, they had in ſo many ſorts ſhewed towards him. On the other ſide they ſhewed all due obſervancy to the Regent; they never intermitted coming to Councel; neither did they let ſlip any other occaſion by which they might reconcile her unto them, and make her their protector unto the King. We told you before, that the Preſident *Vighlio*, and *Barlemont* did ſide with the Cardinal in all things in Councel; he had made the King have a great good opinion of their fidelity and wiſdom, as alſo the Councel of *Spain*; ſo as when the Cardinal was gone, 'twas ſoon ſeen that the Regent confided more in theſe two in many reſolutions, then in all the reſt: and 'twas eaſily to be judged that ſhe had Orders from the King ſo to do; and that though the Cardinal was gone, yet his Councels remained ſtill in *Flanders*. *Vighlio* was an upright man, and no leſs pious in matters of Religion, then faithfull in what concern'd the King. And where it was needfull, he oppoſed the ambition and arrogancy of great ones, more then became his condition. Succeeding then in *Granvilles* ſence, and encouraged thereunto by the eſteem which was put upon his Councels in *Spain*, he forbore not to put the Regent in mind,

'How little cauſe ſhe had to confide in thoſe great ones; who having no other 'end then to make themſelves every day greater, could not receive any addition 'to their Authority, which tended not to the diminution of the Regal power. 'That their eyes were now upon *France*; and by the example of thoſe Contrivers 'of Innovations, they would introduce the ſame troubles and Faction into *Flan-'ders*, that they might afterwards fall out within themſelves, who ſhould have the 'greateſt ſhare of their Country, when they had made a prey of her. Was there 'any doubt but that all thoſe pretences were falſe which they had made uſe of to 'remove *Granville* from *Flanders*? How had he offended them? unleſs they 'would eſteem themſelves injured by the ſervice which he had done the King, 'and which with ſuch loyalty and conſtancie of mind he had alwayes endea-'voured to ſuſtain, not regarding their complaint nor threats? That ſhe would 'be ſoon enough aware of this: For one pretence failing, they would raiſe up 'others; and after having warred againſt the Kings Miniſters of State, they 'would bare-faced make war againſt the King himſelf. This ſpeech of *Vighlio's* proved a propheſie; ſo fully was it confirmed by the event. Nor was it long ere (juſt as he had foretold) *Orange* and the reſt took up new occaſion of Complaints, in a buſineſs which fell out in Religion; and 'twas this. The Councel of *Trent* was already publiſhed; and the controverſies which aroſe between the Catholicks and Hereticks in matter of religion, were truly determined by that divine Oracle of the Church; neither had her ſacred Decrees brought forth leſs fruit, in the reformation of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Of all the Princes of Chriſtendom, the King of *Spain* had made it his particular care to ſee that Councel take good effect. He was alwayes fixed and unalterable, not to admit of any Religion in his Kingdoms and States but the Catholike profeſſion: For his Territories being ſo far divided one from another, he thought that they might be the eaſilier united in their obedience under him, by the bond of an uniform zeal which might equally faſten them in their devotion to the Church. The Councel then being ended, the King was reſolved for what concerned his Temporal authority, that the Decrees made thereby ſhould be obſerved in all his Dominions; and therefore had given ſuch orders as were needfull, to the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, to make them be received and obſerved in *Flanders*. She propounded this to the Councel of State; and there wanted not ſome who preſently oppoſed the propoſition. They ſaid,

That the Councel was in many things contrary to the priviledges of the Provinces; that the Eccleſiaſtical government would be too much advantaged thereby; that the ſtrictneſs thereof did too much oppoſe the liberty of the Country; and that the Catholike Princes of Germany *had refuſed to receive it, and that the ſame contrarieties appeared to be in* France.

Orange in particular moved theſe oppoſitions: Though it was not true that any

evil

evil could redound to the Country by the Councel, as experience did afterwards shew. But he did this, that he might not let slip any occasion in shewing himself zealous in whatsoever might appeare serviceable for the common good of the *Flemish*. To boot, that it was already begun to be feared that these might proceed from some corruption in him in point of religion. He had already two years ago married for his second wife, *Anne*, daughter to *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*, a woman who was an Heretick: whereat the King was displeased, neither was the Regent nor Cardinal *Granville* well pleased thereat. Bringing her afterwards to *Brussels*, he gave way that not only she, but many others under colour of belonging to her family, had the exercise of the Lutheran religion used amongst them: So as the ceremonies thereof were observed in his house; and his wife had with her some of her sisters of the same sect. *Orange* excused himself herein, by reason of the Liberty of Conscience which was enjoyed in *Germany*, and by his being obliged so to doe in his conditions of marriage. But whatsoever his opinion was then in point of Religion, it was thought that he had willingly allied himself to a Prince so considerable in *Germany*, to the end that he might get new adherences in those parts, and thereby advantage or aggrandise himself upon any occasion that might arise. He therefore under the abovesaid pretences did oppose the introducing of the Councel more then any other: And being egg'd on by Ambition, and by those ends which till then he had secretly hatched in his mind; not stopping at those difficulties which arose of Religion, he propounded many other things by way of Reformation of Government: under pretence of doing the King service, and of the good which would thereby redound unto the Country. 'He proposed 'how that it would be much better, to have all things discust in the Councell of 'State, which were now severally agitated in the Cabinet Councell, and Councel 'of the Treasurie. He said that many times the results of one Councel did thwart 'those of another; and that by reason of the affairs being thus divided, they 'were usually spun out into much length, and great difficulties were occasioned. 'That the Councel of State being esteemed the chiefest, it was as the eye of the 'Prince, which watched over the common good of his people; that therefore the 'Government thereof should be answerable to its dignitie. That notwithstanding, 'not to ingrosse the whole body of business into the Counsel of State, a deputa-'tion might be made to some inferior officers who might discuss the more com-'mon affairs of the two other Councels; and that these of greatest importance 'being thus united, and choice being made of the ablest Councellors to manage 'them, the expedition would doubtlesly be much greater, and the profit much 'more. But all the rest of the Councel did not agree in this; *Egmont*, though he was oft times drawn to be of *Orange* his opinion, through the advantage which the subtile craft of the one had over the others more open nature, seemed not to approve of these innovations touching the Councels; and in the business of the Councel of *Trent*, he said; that it was a business to be maturelty considered upon; to the end that the Kings orders therein might be effected, so as might give best satisfaction to the Provinces. But *Veghlio* was for the present putting of the Councel in Execution. He said;

That the Church in all ages had endeavoured by the way of Councels to preserve the Purity of her decrees, and the order of her Discipline. And how salutiferous would such a remedy be in particular to those evils wherewith Flanders *did at the present labour, and which did still threaten her more and more? that if the Councel could any wise prejudice the priviledges of the Provinces, some accomodation might be thought upon therein. For what remain'd, that the King ought to boast and glory himself that he had not either the same necessity or the same sence as other Princes had; and that his was so conformable to that of the Church, and grounded upon such reasons which did so well unite Wisdom and Piety together.* Neither did he lesse oppose *Orange* his proposition touching the reducing the three above said Councels into one. Shewing,

'That, that would be, not to order, but to confound businesses; which be-'ing so many and of such weight and labor, might be sufficiently digested 'in each of them apart, that the introducing of those Councels did not 'then begin; but that the use of them was so Ancient, as shewed the good

'use which was made of them, and that therefore they ought not by any means 'to be altered.

And afterward inciting the Regent in secret against *Orange* his ambition, he shewed how dangerous such propositions were to the Kingly Authority, and that of her self. For that the Councel of State would by this means not only be superiour to her Regencie, but to the power of the very King. *Berlaimont* agreed in opinion with the President *Viglius*; and these two, together with some others which they had drawn over to side with them, were by *Orange* and the rest who had shewed themselves enemies to *Granvile*, called by the name of *Cardinalists*. Complaining still that his sence remained in *Flanders*, though not his person: the complaints, and contrarieties of opinions in the Councel did therefore daily increase more and more; and from these disorders the like in the Provinces, where the Edicts met with such difficulties as some of the meaner sort of Hereticks had lately had the boldnes in *Antwerp* to hinder the publike execution of justice which was to have been done upon one of them by burning him in the place appointed thereunto. The like had not long before happened in *Valenciennes*, and the like was feared in *Tourney*: to this was added, that in these and others Cities the Hereticks were heard to sing their vulgar Psalms by night publikely in the streets. And did by day exercise their sects in more then one place; and did almost threaten that they would have the free use thereof by force, since they could not have it by Toleration. The Dutchess wavered between the inconveniencies and dangers which might insue as well by putting the Edicts rigorously into execution, as by giving any the least connivencie to the exercise of Heresie; she therefore thought good that Count *Egmont* should go to *Spain*, to inform the King fully by word of mouth, of all the occurrences of *Flanders*, and in particular of those which had respect to Religion: and to solicit such remedies as should be thought most fit. The Councel approved of his going, and because in the informations which were given unto the Count of those things which he was to say in *Spain*, *Orange* thought that the disorders which were already risen, and which yet were to be feared in matter of Heresie, were not represented in such manner as they ought to be: he spake, as much concern'd, or very feelingly therein; reflecting particularly upon *Viglius* who was to draw up the instructions.

This (said he) *is either to deceive our selves, or the King, in going about to lessen those evils, which are so much greater then the Relation which is now to be sent, makes them appear to be. Let the King know the bottom of our evils, to the end that he may the better know them, and know how the more easily to cure them. Let us not conceal how great the number of hereticks are here almost in all our Provinces; how little they do already value his Edicts: how small respect they bear to the Magistrates: and let it be concluded that* Flanders *is not capable of the Inquisition. And that to continue it, would be a greater evil then the mallady it self. I am* (said he) *a good Catholick, and a faithfull servant of the Kings; but the deplorable examples of* Germany *and* France, *do sufficiently prove, that conscience will be perswaded, not enforced; and that heresie ought not to be suddenly allay'd by violence, since it may sooner be quenched by fair means.*

He put them in mind again of the difficulties of the Councel of *Trent*, and what he had propounded touching the reforming of the Councels; upon which things he did much expatiate himself with great fervency. But the Dutchess taking Count *Egmont* aside, and giving him such instructions as she thought fittest; dispatched him away for *Spain*, loading him with all those hopes which might more encourage him to the journey, and wishing him for his own sake to carry the business so as might stand best with the Kings liking. The King was well pleased that *Egmont* should come to *Spain*, for he was thought to be of a good and easie nature, when left to himself; and therefore the King hoped to draw him the easilier over to his sense, by favours which he would confer upon him. And that having won him, who was so much beloved in *Flanders*, the others would either forbear novelties, or being divided amongst themselves, they should not at least so easily put them in execution. *Egmont* began his journey in the beginning of the year 1565. and when he came to *Madrid*, he was honourably received by the King and the whole Court. But as for the business, he prevailed

no more then the former endeavours, and complaints about the Inquisition and Edicts against the Heretickes had done. The King was firmly setled in his first resolution, of not giving any the least toleration at all therein: and he, as also the whole Councel of *Spain*, was as firmly perswaded, that the mischiefs of *Flanders* in matter of Religion, were chiefly occasioned by the weakness and connivency of those who were trusted with seeing the Edicts executed. The King was displeased with the Propositions touching the alteration of the Councels; as arguments of ambitious and unquiet thoughts, which still appeared more in *Orange*: Nor would have any thing spoken thereof, nor listen to any opposition that was made to the Councel of Trent. He notwithstanding dispatcht *Egmont* away in a very benigne manner, and full of hopes that he himself would follow speedily after him, to *Flanders* in person, to see the better to the affairs of those Provinces. He did him many favours; and in particular presented him 50000 *Dutch* Guelders, and promised he would help to see his daughters (of which *Egmont* had good store) well married, and would take him, and all the interests of his Family, into his particular protection. He therefore returned very well satisfied from the Court of *Spain*, magnifying the Kings goodness, his inclination to the *Flemish*, the favours which he would in particular conferr upon the Nobility; and his firm resolution of coming quickly into *Flanders*. But *Orange* seeming little to believe what *Egmont* said, and not trusting to the hope which he so amplified, told him upon a time in the presence of many, by way of sharp derision,

'That he little understood the *Spaniards* cunning: and that suffering himself 'to be deluded by his own privat advantages, he had not well minded the Countrys 'publick welfare, whilst he was in *Spain*.

At the same time that *Egmont* returned from *Spain*, *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, and son to the Regent, came likewise from thence to *Flanders*, by reason of the marriage which was concluded between him and the Princess *Mary*, of the blood Royal of *Portugal*. This *Alexander* is he who afterward governed the Low-Countreys so gallantly for the space of 15 years, and who by his so many illustrious actions will enrich this our History, if God permit me life to finish it, and a suitable vigour to my pen. His marriage was to be celebrated in *Flanders*; and not long after *Peter Ernestus*, Count *Mansfield*, Governor of *Lucemberg*, went by sea, together with his wife, and a noble and numerous attendance, to conduct his Bride from those parts. And after a dangerous voyage, having at last brought her safely to *Brussels*, the marriage was there solemnized; to the which *Octavius Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*, came from *Italy* to honour his son, and see the Regent his wife. But to return to the affairs treated of by *Egmont* in *Spain*. The Regent thought it fit, that he himself should make relation thereof in the Councel of State. The Councels opinion was, that a conference should be had in *Brussels* of some Bishops, some Divines, and some Lawyers, who might consider how the Kings Orders in the aforesaid matters of Religion, and wherein was so much difficulty, might best be effected. To this end the Regent sent for the Bishops of *Arras*, of *Ipri*, and *Namures*, who had intervened at the Councel of *Trent*: For *Ravenstain*, and *Jansene*, two of the most esteemed Divines which were then in those parts; for two Presidents of the Provincial Councels of *Flanders* and *Utrecht*, together with two Councellers, the one of *Malines*, the other of *Brabant*. The result of this conference was,

That all possible care should be taken to preserve the true Catholick Doctrine throughout the whole Country: That to this purpose Seminaries should be instituted in Cities, and Schools in other places: That it should be endeavoured to reduce all Ecclesiastical persons to convenient reformation. And lastly, it was judged, that touching the punishment of Hereticks, the necessity of the times were such, as for the present, moderation was rather to be therein used then rigor: since it was seen that the severity of punishment made them still more mad and pertenacious.

The Dutchess acquainted the King at large with all that was treated of in this Conference, by her Letters of July the same year 1565. to the which the King answered, by a new and express Declaration,

'That he would not forgoe what he had already so maturely resolved on con-'cerning his Edicts, the Inquisition, the Councel of *Trent*, and other things 'which

'which concerned Religion. He seemed much incenst that disputes should be still 'had about such businesses: and complain'd that the disorder of the Heretick was 'occasioned and increased through the too great connivencie of his Officers: that 'if any of them were wanting either in courage, or in zeal, the Regent should 'change them and should consider that the dangers were not so great which might 'be feared from observing the Edicts, and from so moderate a use of the inquisiti-'on, but that those were much greater, which would insue by leaving Heresie, 'and the wilde boldness of her Sectaries, without such a curb. He concluded, 'that the Regent could do him no such acceptable service, as to endeavour by all 'possible means the maintaining of *Flanders* united in the Catholike Religion to 'his other Kingdoms: since by rendering this obedience to the Church, the obe-'dience which was due to his Crown was the better established, and that when 'these two obediences should be given, he would in all things else, not onely 'make *Flanders* enjoy her Priviledges, but confer greater immunities upon her.

These so strict commands being come to the Regent from *Spain*, she suddenly published a new Edict against the Hereticks in confirmation of the former; she writ herein apart to the Councels, and Governours of the Provinces. And deputed certain persons in each of them, who were to give her an account every three moneths of the State of Religion, and particularly what observance was given to the Councel of *Trent*.

It was generally hoped for in *Flanders*, upon *Egmonts* going into *Spain*, that the King would have moderated the Edicts, and wholly have suppressed the inquisition. So as when the contrary appear'd, and that the rigor of the Edicts was rather augmented, & that the inquisition, so much abhor'd by them, was establisht, it cannot be said how much the People were hereat inraged: and what preparations were suddenly made for the ensuing troubles. The fear of the inquisition being by this new Edict every where diffused, and the terror thereof being by many artificiously encreased, some grew so bold as to give a beginning to a confederacy, whereby they straitly bound themselves to keep united together, and to oppose the inquisition as much as they might. *Philip Marnissius*, Lord of Saint *Aldigonde*, was reputed the Author hereof; who was a bold man, and who already began to think ill of the Catholike Religion, and was alwayes afterwards one of the most obstinate of the Heretick Faction. A particular writing was then drawn up in testimony of the aforesaid confederacy, and was suddenly subscribed by many. And in respect of the reciprocal promises therein contained, it was called a Compremise, or Covenant; the Tenor whereof was,

That the King being abused by some few under the pretence of Religion, who were more sway'd by Ambition, Avarice, and infidelity, then by honesty, Justice, or the love of their Country, would by all means establish the Spanish inquisition in Spain; *the use whereof, and the calamities which would thereupon insue, were set down in the most fearfull terms that could be devised: 'twas added, that the care of remedying such evils belonged chiefly to the Nobilitie; and that the best remedy was, to joyn all in one sense, not to admit of the inquisition in any manner whatsoever: 'twas shew'd how that the same intention would be had throughout the whole Country, such a novelty being too pernitious to all men, and did too much repugne the publike Priviledges: and in fine, the confederates engaged themselves each to other by oath, never to seperate, or ever to admit of the use of the inquisition, under whatsoever name either of visitation, commission, or Edict. They cal'd God to be a witness of their good intentions, and invoked the Holy Ghost to bring their endeavours to a happy end.*

This is the Compremise, Arbitrement, or Covenant which is so much written of by all those who relate the affairs of *Flanders*. And this proved the first sparkle of that fire, which did afterwards involve, and doth to this day keep all the Provinces in so long, and so bitter a War. The above said writing was suddenly disperst abroad throughout the whole Country: for the first confederates dividing themselves into the chiefest Cities, and all possible diligence and cunning to make it be subscribed by as many as they could. They gave out, that all this was done by the Agreement of the persons of best quality in all the Provinces; and that *Orange*, *Egmont*, the Marquess of *Bergben*, and divers others of the prime nobilitie, were the Authors thereof, though they would not yet discover them-

themſelves; to the end they might do it hereafter to better purpoſe. Thus Catholicks and Hereticks, the Nobles and Citizens, Merchants and Plebeians; and many others of all conditions and profeſſions, ſtrive who ſhall run faſteſt to ſubſcribe. The confederacy is praiſed, and received with great applauſe: In their cups, and at their meat, great is the ardor which is ſeen in every one to embrace it. Down goes the Inquiſition; the miſchief ſuddenly grows greater; the venome whereof doth not now creep in, but like a Torrent, overflowes and enlargeth it ſelf every where. Of ſuch force is inraged fear with mortals; and ſo much more doth apprehended evill ſometimes prevail, then the evil would do were it effected. At the ſame time many ſeditious papers were ſcattered about in the Cities of greateſt commerce, whereby the apprehenſion of the Inquiſition was endeavoured to be augmented in the people. In particular it was given out, that *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, was ſhortly to come with ſome *Alman* Forces to aſſiſt the Inquiſitors. That to this purpoſe requiſite moneys were ſent from *Spain*; that the King ſent ſome Inquiſitors of the very *Spaniſh* Nation; and that already one *Alonzo del Canto* was in *Flanders* to this purpoſe. The Dutcheſs of *Parma* was exceedingly troubled to ſee this: and the more ſhe thought, the leſs ſhe knew what to do: ſhe ſaw how needfull rigor would be; but on the other ſide, ſhe could not exerciſe it without Forces.

What good was there to be expected from new Order, or new Edicts, unleſs it were to make her authority the leſs eſteemed, and the peoples boldneſs the greater in deſpiſing her.

The Regent being thus perplext, and not knowing yet for certain whether the chiefeſt Lords had joyned in ſubſcribing to this Compremiſe, or no; ſhe was advertiſed that many of them were at the preſent with *Orange* in *Breda*, a Town of his, together with divers other perſonages of quality. The appearing occaſion of their meeting was to viſit the Count of *Zwarſenburg*, who had married a ſiſter of the Prince of *Orange*, and who was then upon his departure for *Germany*. With *Orange*, was Count *Lodovick*, (a brother of his) a man of a turbulent and fierce Nature. And the reſt of that Aſſembly were the Counts of *Horn*, of *Hoſtrat*, and of *Mega*, together with ſome others of thoſe Noblemen who had ſubſcribed the compremiſe; and becauſe *Egmont* and the Marquis of *Berghen* could not be then at *Breda*, they were invited together with all the above-named, the next day to ſupper in *Hoſtrat*, by the Count thereof. The aforeſaid confederacy was much diſcuſt, firſt in *Breda*, and then in *Hoſtrat*.

At theſe meetings, *Orange*, after many complaints made againſt the Cardinaliſts, ſhewed how that it appertained to them, who were of the Councel of State, and of the Order of the Golden Fleece, to endeavour the remedy of thoſe evils which ſo important a commotion did threaten the Country withall. He ſaid that the number of the confederates was great in all parts; and eſpecially thoſe of the better ſort: and he ſpake as if he approv'd of the confederacie, and as if he endeavoured to draw the reſt of his Colleagues joyntly to embrace it. *Lodovick*, the Brother of *Orange*, agreed with him in all things; who was commonly thought to be an heretick, and was not diſpleaſed to be thought ſo; either for that he really was ſo, and valued not thoſe puniſhments which he did not fear; or for that *Orange* himſelf, for ſome hidden ends of his own, was well enough content to ſee his brother in favour and Authority with the Hereticks. *Egmont* and *Berghen*, did not ſeem to adhere to *Orange* his ſence, and the Count of *Mega* much leſs, who ſpake boldly againſt the raſhneſs of the confederates: *Horn* and *Hoſtrat*, ſuſpended their opinions, and thus the meetings ended, no particular reſolution being taken. The Regent was ſoon acquainted with all theſe proceedings by *Egmont* and *Mega*; who together with *Barlemonte*, and *Vighlio*, encouraged her, and adviſed her to raiſe ſome ſoldiers; to which, neceſſity ſeemed likewiſe to perſwade her, for that it was every day heard how the number of confederates did every where encreaſe, as alſo the ſuſpition that they would attempt ſome novelty: nor did they any longer delay it. When a great number of them were gathered together, they drew near to *Bruſſels*, and deſired the Regent that ſhe would permit them to propound a buſineſs of importance unto her, and which, (as they ſaid) concerned the Kings ſervice, as well as their own good.

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The Councel differed in their opinions, what they ought to adviſe the Regent to do in this point; the manner of the requeſt being conſidered, ſome thought that it was abſolutely to be rejected; others, that only two or three might be permitted to preſent it; but that opinion which was judged moſt neceſſary, pleavailed at laſt, ſince without forces there was nothing elſe to be done: and it was, That all of them ſhould be ſuffered to enter *Bruſſels*, which was coloured over by ſuch of the Councel, as were not diſpleaſed at the action, by alleadging that it was not fitting to exaſperate ſo many of the Nobility, by rejecting their Petition before it was heard: and that they came but to make ſupplication, the moſt deſirable tribute of ſubmiſſion which Princes could receive from their people. Of all the confederates who had as yet ſubſcribed, *Henry* of *Brederode*, Lord of *Viana*, a Town in *Holland*, in which Province he was highly eſteemed for the nobility of his bloud, and for which he was likewiſe much reſpected throughout the whole Country, was acknowledged as the Head, or Chieftain: he was an heretick without diſſimulation, of a troubleſome ſpirit, and more troubleſome tongue, deſirous of novelties, and the more incited thereunto at this time, by his being choſen to be the head of ſo many Nobles. He therefore came into *Bruſſels*, accompanied with a numerous multitude in the beginning of *April* 1566; and was ſoon followed by Count *Lodovick*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, who was likewiſe wel accompanied: as alſo by the Counts of *Collemburg* and *Treſemberg*. Theſe four were then the chief men: their rendezvous at *Bruſſels* was in the Count *Colemburgs* houſe; and therefore that houſe was afterwards razed to the ground in Duke *Alva's* time, in memory of ſo execrable an exceſſe: their numbers are diverſly ſpoken of. Some will have them to be 200, others 300, others 500. The Dutcheſs had this mean while endeavoured by many expedients, and did ſtill endeavour to bring the confederates to ſome more wholeſome Councels. They therefore fearing leſt ſome of their aſſociates might be thereby wrought upon, *Brederode*, deſirous to appear in the firſt place, and to enjoy it rather by the boldneſs of his advice, then by the prerogative of perſons, ſpoke thus at one of their meetings.

'We have already overcome the worſt (generous Aſſociats) in being met toge-
'ther in ſo great a union from parts ſo far diſtant, and now in ſo great numbers
'here. The Regent cannot any ways deny our juſt deſires. But ſay ſhe ſhould
'do ſo, and ſtill perſiſt in the rigor of the Edicts, and the bitterneſs of the In-
'quiſition, according to the Orders received from *Spain*; which of us is it that
'in ſuch a caſe will not expoſe his eſtate, and life, to free himſelf, his wife, his chil-
'dren, and his Countrey, from ſuch ſore yokes? Let us firſt conſider the conditi-
'on of our evils, and then we ſhall ſee the great juſtice of our deſires. And to
'ſay truth, what more unhappy condition can be imagined, then to have ſo ma-
'ny miſerable creatures under pretence of Hereſie, be continually hurried away
'into the Inquiſition, and there either to die by torments, or be ſtarved in pri-
'ſons; or being out of priſon, to be deprived of their Countrey, and Eſtates,
'and oft-times of life it ſelfe, by the horrrible puniſhment of Fire? What
'greater unhappineſs can there be, then to ſee innocency it ſelf ſo often ſuf-
'fer ſhipwrack in that ſea of Calumnies, for every Argument, for every accuſa-
'tion? Then to ſee ſecrecy baniſht from out houſes, friendſhip from out Ci-
'ties, and to have all Human rights, and rights of Nature violated amongſt ſuch
'as are neereſt ally'd in blood, and in belief? Theſe are the Fruits, theſe the pub-
'lick and privat advantages which the Inquiſition brings with it: And yet we muſt
'eſteem the preſent puniſhments but ſlight, and tolerable, in reſpect of thoſe
'which threaten us in the future. Which of you is unacquainted with the coming
'of *Don Alonzo del Canto*, that new Spaniſh Inquiſitor, into theſe parts? and who
'knows not what cruell and fearfull Orders he brings with him? New priſons
'are already begun to be built, new Irons to be made, and other new ingenious
'inventions of torments, by this Architects deſigning. Gaſtly looks, ſad com-
'plaints, and in fine, the height of calamity will reign in all places: And this ſort
'of ſlavery will then appear to us the harder, by how much we have been accu-
'ſtomed by the Laws of our former government, to the ſweets of Liberty.
'Kings themſelves (I know not whether you know ſo much or no) are liable to

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'the laws of the Inquisition: & oft-times to the great scorn of their Scepters, they 'must undergo the severity of punishment & the superiority of Empire & cómand: 'and what more unworthy case can be heard of, then what befell our Emperour 'of ever happy memory? it affrights me to relate it. That vanquisher of *Europe*, that Monark of new worlds; and he who was more glorious in renouncing 'them, then in possessing them; He, even he was compeld by Orders from the 'Inquisitors, to do publick penance at his return to *Spain*, for having onely treated with the *Lutherans* Hereticks in the wars which he made in *Germany*. Now if 'the dangers of the Inquisition be so many, and if they be so hard to be evaded, 'by the very *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, who are by nature so wary and cautious, 'how shall we *Flemings* ever hope to escape the least part thereof? We, I say, 'whose hearts are with such candor seen in our words? who lead so free, and so 'conversable a life? and who hold it for a particular law of faithfull friendship, 'not to keep any thing concealed one from another, in our balls, feastings, cups, 'and invitations? shall it be imputed as a fault of misbeliefe, if some vain or idle 'word escape our mouths, amidst those our innocent delights? The Inquisition 'will quickly take from us these our contentments: we shall be turn'd Savages in 'our demeanours; and our Cities will at last be turned into Desarts, and our Provinces into solitary habitations: Commerce will be every where destroyed, 'which consists almost wholly in contracting with such forraigners as profess liberty of conscience, and who cannot tolerate so much as the very name of the 'Inquisition. Thus *Flanders* will in a short time fall into ruine and desolation: 'And thus our formerly so fortunate Provinces, will for the future be an example 'of infinite misery to all *Europe*: whereas formerly their felicity hath been envied by all other Countries. By the condition of the evils which I have laid before you, the justice of the desires which we shall make to escape them, will consequently and clearly appear. The King hath sworn to maintain our Countrey 'in her liberties: and what doth more destroy them then doth the Inquisition? 'The King himself hath for a long time been vers'd here in our customes: and 'what is more averse unto them then these his Edicts? The *Spaniards* will introduce the government of *Spain* into *Flanders*; and what greater repugnancy can 'there be, then what is seen between their Laws and ours? between Subjection 'which is there adored, and by all men here so much detested? Kings cannot extend their Laws beyond those of Nature; nay, they are as liable to her Laws, as 'are their subjects. Let *Spain* and *Italy* then retain and enjoy their Inquisition as 'they shall like best, which *Flanders* never received but by force, and from which 'force she is now resolved to free her self. But since 'tis understood that those amongst our selves who partake of the Regents most secret resolutions, and which 'are now more *Spanish* then *Flemish*, endevour to divide us who is he amongst us, 'that will be found faulty in his faith? Faulty in things so solemnly promis'd and 'sworn unto? And finally, faulty to himself, to his blood, to his honor, and to 'the so great danger of his Countrey? God forbid that any such thing should 'be dream'd of, much less seen. Let each of us consider the ancient glory of our '*Belgicke*, and esteem it a good fortune to be able upon this occasion to imitate 'them. The worth of progenitors ought to passe together with their blood, into 'those that descend from them. And the later ought not onely to approve themselves heirs, but even competitors of the former in all glorious actions. I then '(most noble companions) will with all humility lay before the Regent the bitterness of the evils which we undergo, and the necessity of our being relieved 'therein. But if all due respect, obsequy, and reason, shall prevail no more in 'these our present instances, then they have formerly done, what is to be done in 'such a case, but to have recourse to such remedies as desperation useth to suggest 'against violence. I shall for my part be as ready to hazard my life then, as I am 'willing now to use my tongue upó this present occasion. We shal find the greatest 'in the Councel wil agree with our sense, and we shall find their assent to what we 'shall say by their silence. And doubtlesly all the rest of the Countrey wil cheerfully take up such resolutions as we shall do in such a case which cannot be more 'just, since they cannot be more necessary.

Thus did *Brederode* inflame himself and the rest against the inquisition. But it was not true (as hath been often said) that the King intended to introduce a

setled form of the use thereof in *Flanders*. Nor was it true that *Alanson Del Canto*, was come to *Brussels* for any thing concerning the inquisition: and what he affirmed touching the Emperour *Charls* the fifth, was a meer fable rashly invented and beleeved: who accompanying so many of his other excellent vertues with his innate piety, did never treat with the Hereticks in *Germany*, but when necessitated so to do, that he might rid them of their Frenzy, either by the usuall way of their Diets, or by force of Arms in Battel: and for what concerns the inquisition, though the Country were generally averse thereunto, yet there were many of try'd wisdom and zeal, who found in themselves & desired to inform others by the benefit which *Spain* and *Italy* had received thereby, how advantagious it would be to *Flanders* to have a moderate form thereof introduced in her Provinces. They said,

That some little seeming of severity being taken away from the inquisition, there were not in effect any Tribunals lesse severe then hers. Nor whereby more just and Candid wayes the preservation of the Honour and Purity of Faith was endeavoured. That the name and use thereof was to be esteemed most sacred. That if so many temporal Lawes were made in favour of Princes, to keep humane Majesty unharmed; spirituall Lawes were much more to be approved of in favour of the Church; by punishing those who were guilty of high treason against the Majesty of God. That by defending this right which doth so straitly binde the faithfull to God, and to Religion; the other which was due from the people to Princes and their States, was the better sustained. That if Calumny were to give way to truth, as of right it should, it must necessarily be confest that nothing maintained States in the sincerity of Faith more then the inquisition; whereas when Heresie once enters, Factions suddenly arise from Factions, civil Wars: and from civil Wars, Forrein ones inevitably. So as Princes together with their People were suddenly seen to fall into deplorable miseries and calamitie: what unhappy proof may Flanders *fear herein through her own evils? and to how many fatall scenes may* Germany *and* France *serve for a Theatre by reason hereof? nor were the same revolutions and misfortunes lesse in other Countries, where Heresie hath been able to open the Schools of error, and display the Ensignes of Rebellion. That* Spain *and* Italy *this mean while did enjoy a perfect and happy peace; which was the supreme good of mortals, and that which distinguisheth men from beasts, and Cities from wilderness: nor was it to be doubted but that the one and the other of them did not esteem so happy a condition much more from the Catholike unitie, and from the strong holds of the inquisition which defend that unitie, then from the imminence walls of Mountains, and vast ditches of Seas, wherewith they are by nature invironed and walled.*

Thus spoke they in favour of the inquisition who knew more then did the rest, and endeavoured thus to make it be better thought of. The Regent had made use of the same reasons, to the same end, and at the same time, as she had often done formerly, to moderate the violence and the heat of the Nobles who were gathered together in *Brussels*: but their hearts were too much hardned, and their ears deaf, to admit of any reason in this affair. *Brederods* discourse was received with a favourable Hum. And in signe that they would persist more then ever in the resolutions which they had taken, they all cry'd aloud. Heer is a Prayer that proves faultie, hereupon they were admitted to Audience before the Regent, who would have the Councel of State, and those Knights of the golden Fleece who were then in *Brussels*, to be present. The confederates march two by two, from *Culembergs* house, as it were in Procession, to the Regents Palace; and the two last were Count *Lodovick* and *Brederode*. *Brederode* spoke in the name of them all; he first complained of the bad relations which he said were made of them to the King and the Regent: and then added, that the publike necessity of the Country, and their own private urgencies, had inforced them to the kind of Action. He then presented a petition to the Regent in the name of them all, and desired it might be read. The contents were these.

'That infinitly praise worthy was the zeal which first moved the Emperor, and 'then the King to provide for the dangers which might befall the Catholike Re- 'ligion in *Flanders*. That time, which is an un-corrupt Councellor, had made it 'clearly seen, that the remedies which were applied did agravate the evil, that the 'King continuing not withstanding in the same minde, and greater disorders daily 'accruing, The Nobility could no longer contain from representing the danger. 'That they were chiefly concern'd therein both by their prerogative of place,

'and

'and by their ſtrict bond of Allegiance: but that their intereſt did likewiſe 'particularly oblige them thereunto: ſince the Nobles living for the moſt part 'in the Country, and enjoying there their Eſtates, they ſhould be the firſt who 'ſhould be ſencible of the inconveniencies, and experience the injuries, when the 'alterations which were to be feared, ſhould happen: that therefore it was ne-'ceſſary to take away the occaſions, which would inevitable produce ſo bad ef-'fects. That the inquiſition, and Edicts had put the whole Country into com-'motion, and in all places had turn'd patience into deſperation. That therefore 'they did humbly beſeech her Highneſs, that ſhe would as ſoon as might be, 'advertiſe the King of the premiſes by expreſſe Meſſengers, and that in the mean 'time ſhe would ſuſpend the uſe of the former, and moderate the rigor of the 'others: that the neceſſity wherein Religion was concerned might better be 'ſeen into by the States General, and a remedy found out, by their uniform 'conſent. That if in fine it ſhould appear that theſe their humble and devout in-'treaties ſhould no wayes avail, they cal'd God to witneſs, the King, her High-'neſs ſelf, and all the Gentlemen that were there preſent, that they had done 'what upon ſuch an occaſion belonged to good and faithfull ſubjects: and 'that the fault was not to be put upon their account, if peradventure any evil 'ſhould enſue.

The Regents anſwer was,

That ſhe would conſider better upon what they had propounded.

And ſhe afterwards anſwered them in writing thus,

That ſhe would ſend ſome perſonages of purpoſe into Spain, *according to their deſire. That States were grounded upon Laws: And that ſuch Laws were moſt neceſſary, as did moſt favour Religion. That notwithſtanding, for their better ſatisfaction, proceedings ſhould be had therein, with all poſſible moderation: That in the mean time, the Kings mind was to be known; to whom, as ſhe would do them all the good offices ſhe could, ſo ſhe promiſed unto her ſelf, that they would ſhun all manner of novelty in this behalf.*

The Confederates would gladly have received a more direct anſwer to their requeſt of having the Inquiſition ſuſpended, and the rigor of the Edicts moderated. And ſome there were who interpreted the words of the Regents anſwer to the worſt ſenſe. So as they ſeemed not only not to be ſatisfied therewith; but did in bitter terms complain thereof. They this mean while ſhewed their mad pranks in divers manners. One of which was, the aparelling of many of them in one and the ſame colour, near upon the ruſſet, of an ordinary cheap ſtuff, and the ſhewing of themſelves ſo together in company. Upon a certain occaſion, the Regent her ſelf ſaw them; and 'tis reported that *Barlemont*, who was then with her, ſhould ſay unto her,

'Madam, what fear can you have of theſe *Gueux*'. (A *French* word, which in *Engliſh* ſignifies Vagrants, or Beggers.) There are ſome Writers who ſay that *Barlemont* gave them this name when they went to preſent their Petition to the Regent in way of proceſſion; and that this being by them known, they took occaſion thereupon to aparel themſelves, and to appear in manner aforeſaid: and not contented with their bare colour and habit of beggers, they hung ſome upon their hats, ſome about their girdles certain vile and ſordid implements, ſuch as are uſed to be worn by beggers: they had nothing in their mouths but the word *Gueux*; they uſed it in all places, and upon all occaſions, but eſpecially in their cups, and in the freedom they take at meals. This fell out particularly one day when they a great many of them were at a ſolemn invitation, in Count *Colembergs* houſe: where beyond all other vanities, they ſtrove who ſhould moſt celebrate the name of *Gueux*, or beggers. The wine is ply'd, and great goblets goe round: the deſie encreaſes, and they lay hands on veſſels of a very large ſiſe: they break their order of ſitting; one gets upon chairs, another upon tables, and their drink; the fury of drunkeneſs fits them with a thouſand mad vagaries, they crie as every glaſs goes down, *Long live the King Long live the Gueux*. And the whole houſe rung of nothing but this. They had an oath amongſt them likewiſe very ſutable to that place, and that action, in *French* dog-rime, to this purpoſe

By this bread, by this ſalt, and by this Budget,
The Guex will from their Tenets nere budg yet.

nor yet contented herewithall, they wore almoſt all of them as they walked the ſtreets of *Bruſſels*, a certain medal hanging at their girdle, wherein theſe words were written in *French*,

True to the King, even to the Budget.

Thus did they rejoyce, and as it were, triumph in this name of *Guex*; an unfortunate name to *Flanders*, which from that time began to loſe its quiet, and which hath ſince, ſo long, and by ſo many means beg'd it, and could never obtain it. The Petitioners deſires to the Regent conſiſted chiefly in two things: the one, That ſome expreſs perſonages might be ſent into *Spain* to the purpoſe ſpoken of: The other, That in the mean while the Inquiſition, and the rigor of the Edicts, might be forborn in *Flanders*. The Dutcheſs then deſigned to ſend the Marquis of *Berghen*, and the Lord *Montigni*, brother to Count *Horn*, to the Court of *Spain*: both which were propounded by the Petitioners. And for what concernd the ſecond point, ſhe ſent to the Governours of the Provinces, to cauſe a new form of Edict to be propounded in each Province, by which the Inquiſition was ſomewhat moderated, but not ſuſpended; and the like was done in the Edicts; ſeditious papers were this mean while diſperſed about from divers parts, both within and without *Flanders*, by which the Petitioners were ſtill more incited to perſiſt in their demands. They were incouraged in theſe ſeditious papers, by the example of the liberty of the neighbouring Countries, and eſpecially by that of upper *Germany*, with which 'twas affirmed, that divers of the lower Provinces were incorporated; and it was particularly ſuggeſted, that as the former did enjoy the confeſſion of *Auſperg*, ſo ought *Flanders* without all queſtion, to enjoy it. The fire was no longer in burſting out: Whilſt the Edict of moderation was propoſed by the Regent througout the Provinces; whilſt it was doubtfull how they would interpret this, and much more how the King would be pleaſed with it, ſome of the more turbulent ſpirits amongſt the Petitioners, inſtigated by the ſutler ſort, gave out, that the Regent had granted all that was deſired, and in confirmation thereof, a counterfeit writing was given about: This report ran preſently over the whole Country like a Torrent, and did ſo provoke the common people, as that in divers places of the Provinces, the dores were thrown open to the heritick Preachers. They cunningly thought, that thus the King would be by neceſſity induced to grant all their demands. The firſt Sermons were made in the very Province of *Flanders*, and 'twas firſt begun to be done in ſome great Villages, for they feared, leſt if they ſhould do it in Cities, they might be hindred by the Magiſtrates. They forthwith did the like in other Villages in *Brabant*, near *Antwerp*, and ſuddenly the mallady encreaſed every where; ſo as it began to diſperſe it ſelf through the greateſt part of the Provinces.

In the Countrys of *Luxemberg*, *Hennault*, *Artois*, and *Namures*, no novelty at all was made. The Hereticks appeared more licentious about *Tornay*, and *Valentiennes*, then in other parts. And thoſe two Cities ſeemed moſt diſpoſed to receive and favour them. *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, and *Anabaptiſts*, began in troops to divulge their Heriſie: each of them exalted their own ſect: the common people flockt unto, and applauded novelty. Not the moſt learned, but the moſt hair-braind amongſt them, took upon them to preach; and through the blind and moſt monſtruous perſwaſion that every one was able to teach the word of God: the baſer ſort of women had the affrontedneſs to have their ſeveral meetings, if not at preachings, yet at conferences: they went armed where they preached, leſt the Magiſtrates might hinder their meetings. And diſobedience was already manifeſted almoſt every where: So as the Regent thought it not now fit to proceed in the intended Edict, touching the moderation of the others that were already gone out, and touching the Inquiſition; but publiſhed another upon very ſevere penalties, againſt the Preachers, and againſt ſuch as ſhould follow them,

in-

inhibiting all meetings which ſhould be made to this purpoſe. The Regents orders did as then ſome good, in containing the vulgar within Cities, in their duties; yet the ſame licentiouſneſs continued in the Country Villages. The Regent complained of the Governors of the Provinces; and they again of her, ſhewing that to ſide too much with the ſenſe of *Spain*, ſhe had ſuffered the Edicts, and Inquiſition to be ſo far proceeded in.

Had not they foreſeen the evil which was now burſt forth? how oft had they mentioned the remedy? but that more belief was adhibited to Granville, *and after him, to thoſe who in his abſence ſuſtained his faction, and who being looked upon as the moſt faithfull, had proved moſt perfidious to the ſervice of their King and Countrey.*

Such conteſtations as theſe fell out often in the Councel of State, even in the preſence of the Dutcheſs her ſelf: where *Orange*, *Egmont*, & the other Lords who interven'd therein, would with much freedom upbraid *Barlemont*, *Vighlio*, and *Aſſonville*, who was one much imployed by the Regent, and went hand in hand with the other two, with the above ſaid diſorders. the Hereticks did not as yet preach publikely in Cities; and becauſe this was feared dayly more and more, and eſpecially in *Antwerp*, where the danger was thought to be the greateſt, by reaſon of the frequency of people, and the liberty of Commerce which drew a great number of forreign Hereticks thither, the Regent therfore ſent the Count of *Mega* thither to endeavour with the Magiſtrate that he would permit a garriſon to be put in there. But it was impoſſible to effect it, it being alledged to the contrary that it was not expedient to mix ſouldiers with Merchants: this mean while the Marquiſs of *Berghen*, and Monſieur *De Montigni* were arrived in *Spain*, and after having ſtaid there a conſiderable while, could not get audience of the King. It was well known in the Court that they brought with them the ſenſe of the Petitioners, and that they were rather ſent by them, then diſpacht away by the Regent. Yet thinking it was his beſt courſe to diſſemble at the preſent, he writ to the Governours of the Province. 'Shewing how much he relied 'upon them, and exhorting them to provide by all poſſible means, remedies for 'the evils already begun. That his intention was to come himſelf in perſon into '*Flanders*, and that Divers neceſſities of his other Kingdoms had made him de'lay, but not change his former thought therein. That he would by his own pre'preſence, give full ſatisfaction to all the deſires which were made unto him: that 'the tumults in the mean while might be appeaſed; and that particular care might 'be taken that no innovation might be made in matter of Religion.

The Regent writ likewiſe to the chiefeſt of the Petitioners, who were already gone from *Bruſſels*, complaining of too long delay in the demands which they had made. She gave a touch upon the ſuſpition ſhe had of their introducing an Heretical Army; and acquainted them with what ſhe thought neceſſary for the remedying the Novelties which enſued. Yet they, nevertheleſs, little regarding the Regents endeavours, or little truſting what ſhe ſaid, did not onely not ſatisfie her juſt deſires, but with greater contumacy then before, reſolved to aſſemble together again at *Getrinberg*, a town in the Biſhoprick of *Liege*. To this end having had many preceding practices both by people and by letters in divers places; a great many of them met there in the moneth of *Auguſt*, where the moſt ſeditious were moſt liſtned unto. They appeared to be of divers opinions; ſome would have them to break forth into publick tumults, and get that by force, which they had not as yet got by intreaties. Others, that the States General ſhould meet together of their own Authority, and that by that means the Edicts, and the Inquiſition might be thrown down. Others, that to the end they might lead on their deſignes the more advantagiouſly, they might firſt advile with their neighbours, & be aſſiſted by them; yet ſome were more moderate in their opinions, who propounded that they ſhould better conſider ere they reſolved on any thing; and that they ſhould firſt ſee what effect the Marquis of *Berghens* and *Montigni's* journey to *Spain* would produte, and what the mean time the Regent would do in *Flanders*.

But the moſt ſeditious prevailing, it was reſolved, that by all means, as well within *Flanders*, as elſewhere, that liberty which they pretended to in Religion, might

might be endeavoured. The Dutchess was very much troubled at the news of this meeting at *Getrinberg*, and presently used all her industry to break it off. To this purpose she sent *Orange*, (some Writers say it was the Duke of *Aresçot*) and *Egmont* to *Duffle*, a town in *Brabant* neer *Antwerp*, and not very far from *Getrinberg*, willing them by all possible means to appease the Confederates, and to assure them again, that they should receive full satisfaction both from her, and from the King.

The effect of this was, That they clean contrary, sent some of their Deputies thither: *Orange* and *Egmont* propounded divers things in satisfaction of the confederates; they said that the Dutchess would undoubtedly procure leave from the King for the convocating of the States General; that in the mean time all lenity should be observed in matter of Religion; and that the Dutchess would quite forget the former disorder which had insued thereupon: and they gave hopes likewise that a liberty of preaching might be allowed, provided it might not be with any armed concourse. In answer whereunto the Deputies used rather complaints then reasons; and it was clearly seen, that though they desired satisfaction, they would not accept of it; so as full of contumacy they returned to *Getrinberg* more resolute then ever to have liberty in matter of Religion, without attending any answer from *Spain*, or relying any longer upon the sense of the Provinces. To which they were incited by those who gave out that nothing was to be expected from *Spain* but artificiall delayes, nor from the Regent, but ambiguous resolves: yet divers negotiations were kept on foot; and some mutuall expedients were endeavoured to be found out, by which the confederates should not be proceeded against for any novelties that had happened, and whereby they might receive some satisfaction touching the liberty of Preaching: and whereby the Regent on the other side might be sure that they should for the future desist from fomenting the begun disorders. But in fine all proved but lost labour; the wound which was first exulcerated, threw forth immediatly great store of putrified matter. From preaching, which the Hereticks at first introduced in the open Fields, they proceeded to use violence upon the Churches in the neighbouring villages, breaking thereinto by force, spoyling their sacred utensils, and using all manner of greater impieties. This was first done in some parts of the province of *Flanders*, wherein *Egmont* the Governour thereof was; and where either his diligence was not such as was requisite, or else the violences surpassed his authority. He excused himselfe in divers wayes, as did others in other parts where the like plague presently burst forth, which at last dilated it selfe into Cities, and of them, with a horrible scene of impietie and sacriledge, into *Antwerp*. Upon the holy day celebrated every year for the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, a solemn procession is used to be made in the City wherein a carved image with much devotion is born about: that procession proceeds from the Cathedral Church, and after a large perambulation returns thither again: the Hereticks were heard to belch forth that day much blasphemy against the image as it was carried about, and many injurious speeches against the Church men who were imployed in that procession; and 'twas feared that the rabble rout of the Hereticks would that day break forth into yet more greater madnesses; but through much diligence that was used they were kept from doing so at that time: on the twentieth day of the same moneth, set on by new furies of themselves, or instigated by others, they went to the Cathedral Church; one of the most famous structures, and most sumptuously adorn'd that is in all *Europe*; being got in, they shut all the doors; they then began wickedly to mock at the image, and at the like of many other Saints; which were there venerated; their meriment being at last turn'd into rage, and their insolencies into Frenzies, they flew upon all the images, and broke them all to pieces. Neither did they contain themselves here; but turning their fury principally against a Crucifix which was gallantly cut, and placed on high, they by the force of ropes, pul'd it to the ground, and in a most execrable manner tore it to pieces and trode upon it. At the same time they overthrew the Altars; dealt worse with the painted images, then with those that were carved, and did profane that so famous Church throughout, in a thousand other manners. Nothing more of villanie remaining

to



Peter Ernest Count Mansfeldt
Governour of Lucemburg
Campe-master at ye Battaile of Gemblac
Generall of the French Expedition .31

to be committed there, they ran to do the like in the other Churches of that Citie. From Churches they fly to force Monasteries; and from Monasteries of men, run more greedily to those of women. The sacred virgins are sorely affrighted and run to their parents houses. The heretick rabble grow more perverse, and every where leave signes of avarice, impiety, and barbarism: At last, rather weary, then satisfied with so much wickedness, which endured from noon till the next night was almost over, they dispersed themselves here and there, and returned to their own houses.

The tumult was of great consideration in it self, but much more in the example thereof: it was undertaken by a few, desired by many, and at last consented unto by all. The meaner sort of people in that City, which was then very numerous because the Trading of *Europe* was greater there then in any other place, were generally infected with heresie. And the people of better quality, even those who were the most zealous Catholicks, did so abhor the Inquisition, and the rigor of the Edicts, and thought the effect thereof so pernitious to the liberty of Merchandizing, as that they were not sorry to see the King necessitated to grant that, which could not till then be obtained, and wherein his consent was still despaired of: By the tumult of *Antwerp*, as by displaid Ensignes, all the other chief Cities of almost all the other Provinces, were forthwith invited to do the like: only the *Walloon* Provinces, upon the Frontiers of *France*, kept free from these novelties. The Dutchess perceiving so great and so universal a commotion, and suspecting lest the Governours of the Provinces might seem to tollerate it, and in secret to authorize it, she began to fear she might not be safe in *Brussels*, where heresie had likewise got good footing. She enclined to leave that Town, and to go to *Mons*, the chief City in *Hennault*; but divers of the chief Lords that were about her, did joyntly oppose themselves thereunto, and in particular, *Orange* and *Egmont*: they said that the troubles which were risen in other places would be appeased, and they assured her there should no disorder happen in *Brussels*: which though her own presence alone was sufficient to prevent, yet if need should requite, they would hazard their lives to hindring it. But the greatest consideration herein was concerning themselves, since they should be too much blamed, if the Dutches, they being present, should retire, or rather run away in such a manner, *How would this relish in* Spain? *how would the King be thereat scandalized? and how much should they suffer in their honours? for no justification would be able to free them from being thought to be the true Authors of such violences done by the common people.*

The Regent therefore resolved to stay at *Brussels*; but for her greater safety, that *Peter Ernestus*, Count of *Mansfeld*, should get together some soldiers, who might serve to remedy any tumult which might happen in the City, and her own person might be the more secure. It was debated in Councel how so many and so great disorders might be provided against. It was thought fit to treat again with the Petitioners, wherein were so many of the Nobility of the Country, to see whether any satisfaction might be given them, so as that their union might be broken, and so the people might want that fomentation, and the King the mean while might put on more vigorous resolutions, which the Regent might with more ease execute. To this purpose some of the Councel were deputed by her, and some others by the Petitioners; and after many contradictions, they pitched upon that which the necessity of the time, upon that occasion, did require. Thus by a new Edict, which seemed to be in answer to the Petition delivered, the preceding *April*, the Regent declared,

'That no use of the Inquisition should be had or made in *Flanders*, and that 'there should be no use thereof for the future: That the Edicts should be so 'moderated as should give full satisfaction to all the Provinces: That the confe-'derates should not be proceeded against for any of the late novelties: and that 'the liberty of Preaching should be permitted where it was already introduced; 'provided that no tumults were occasioned thereby, and that the Catholick wor-'ship should not be in any wise hindred.

Another Edict came forth presently after in the Kings express name, denouncing heavy punishments to all those who had committed so many and so horrible enormities

mitys againſt the Churches and Monaſteries. But by how much the Regent went e
very day leſs in her authority, ſo much more did the audacity of the Confederates
and the reſt who held Intelligence with them, increaſe: So as the hereticks no
laying aſide their former inſolencies in *Antwerp*, did ſtill inſult in divers manner
over the Catholicks. They by violence made their Churches be ſhut up: the
ſtormed to ſee that they could not get any one of them for themſelves to preac
in; and not being able to do it elſewhere, they preached publickly in the *Piaz*
zas of the new Town of *Antwerp*, the Lutherans in one place, in another, th
Calviniſts: and the ſtinch of many other ſectaries gave occaſion of divers othe
ſorts of meetings, both in privat and in publick. Theſe ſects did greatly diffe
one from another, but they joyned all in their rage againſt the Catholick religion
At laſt they prevailed ſo far, as it behoved to come to expreſs capitulation wit
them: by vertue whereof they got ſo much liberty, as did amount almoſt to
full exerciſe of hereſie: and at laſt they were permitted to build a particular Fa
brick, which they called by the name of Temple, where their Miniſters wer
heard to preach, and all other exerciſes of their ſects were officiated. Aſſoon
this permiſſion was obtained, men and women flock thither from all parts, Me
chants and Plebeians, Gentry and Citizens, to put their hands to the building
this Temple. The Prince of *Orange*, to boot with his being Governor of *Ho*
land and *Zealand*, and of a part of *Burgundy*, was likewiſe Governor of *Antwer*
In the tumult which had hapned in that City, he had endeavoured that it migh
appear he had uſed all dilligence to impede them, he himſelf came often thith
in perſon: and when he could not be there himſelf, he ſent the Count of *Hoſtr*
thither. 'Twas known that *Orange* his authority in that City was very great;
as few thought that he would make uſe thereof according as occaſion did requi
And when they ſaw *Hoſtrat* adhere unto him, they thought they were both of t
ſame mind. *Orange* had likewiſe gone into *Holland* and *Zealand*, to appeaſe t
tumults which had enſued there in matter of Religion, preſently after that
Antwerp: But his endeavours there availed but little likewiſe, by reaſon of t
maligne conſtellation of times, or they were but little ſincere, by his own, p
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TH

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK III.

The Contents.

The King is highly offended for the novelties happened in Flanders. *A letter from* Montigni *to Count* Horne; *the Regent resolves to take up Arms. A meeting of* Orange, Egmont, *and others in* Terramond; Valentiennes *is besieged: is reduced. So is* Antwerp. *The Regent enters Antwerp well provided of Arms. A great disposition throughout the whole Low Countries to quiet. Consultations in Spain upon the affairs of* Flanders; *two opposite Orations made unto the King by the Duke of* Feria, *and the Duke of Alva, the King resolves at last to send an Army into* Flanders. *And gives the command thereof to the Duke of Alva: upon newes hereof,* Orange *retures into* Germany. Alva *enters the low Countries: he forthwith imprisons* Egmont *and* Horne. *The Dutchesse of* Parma *departs for* Italy. *The Duke of* Alva *is Governour of the Low Countries.*

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Anno. 1566.

mitys against the Churches and Monasteries. But by how much the Regent went every day less in her authority, so much more did the audacity of the Confederates, and the rest who held Intelligence with them, increase; So as the hereticks not laying aside their former insolencies in *Antwerp*, did still insult in divers manners over the Catholicks. They by violence made their Churches be shut up: they stormed to see that they could not get any one of them for themselves to preach in; and not being able to do it elsewhere, they preached publickly in the *Piazzas* of the new Town of *Antwerp*, the Lutherans in one place, in another the Calviniſts: and the ſtinch of many other ſectaries gave occaſion of divers other ſorts of meetings, both in privat and in publick. Theſe ſects did greatly differ one from another, but they joyned all in their rage againſt the Catholick religion. At laſt they prevailed ſo far, as it behoved to come to expreſs capitulation with them: By vertue whereof they got ſo much liberty, as did amount almoſt to a full exerciſe of hereſie: and at laſt they were permitted to build a particular Fabrick, which they called by the name of Temple, where their Miniſters were heard to preach, and all other exerciſes of their ſects were officiated. Aſſoon as this permiſſion was obtained, men and women flock thither from all parts, Merchants and Plebeians, Gentry and Citizens, to put their hands to the building of this Temple. The Prince of *Orange*, to boot with his being Governor of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and of a part of *Burgundy*, was likewiſe Governor of *Antwerp*. In the tumult which had happned in that City, he had endeavoured that it might appear he had uſed all dilligence to impede them, he himſelf came often thither in perſon: and when he could not be there himſelf, he ſent the Count of *Hoſtrat* thither. 'Twas known that *Orange* his authority in that City was very great; ſo as few thought that he would make uſe thereof according as occaſion did require: And when they ſaw *Hoſtrat* adhere unto him, they thought they were both of the ſame mind. *Orange* had likewiſe gone into *Holland* and *Zealand*, to appeaſe the tumults which had enſued there in matter of Religion, preſently after that of *Antwerp*: But his endeavours there availed but little likewiſe, by reaſon of the maligne conſtellation of times, or they were but little ſincere, by his own, peradventure, more maligne contrariety. Great was the commotion which had enſued in *Gaunt*, the chief City of *Flanders*; where the hereticks had likewiſe inſolently introduced the uſe of their hereſie, as alſo in almoſt all the other conſiderable places of that Province. *Egmont*, who was Governor thereof, had been there too in perſon; and becauſe his preſence had done but little good, he began to be ſuſpected as well as *Orange*. Though it was conſidered by ſome, in their juſtification, that in the Province of *Groningben*, where Count *Arenberg* was Governour, and in *Ghelderland* and *Zutfen*, which were Governed by the Count *Mega*, both of them being eſteemed great Catholicks, and faithfull to the King. The like revolts were ſeen in matter of Religion, and like difficulties in removing them: but howſoever, thoſe two were chiefly eſt ſuſpected; ſince they exceeding the reſt ſo far in Authorities, 'twas thought that the tumults fomented by them, had made all the reſt prove likewiſe remedileſs.

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better advise what was to be resolved on, touching the sending of Spanish forces and the like of other nations subject to the Crown of *Spain*, into *Flanders* by reason then of their orders which were come in secret, and much more by reason of the manifest appearing necessity of providing by Arms against the tumults which had already happened, and to those of greater danger which might insue; the Regent resolved to raise a good number of souldiers, and to place them under such Commanders as she might confide in: the speediest and neerest Levies which could be made abroad, were the High Dutch, and in *Flanders* the *Walloones*: The Regent had not as then any other souldiers then those who a little before she had assembled to secure *Brussels* from tumults, and for the more safety of her own person: which might be about 500 *Walloone* foot and 100 Harquebusiers on horse back, under the Command of *Ernestus* Count *Mansfeild*. She did then without any delay give order for the raising of the aforesaid forces; to wit, the Lower *Almans* in two Regiments under the Counts of *Aremberg*, and of *Mega*; and two Regiments of the Upper *Almans*, under Count *Erbestin*, and Baron *Shamburg*. The *Walloones* were divided into three Regiments; one of which was given to *Charls* Count *Mansfield*, son to *Ernestus*, another to the Count *De Reulet*: and the third to Monsieur *De Hierghes*, son to the Lord *Barlemont*: to boote with these foot, order was given for the raising of some horse. The opinions of those of the Councel of State touching the raising of Arms were different. Those of greatest Authority amongst them did not seem to incline thereunto: alledging that instead of taking away jealousie which was of most importment, this would be the way to increase them. Others thought this remedy requisit, since faire means had hitherto prevail'd so little; but the Regent would adhere unto the latter opinion; and shewed how that it was the more necessary, for that it was known a little before, that the confederats had divers projects on foot to raise men also, and that to this effect divers correspondencies had already been had between them and the neighbouring parts of *Germany*, and *France*. This preparation for Arms did much trouble such, who though they might be used against them. The Hereticks who had so many wayes offended, had reason to fear: and the better sort of the Petitioners, and the rest of the order, who had licentiously run upon so many novelties, had almost as much cause to fear: but *Egmont*, *Orange*, and *Horne* were in private no lesse troubled hereat they being suspected to have continually fomented the disorders, more then the other Lords. Their names were publikely torn to pieces in *Spain*; and they were already called Traytors oftner then Subjects. This opinion which the King and the whole Court had of them all three, and in general of all the Flemish, had often been signified by letters written by the Marquess of *Berghen*, and the Lord *Montigni*: and one in particular was sent (as it was commonly reported) from *Montigni* to his brother Count *Horne*, the contents whereof were these.

How much our arrivall here is detested by every one, hath been often times signified by the Marquess of Berghen *and by my self: but in this letter wherein I may be more free, because it will be convey'd with more secresie, I will adde many things, which it was wisdom to conceal in the rest: In brief, our affairs cannot be worse received, worse relished then they are here. After so many moneths, we are still denyed Audience: we are permitted but little to Treat with the* State *Ministers; and their answers are every day more ambiguous, as much as to say, every day more visibly opposite to our negotiations. They terme our Covenant, conspiracie, our Petition, a plot; and our popular tumults, manifest insurrection: it is not then to be doubted but that they will shew their resentment by Arms: the Flemish themselves do now make preparation against* Flanders. *But the true designe is to make use of Foreiners, and especially of Spaniards. They are chiefly incenst against the greatest amongst us; believe that the mischief is in secret chiefly fomented by them.* Granville *rejoyceth at the commotions which have ensued; and boasts that if he had still continued in* Flanders *these things had not happened: if his Councels were formerly Turbulent, he now digests them with much more violence: that the* King *either come himself in the head of an Army, or else send an army: that he quell the Flemish, and upon so fair an occasion violate their Priviledges: and that having bridled them by his Forces, he keep them still in the same posture: and these his proposals cannot be better received then they*



John Lignius Count Aremberg
Governour of Frisland
Generall at y^e Battaile of Hilligel.



William Lodovic Count Nassau
Catts &c. Governour of Frisland.

The haughtineſs of that Nation is too well known. The Spaniards *ſee how far they come ſhort of the* Flemiſh *in their prerogatives. They envie our liberty, and would reduce it if they could, to their ſubjection: and becauſe that cannot be done but by force, they will have recourſe unto force. This is the cloud which now threatens our Provinces, and the tempeſt will break forth ſooner perhaps then it is imagined. They who foreſee it, give notice of it; and let them to whom notice is given, either undauntedly encounter it, or warily ſhun it. As for us two who are here, may it pleaſe God, that as our coming hither was unluckie, our return may not prove more unfortunate.*

This letter cauſed much fear; and the end thereof ſhewed (as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place) that the two that writ it, foreſaw the tragical ſucceſs they ſhould have in *Spain*. *Orange* had often intreated the Regent to give him leave to quit his imployments, and to retire; proteſting that in times of ſuch trouble it was impoſſible to ſatisfie his ſervice to the King on the one part, and on the other, the Countreys neceſſity: But his true end herein was thought to be, his deſire to forgoe *Flanders* with the Kings leave, to the end that he might not be held guilty of the plotted Machinations if he ſhould leave it in a leſs becoming manner. The Regent would never be perſwaded to move any ſuch thing to the King; but on the contrary ſhe exhorted *Orange* to embrace the Kings affairs ſo much the more, by how much the times did now require his ſervice, which might be ſo advantagious. And ſtill by publick praiſe, or privat diſſimulation, ſhe made uſe of him in the moſt important affairs. He afterwards did by Letters make the ſame deſires unto the King, but ſtill received the like anſwer. He did not rely at all notwithſtanding upon any ſhew made by the Regent, nor upon any demonſtrations that he received from *Spain*. He reflected upon what had been advertiſed by *Berghen* and *Montigni*; the which he likewiſe underſtood by other wayes. For it was ſaid that the Admirall *Colligny* by reaſon of the correſpondency which was between them, did advertiſe him from *France* of many particular important paſſages; to make him ſtill the more jealous of what reſolutions would be put on in *Spain*, upon the diſorders which had happened in *Flanders*. *Orange* being thus at odds with himſelf, and ſet upon by various paſſions, he ſometimes ſeemed to ſerve the King out of meer zeal: but moſt commonly notwithſtanding he appeared inclined to ſecond, as formerly, the unquiet humors. His brother *Lodovick* ſhewed himſelfe more ſeditiouſly arrogant then any other. He had ſtill the chiefeſt part in all the moſt turbulent actions; and becauſe great confiding appeared to be between the two brothers, it was thought that *Lodovick* did but act *Orange* his true intentions. They held divers correſpondencies in *Germany*, as well for that their family derived from thence, as out of the relation which *Orange* had to the *Elector* of *Saxony*, his Father-in-law. Great was their adherence, almoſt throughout all *Flanders*; but eſpecially that which *Orange* had in *Holland* and *Zealand*. He was not therefore any ways pleaſed with the Regents reſolution of levying men. Nothing was heard of any where, but that either the King would come himſelfe in perſon into *Flanders* with a great Army, or that he would ſend an Army thither under ſome gallant Commander. It was known that good ſtore of ſhipping was already building in the havens of *Biſcay*, and that the rumor was, that the King would make uſe of them for ſuch a voyage. And though for what concerned the Kings coming himſelf in perſon, the difficulties were ſo great, as they were almoſt inſuperable; yet that a foraign Army ſhould appear in *Holland*, could not but cauſe great fear in the *Flemiſh*, and chiefly in the greateſt men amongſt them. *Orange* his fear, and the like of the other abovesaid Lords, was much increaſed by the interception of a letter (though it was thought by many to be but an invention of *Orange* himſelfe) which *Franciſco Alano*, a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in the Court of *France*, writ to the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, it contained almoſt the ſame things wch were ſpecified in *Montigni's* letter, touching what ſenſe the *Spaniards* had of the tumults which had happened in *Flanders*. The Ambaſſador did therein exhort the Regent above all things to uſe diſſimulation; and that in the mean time the King would prepare either to come himſelf in perſon with a great Army, or elſe would ſend one. That in fine, he was fully reſolved to hazard, if need ſhould be, all his other Kingdoms, rather then not to puniſh

ſo many, and ſo inormous offences as were committed in *Flanders* againſt the h
nour of God, and of himſelf. This letter being ſeen, and the imminent dang
being conſidered of the Forces which began already to move in *Flanders*, and
thoſe which were ſhortly to be expected from *Spain*; *Orange*, together with
brother *Ladevick*, *Egmont*, *Horn*, and *Hoſtrat* reſolved to meet together, a
treat of the common intereſt. They therefore met at *Terramonde*, a town in *B*
bant, not farre from *Antwerp*; where they differ'd in opinion. *Horn* and *Le*
vick were of one and the ſame mind out of the ſimilitude of their fierce and r
natures. Both of them were of opinion, that even from that inſtant they ſhou
endeavour to incite the people to arms within *Flanders*, and to make foreign
advance; ſo as thoſe forces raiſed by the Regent, might forthwith be withſtoo
and that they might prepare to do it much more againſt thoſe which were
come from *Spain*. *Orange* was not for the taking up of arms preſently, but
horted that affairs might be put in order by way of anticipation.

'That we ſhould be the firſt who ſhould begin the war (ſaid he) is that wh
'neither can, nor ought to be done. It cannot, for that we are not at this ti
'ſufficiently prepared of forces. It ought not, for that as yet we have not p
'tences fair enough to do it. The Inquiſition is already taken away; the Ed
'are already almoſt aboliſhed; and we enjoy ſuch liberty of religion as may
'fice And for what concerns the Regents having raiſed ſome Soldiers, to
'truth, the popular Tumults have either been too great, or too immature, wh
'have forced her to ſuch a reſolution, and put us into a neceſſity of tollera
'it; but this is a Militia conſiſting almoſt wholly of our own Country-men,
'therefore not to be by us feared. We muſt then wait for more juſt occaſi
'of taking up arms; and theſe in my opinion we ſhall unavoidably ſoon h
'Can we ever believe that the *Spaniards* will uſe moderation? Their pride
'ſurquedry is not capable thereof: They will have an abſolute Empire in *F*
'*ders*, as they have in *Spain*: *Granville*, the Duke of *Alva*, and almoſt all the
'of that Councel do continually infuſe ſuch ſence as this into the Kings ears; ſ
'we ſhall ſoon ſee foreign forces brought into theſe our Provinces: 'twill
'be fitting time for us to move; then will our people at home, and foreig
'from abroad, readily flock unto us. Let us then prepare for this reſolutio
'all neceſſary endeavours againſt that time. Here, by ſhewing that the *Spani*
'deſign is, not only to ſet the Inquiſition again on foot by the way of force, and
'Edicts, but punctually to introduce the Government of *Spain* in *Flanders*.
'abroad, by making it known, that when they ſhall have enthraled our Pro
'ces, our neighbours may the more juſtly fear to be dealt withall accordin
'Let us the mean while be ſure not to truſt them; the malice of Princes is
'chiefly preparing when they do moſt conceal it. And that they do now de
'diſſemble with us in *Spain*, who can know it better then a native *Spaniard*,
'is an Ambaſſador, and to whom the Kings moſt intimate thoughts touc
'*Flanders* are known? doth not his whole Letter denounce fire and ſword ag
'the *Flemiſh*? and chiefly us who are here, and enjoy the greateſt Prerogati
'but let us primarily remember what hath been often formerly treated of b
'and which in this our preſent meeting is again in agitation. They would
'all late actions to be felony, and to have had it but in thought, will ſuffic
'make men guilty thereof.

Hoſtrat did adhere to *Orange* almoſt in all things; and it was certainly tho
that *Egmont* would be of the ſame mind: but he, contrary to the expectatio
all men, ſhewed how much better it would be to endeavour peace and qui
the Countrey, and to abſtain by all means from force.

What a folly would it be (ſaid he) *for us to move? where are our men? wh
our money? where can we hope to have any? from the Nobility, who are abroad
tally exhauſted? or from thoſe meaner ſort of people, who have ſo unworthily via
the Churches, and rob'd the Altars? Theſe miſdeeds muſt be attributed to the
ſcum of people; and not to the true popularity. The better ſort of Citizens,
who ſit moſt at eaſe, will not be induced to take up arms, but upon neceſſary occa
Moreover, do not we know how great the inconſtancie of the multitude is? the m
tude is apt on the ſudden to waver between contrary paſſions, and is always ad
c

either by rashness, or abjection. And for what concerns our hopes in our neighbours, we must believe, that considering their own Interests more then ours, they will be apt rather to fear, then to provoke the enmity of Spain. *How much better will it be then, for us to endeavour to allay the Kings anger, and cancelling all memory of late disorders, do what in us lies, to bring him to his former inclination to these Provinces, and to our selves in particular? To say the truth, the King may with too much reason esteem himself offended by these late novelties: For though the fault ought rather to be imputed to the times then to us; yet who can deny that the Nobility hath past by many actions of great licentiousness? And these last of the common people against the Churches, have been such, as 'tis no wonder if it be generally held in* Spain, *that a will hath rather been wanting in us the Governours of the Provinces, then a power to impede them. The King may be therefore thought to have just cause to resent them: But that he will do it by the means of foreign forces, and that he will by violence introduce the* Spanish *Government into* Flanders, *his own concernment, more then ours, makes me not believe it. Princes ought not to commit that to the uncertain success of violence, the fruit whereof they may certainly enjoy by moderation. I know how I found the King minded towards the affairs of* Flanders *when I was in* Spain: *and I cannot perswade my self that he will be disswaded from thence by the particular passions of our enemies. Such a one I know* Granville *to be; the Duke of* Alva *is such a one: and it may be that* Alva, *as such a one, writes passionately from* Paris. *Neither do I much value* Montigni's *Letter: For in my opinion, it is grounded rather upon appearing, then upon real threats. My vote goes therefore, that we ought by all means possible, endeavour the Countries tranquility: That this doth not only befit the Kings service, but the like of the Country, and of our selves. And that if we do thus, he will neither send foreign forces hither, nor use any violence to our Government. In fine, the* Spaniards *know where* Flanders *is: and those of the Councel who are even most hoodwink'd in their hatred towards us, know, that in this form of Principality, prayers prevail, and that here we obey, because we will do so.*

All the rest were much amazed, and troubled to hear *Egmont* speak thus. They had thought that he would have gone along with them in their designes; which were, to involve the Country continually in more evils, and to increase their own private fortunes by the publick ruines. But *Egmont*, were it either that he was won over by the Regents perswasions, or that he was thereunto moved out of his own natural goodness; or (which was of more force with him then all thing else) that he was the Father of a numerous family, and that he would not seek to advantage himself by the downfall of others; was resolved to second the Kings sence, by executing the like of the *Regents*. To boot that weighing his services done to the King, together with his defaults, he could not think the latter such, as should make him lose the reward of the former. *Orange* and the rest did notwithstanding endeavour to make him adhere to them in their resolutions, by many efficacious replyes; but all in vain: whereupon, much to their grief, and whereat *Orange* did not a little storm; the meeting at *Terramond* was dissolved. This division falling out between them, *Egmont* apply'd himself sincerely, and the other feignedly, to endeavour the peace of the Provinces, and to effect it where need should require, by the forces which the Regent had already gathered together. That they might afterwards expect what time and chance might produce. The Regents resolution was, that the forces should move thither first, where was greatest cause of punishment. They were therefore suddenly prepared to goe against the Town of *Valentiennes*, the Inhabitants whereof were most infected with heresie, and occasioned most fear in the Dutchess; as well by reason of the apparent signes of disobedience which were already seen, as for their being openly fomented from without by the *Hugonots* of *France*. She therefore gave order to Monsieur *Northermes*, who in the Marquis of *Berghens* absence, govern'd the Province of *Hennault*, that he should cause so many soldiers to be received into *Valentiennes*, as might serve to bridle the peoples boldness, and re-order the affairs of that Town. *Northermes* marched thitherward, and endeavoured to execute the Regents Orders; but because the Townsmen were equally doubtfull of being inforced to take in the Garison, and *Northermes*, that he should not be able to constrain them so to do; therefore it was agreed before he approached the

Town,

Town, that no Gariſon ſhould be put in thither, provided that no heretical exerciſe might be permitted there. The rabble rout now will, and anon will not; *Norchermes* coming near to the walls without any ſoldiers, to the end that he might be admitted to come in, and by his being there in perſon, ſee the agreement better eſtabliſhed, a handfull of baſe people were ſo bold as not only to ſhut the gates upon him, but to make him keep aloof by muſquet ſhot. The Dutcheſs, much moved at this exceſs, commanded *Norchermes* howſoever, to bring the intended Gariſon into the Town. But the Townſmen increaſing in their contumacy, refuſed to receive them; whereupon the Dutcheſs declared them preſently rebels, and made all things be prepared to beſiege the Town. Their confederate hereticks, both within and without *Flanders*, had preſently notice of what paſt Some few *Hugonots* came immediately thither from the Frontiers of *France*; but from the neighbouring parts of *Flanders*, above 3000 foot, and ſome horſe were forthwith gathered together, and ſome pieces of Artillery, and all theſe went to put in ſuch numbers of men into *Valentiennes*, as might ſuffice to ſecure the Town in its preſent condition. Theſe people were led on by *John Soreas*, a man of baſe abſtract, who had aſſembled them together between *Lilla* and *Torney*. *Norchermes* being hereof advertiſed, he ſuddenly drew up ſome Companies of foot, together with ſome horſe, and with him, *Roſſeghen* the Governour of *Lilla* did joyn: Then falling at unawares upon theſe ſuddenly aſſembled tagrags, rather then ſoldiers, they eaſily routed them, *Soreas* was wounded, and many others ſlain, though they had ſeated themſelves ſtrongly in a wood between ditches and mariſh grounds, which made the getting thereinto very difficult. The Artillery was likewiſe taken; the reſt of the rout ſought to get into *Torney*; but *Norchermes*, and eſpecially the Country people reduced them to ſuch ſtraits, as they could never make head again; and making uſe of this occaſion, he went himſelf in perſon to *Torney*, entred by the Citadel, and reduced things to obedience there, where they were not much leſs likely to have been wavering then in *Valentiennes*; he puniſht divers in that City, and put ſome heretick preachers to death, who had been the chief incitors of the people to this contumacy. And making amends by preſent rigour for paſt impunitie; he went from thence and turn'd to *Valentiennes* to lay formal ſiege unto it, and to reduce them by force, which he could not do by Treaty: yet before the ſiege was made, the Dutcheſs was content that Count *Egmont* and Duke *Areſcot* ſhould go to *Valentiennes*, to ſee whether by their Authority and Offices they could bring the people therein to their wits: But all was to no purpoſe, *Norchermes* delayed then no longer. Such preparations as were needfull being made, and particularly of great pieces of Artillery, he began the ſiege in the beginning of *March*, a great Battery was made ready, and yet they within ſeemed reſolute to defend themſelves, fed with ſeveral hopes of ſuccour; but their raſhneſs turn'd ſuddenly to weakneſs: being in an inſtant caſt down, ſeeing no ſuccour from without, and wanting wherewithall to defend themſelves, they hardly expected the firſt battery; they yielded upon diſcretion to *Norchermes*. He entred the Town, and gave Laws thereunto, ſuch as ſatisfied the Regent, as well in what concern'd religion, as their obedience to the King. He left a ſufficient Gariſon there, and put the Government into the hands of a Catholick Magiſtrate; having firſt cleanſed the Town of the moſt ſeditious hereticks, and of al their preachers. He, for the example of others, puniſht ſome of the prime offenders with death, and particularly many of the *French Hugonots*, who bore arms againſt the King in that ſiege. In the beginning of war, fame hath always a great ſhare; and the bare reputation of one victory, ſuffices to the getting of many others. The news of *Valentiennes* was ſuddenly divulged abroad, and the Regents forces began to be dreaded every where.

Freſh Tumults about this time began to be made in divers places, and eſpecially in the Caſtle of *Cambreſis* upon the Frontiers of *France*; in *Balduke*, a chief City in *Brabant*; and in the Town of *Maſtrick*, a place of important ſituation, having a ſtone-bridg over the *Mauſe*, which makes the paſſage ſurer and ſafer on that ſide which confines upon *Germany*. Such remedies as were requiſite either by way of Treaty, or by force were apply'd in all theſe places, and in a few days they were reduced to quiet obedience. And as the Kings cauſe did improve, ſo did the

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cauſe of religion by reaſon of this ſucceſs of the Regents forces, the Nobles of the Confederacy began to ſtagger; the chief head whereof was *Henry de Brederode*, as hath been ſaid. Some grew cooler, others fell off, and many laid aſide all unquiet thoughts; thus they endeavoured by ſeveral ways to be reſtored to the Regents favour: nor did ſhe forbear to uſe the fitteſt means for this purpoſe. Yet *Brederode* growing every day more vain, and being drawn by the ſpirit of hereſie to the like of rebellion, he uſed all means not only to re-unite the beſt ſort of Petitioners, but alſo to excite new diſorders in thoſe of meaner condition. He gave out that nothing was performed which was promiſed in matter of religion; but that the liberty thereof was daily more and more loſt, and they ſeverely puniſhed who would enjoy it. What was there then wanting but to ſee the Inquiſition and the Edicts on foot again? and that they were ſhortly to ſee their necks not only under the yoke of the *Flemiſh* forces, but under the intollerable yoke of thoſe which were preparing in *Spain*. He formed ſome new Petitions, full of ſuch complaints as theſe, and made them be preſented to the Dutcheſs. The firſt was preſented in name of the People, with new preſſures for liberty in matters belonging to religion: and to facilitate the work, they offered three millions of guilders: The Regent ſuddenly refuſed it, as altogether raſh, vain, and diſloyal; and 'twas known that this proceeded only from *Brederode* and ſome few of his followers. He made another be afterwards preſented under the name of many of the Nobility, and renewed the former deſire, of being permitted to come to *Bruſſels*, and being heard by the Regent; but this ſecond prevailed no more then did the firſt. *Brederode*, failing of all hopes this way, precipitated himſelf into a more raſh councel, which was to try ſome novelty by force of arms. He went to *Holland*, and there endeavoured to incite the people to new tumults, eſpecially in *Amſterdam*, which next to *Antwerp*, was at that time the Town of greateſt Traffick in all *Flanders*. The Dutcheſs doubted ſome ſedition of concernment; eſpecially ſince it was generally known that *Brederode* ſeconded *Orange* in all things; and therefore though by his preſence he cauſed ſome alteration there, yet the Dutcheſs took ſuch good order, as that all diſorders were there ſoon quieted. *Brederode* being rather driven then gon out of *Amſterdam*, he ſtaid at *Vianen*, a little Town of his own not far from *Amſterdam*: he began to fortifie it, and to bring ſoldiers thither. The Counts of *Aremberg*, and of *Mega* went ſuddenly by order from the Regent towards that Town, who had the Government of the Provinces neereſt thereunto: *Norchermes* was alſo ſent thither, ſo as they quickly drove *Brederode* from thence; who of a chief Commander being become a ſingle man, and of a mutiner an exile, was forced to flie to the neareſt parts of *Germany*; and tarrying at *Embden*, a Sea-Town, he not long after dyed there. The Regent encouraged by this good ſucceſs, betook her ſelf ſuddenly to re-order the affairs of *Antwerp*. To this purpoſe ſhe ſhewed at one and the ſame time both lenity and force. *Orange* and *Hoſtrat* laboured to compoſe the affairs of that City the beſt they could though, to place a Gariſon there (which was the Regents chiefe drift) ſtood not with their particular Intereſts. Divers tumults had happened there ſince that firſt great one, wherein the hereticks had violated the Churches, trampled the ſacred things, and inſulted in all unworthy manner over the Catholicks. One ſedition being allayd, another was preſently ready to be ſet on foot, which made ſtill more for the advantage of the hereticks. They grumbled that they had not ſo many Churches as they deſired: There were almoſt as many ſects as ſectariſts: with the Inhabitants, Foreigners did combine; and plots from abroad accompanied thoſe within: They ſtrove to provide themſelves of arms, to better their cauſe thereby: One *Toloſe* appeared more ſeditious then all the reſt, a bold man, and of good retinue: This man betaking himſelf to raiſe men, had gathered a conſiderable number together, not above a league from *Antwerp*, in a certain Village called *Oſtervel*, on the other ſide the Scheld. The Dutches had notice of this, and making thoſe men be ſet upon on the ſudden by a good many of hers, they were ſoon ſcattered: *Toloſe* endeavored to ſave himſelf in a houſe, but was therein burnt; the reſt either fled or were ſlain, or drowned in the river. This ſucceſs cauſed a great revolt in *Antwerp*, and they were ready to fall together by the ears in the City; the hereticks growing mad hereat on the

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Fresh Tumults about this time began to be made in divers places, and especially in the Castle of *Cambresis* upon the Frontiers of *France*; in *Balduke*, a chief City in *Brabant*; and in the Town of *Mastrick*, a place of important situation, having a stone-bridg over the *Mause*, which makes the passage surer and safer on that side which confines upon *Germany*. Such remedies as were requisite either by way of Treaty, or by force were apply'd in all these places, and in a few days they were reduced to quiet obedience. And as the Kings cause did improve, so did the

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one ſide, and the Catholicks taking advantage and courage on the other ſide. But *Orange*, *Hoſtrat* and others of Authority with the people, did ſo handle the buſineſs, as the apparent danger was provided for by a new agreement which was there made in matter of Religion: This agreement had much reference to the others which had preceded; but in this, ſome things were added touching the Government of the City, the better to prevent future tumults: To which purpoſe the City it ſelf raiſed certain foot Companies, and armed ſome boats to guard the Scheld where it was moſt needfull; yet let them do what they could to keep peace in that City, none took effect, or at leaſt they laſted not. In fine, where Religion is not united, there can be no union in obedience. This new agreement was ſoon obſerved to be kept as ill as were the former. The Regent, whoſe forces ſtill increaſed, taking occaſion from hence, reſolved to put a good Gariſon into *Antwerp*; which ſhe could not very well do before. All neceſſary preparations being had to this end, and the Catholick party in *Antwerp* being much advantaged, the Cities deliberations were ſutable to her deſires. She firſt ſent for ſome to *Bruſſels*, who were choſen by the City to this purpoſe, and treated with them touching the form of re-ordering the Government, wherein the Catholick religion, and obedience to the King were above all things to be conſidered. The agreement being made, wherein ſhe now no longer received, but gave conditions, the City ſeemed willing to execute them. All heretical exerciſes were thereby forbidden, and all new erection of Temples for ſectariſts: their preachers were driven out, and order taken for the repairing of the Churches by them violated. A Magiſtrate was choſen who was zealous for the affairs of religion, and of the King. And the ſoldiers which the City had taken into Gariſon, took an oath to be faithfull to the King, and to execute, if need ſhould require, all things which were agreed upon. The Regent immediately ſent *Charls* Count *Mansfield* into *Antwerp* with his Regiment of *Walloons*, to eſtabliſh all things better by arms, and that it might be ſeen ſhe would no longer uſe only intreaties. The Gariſon was received by the City, whereinto *Mansfield* entred in good order, ſo as the hereticks could neither endeavour any novelty, nor the ſoldiers on the other ſide uſe any licentiouſneſs. The Gariſon being placed in *Antwerp*, the Regent thought ſhe her ſelf might now ſafely and with honour go thither: ſo as leaving *Bruſſels* ſhe went thither, waited on by many of the Nobility and chief Lords. She entred as it were in triumph; ſo great a concourſe of people met her, and with ſuch acclamations was ſhe received: though the heretick party forbore not to murmure, ſeeing themſelves reduced to ſo mean terms. The Regent ſtaid awhile in *Antwerp*, till ſhe thought ſhe had reduced the affairs of the Church and King into convenient order: ſhe uſed ſeverity, tempered with clemency. She returned from thence to *Bruſſels*. It cannot be ſaid what good conſequences this example of *Antwerp* wrought in amendment of the preceding evils: The tottering condition of the Provinces was on a ſudden reduced to tranquility almoſt in all parts; the Churches were repaired, Altars reſtored, Images worſhiped, and wonted obedience given to Magiſtrates. The chief Lords ſtrove who ſhould be forwardeſt in their ſervice to the Church, and to the King, in their obſequiouſneſs to the Regent, and in waiting perſonally upon her: in ſo much as it was generally hoped that the peace of thoſe Provinces ſhould for ever be perpetuated; and that hereſie being either totally extinguiſht in them, or at leaſt mightily quel'd, the antient worſhip of God, and their former devotion and loyalty to their Prince was to flouriſh again.

Whilſt affairs went thus in *Flanders*, great conſultations were had in *Spain*, to reſolve how the diſorders which had hapned in thoſe Provinces might beſt be remedi'd. One of the chiefeſt debates was, whether the King ſhould go thither himſelf in perſon or no, or whether he ſhould ſend a Commander of known valour and authority. It was not doubted but that his going in perſon would be the moſt efficacious remedy which could be apply'd to the neceſſities of thoſe Countries. Many examples were hereupon alleadged, to ſhew of what power the very preſence of the Prince was with the people. And amongſt the reſt, that which the King might take from his Father the Emperour; who with the very ſole majeſty of his aſpect, had aſſoon queld as ſeen thoſe of *Gaunt*. The Dutcheſs urged this

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as the only remedy; and ſhewed how that aſſoon as the King ſhould be arrived, *Flanders* would ſuddenly be quieted; and that his preſence would in all other reſpects be very acceptable to thoſe people. The Marquis of *Berghen* and *Montigni* gave out the ſame opinions in *Madrid*; were it either that they did really deſire the King ſhould go into the Low-Countries; or that thinking it very hard to be effected, they believed it would be yet much more difficult to ſend a Commander in chief thither with a foreign army. They ſaid that the King would find greateſt obedience; they ſought to honeſt as much as they could the Covenant, and the Petition: and though they deteſted the popular inſolencies againſt the Church, yet they would make it be believed, that it was done out of ignorance, or levity, but not out of infidelity: That therefore the King ſhould come himſelf in perſon; and that imitating his father, and his fore-fathers in his benignity, he might expect anſwerable effects in their obſequiouſneſs from the *Flemiſh*. The King himſelf had long nouriſht this opinion of his going into *Flanders*, and ſuch a ſpeech was ſpread abroad in *Spain*; and ſuch was the preparation of ſhips which were built in *Biſcay*, to make that voyage, as it was given out, as all *Europe* did firmly believe it: and to ſay truth, the aforeſaid reaſons being well conſidered, it could not be judged but that the King had ſome ſuch thought; but oft-times thoſe councels which are adviſedly taken, are out of neceſſity paſt by. The conſequences which made againſt it being therefore put into the contrary ſcale, it appear'd almoſt impoſſible for the King to reſolve upon ſuch an action And firſt to keep a long time aloof off from the heart of his Monarchy, bore with it thoſe important conſiderations which were toucht upon in the beginning, when it was ſhewed for what reaſons the King reſolved to make his reſidency in *Spain*. And a double fear did ſtill continue, as well of the *Moors*, who were ſpread thorough-out all thoſe Kingdoms, as alſo of ſome dangerous infectious hereſie which might be brought amongſt thoſe people. But ſuppoſe the King had been free of thoſe ſuſpitions; how ſhould he have gone into *Flanders* by ſea or by land? with or without forces? by ſea he muſt depend upon ſtorms and wind, and upon the meer will of fortune, which uſeth to make her greateſt ſports of the moſt eminent amongſt mortals. And the King himſelf, not many years before, had experienced the danger of ſea-voyages, in his return from *Flanders*: and had not his own example been ſufficient, that of his Grandfather *Philip* was yet very freſh, who by the violence of the winds was thrown upon *England*, and detained by force many days in that Kingdom: Upon which occaſion he notwithſtanding received all fair entertainment, and Courtly hoſpitality from *Henry* the ſeventh, which the King could not exſpect from Queen *Elizabeth*, who did rather conſpire with his enemies to his prejudice. On the other ſide, the journey by land ſeemed very difficult; for the King was of neceſſity to paſs through the Countries of ſeveral Princes, and would depend with too much danger upon their wills. The King of *France* would peradventure conſent that he ſhould paſs through his Kingdom, and would perhaps have received him with no leſs friendly demonſtrations then King *Francis* had done the Emperour *Charls* the fifth: but the hereticks wherewith all the parts of that Kingdom were then almoſt infected, would have oppoſed his journey, and would doubtleſly have made the event prove dangerous. It remained then that he muſt land in *Italy*, and afterwards take his way either through *Savoy*, or by the *Switzers*, ſo to enter into the Country of *Burgundy* and *Lorain*, and from thence into *Flanders*. On both which parts he was likewiſe to paſs through the Countries of ſtrangers, and to coaſt ſo near upon *France* and *Germany*, as he muſt needs be ſubject to many ſiniſter accidents, which eaſily might have befaln him. Theſe were the difficulties which were taken into conſideration, if the King were to paſs into *Flanders* either by ſea or by land, with only his Court attendance: But how much greater were to be feared if he ſhould paſs with an Army? ſince carrying with him ſo great a one as the occaſion would doubtleſly require, all States would be jealous of ſo great Forces, and peradventure would have raiſed Forces likewiſe, and inſtead of friends have become enemies; leſt that which was termed a paſſage, might turn to an oppreſſion.

Then the Councel of *Spain* not thinking it fit that the King ſhould go himſelf

in perſon into *Flanders* for the aforeſaid reaſons, it remained to ſee whether it were better to ſend ſome warlick Commander thither with an Army, or laying aſide all aſperity, endeavour to compoſe the affairs by fair means. The King was much at variance within himſelf upon this point: He was naturally given to love quiet; he loved the *Flemiſh*, and would rather have been beloved then feared by them; knowing very well how much ſecurer the Gariſon is which Princes have in their ſubjects hearts, then thoſe of Citadels or Cities: moreover that he might be very uncertain of what the event of his forces would be, againſt a people by nature ſo fierce, ſo far remote from all the reſt of his Dominions, and who were invironed on all ſides by the Crown of *Spains* greateſt enemies and enviers: But on the contrary he ſaw how little good fair means had done as yet, ſince the authors of the begun diſorders had rather been incouraged thereunto then otherwiſe, by too much tolleration, and might likely, if unpuniſhed, grow worſe and worſe. Nor were the Kings Councel leſs at a ſtand then the King. The Councel of *Spain* was then full of many eminent perſonages. Amongſt the reſt *Ferdinand de Tolledo*, Duke of *Alva*, and *Gomes de Figheroa* Duke of *Feria*, were in great eſteem both with the King and Councel. *Feria* chiefly for Civil affairs, and *Alva* for Military actions; who was ſo excellent therein, as the firſt place in the profeſſion of Militia, was unqueſtionably given to him by all *Spain*. Theſe two were of differing opinions. *Feria* thought it better to reduce the Flemiſh to their duties by fair means, and *Alva* by force. Upon a certain day then, when the King himſelf was in Councel to reſolve what was to be done in this ſo important buſineſs. The Duke of *Feria* ſpake thus.

'The cure of an evil (moſt glorious Prince) lies chiefly without all queſtion in 'knowing what it is. Cities and Monarchies are born and die, grow ſick and 'are cured, as humane bodies are; ſo as if diligence be uſed in the private indiſpo-'ſitions of one onely man, how much more neceſſary is it to be uſed in the pub-'lick maladies of whole Kingdoms? To provide then for the evils wherewith '*Flanders* is afflicted, 'tis very neceſſary firſt to know their cauſes. And this 'without all doubt ought chiefly to be attributed to the terror which the Inqui-'ſition and the Edicts have infuſed into that Country. The Flemiſh have appre-'hended, and do apprehend now more then ever to have their conſciences vio-'lated by ſuch ways, and to undergoe all other greater affliction and miſery: and 'this it is which hath made them fall at laſt into ſo many and ſo hainous outra-'ges. That under which *Flanders* doth at the preſent labour, is (if I may ſo call 'it) a Frenzie of fear, which is fomented by ſuch as are ambitious and turbulent, 'that they may have matter for innovations to their advantage. What reaſon is 'there then that more fuel ſhould be added to the fire of thoſe tumults, when 'they ought rather to be quenched and deaded? If the bare name of Inquiſition '(as it may be termed) not almoſt any ways put in uſe, or at leaſt but as a ſha-'dow, and which it was thought neceſſary wholly to ſuppreſs, hath put *Flanders* 'into ſuch commotions; what will that Nation do when they ſhall ſee them-'ſelves threatned with the forces of a foreign Army? what fear, what horrour 'will they thereat conceive? the leaſt they can apprehend, will doubtleſly be the 'Inquiſition. They will believe that the Government of *Spain* will be by force 'brought into *Flanders*: that their Priviledges will be violated, their Inſtituti-'ons overthrown, their faults ſeverely puniſhed, their Liberties oppreſt by Gari-'ſons; and finally be buried in Citadels. But ſuppoſe an Army be to be ſent in-'to *Flanders*; who will ſecure their paſſage? who will ſecure their entrance? 'Peoples fear doth oft-times degenerate into deſparation. So the Flemings 'growing deſperate, and the Nobility cloaking themſelves no longer under Cove-'nants and Petitions, nor the common people falling into ſlight tumults, but the 'whole Country going into a general rebellion, all may with one accord oppoſe 'our forces, and not ſuffer them to enter. And ſay the Flemiſh were not apt e-'nough of themſelves to make this oppoſition, will they peradventure want nigh-'bours who will uſe all means to incite them thereunto? do not we know what 'apprehenſions the being of the Spaniſh forces in *Flanders* will cauſe in *Germany*, 'in *England*, and in *France*? But let it be granted that they be ſuffered to enter, 'and that as then they cannot from thence receive any impediment for ſo doing:

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'are we any whit the more ſecure that the Country may not alter afterwards, and 'be troubled? Great puniſhments muſt certainly be undergone, and force muſt 'divers ways be ſecured by greater force. The people there will then begin to de- 'ſpair more then ever: they will call puniſhment oppreſſion, and ſeverity tyran- 'ny; Citadels yokes; and Gariſons chains and fetters: and thus at laſt they will 'break out into rebellion and arms: thus will the war be kindled. Nor doe I 'know whether it will be afterwards as eaſily ended, as it would have been eaſie 'at firſt not to have begun it. Nature, by the ſtrong ſituation of ſea and rivers, 'will fight for them; they themſelves will fight deſperately, in defence (as they 'will ſay) of themſelves, wives, children and liberty. The opulency of their own 'Country will furniſh them with gallant forces, and much more the oportunity 'of their neighbours. On the contrary; how heavie a burthen of war will your 'Majeſty be to ſuſtain? Succours at ſo great a diſtance will prove very ſlow, and 'very coſtly both by ſea and land. Paſſage muſt either be beg'd or bought: and 'we ſhall ſee our men fail before they come into *Flanders*. The event of war is 'always uncertain: And Fortune, which in other humane accidents is content 'with a part, will here have the whole Dominion. If the ſucceſs prove favoura- 'ble to your Majeſty, the victory will be bought with bloud, and againſt the 'bloud of your ſubjects. But if the contrary ſhould fall out (which God for- 'bid) not only men, but States would be loſt; nor they alone, but Religion: 'and ſo at laſt by too deplorable event we ſhall be taught, how much fair means 'would have been better then bitter proceedings, for the accommodation of the 'affairs of thoſe Provinces. It is to thoſe fair means that I exhort you, and that 'by all means you give over any thought of the other. Every Province, every 'Kingdom hath its particular nature, like unto humane bodies. And who knows 'this better then you, Sir? to whoſe Scepter worlds are born, and whoſe Mo- 'narchie embraceth ſo much, as the circuit thereof is only to be meaſured by the 'Sun. One Government is proper for *Spain*, another for the *Indies*, another 'for your States in *Italy*; and ſo likewiſe others in *Flanders*, and in the reſt of 'ſo many members, of which the bulk of your Empire is compoſed. Only the 'ſame religion ought to be in them all; but in this alſo the zeal ought to be well 'regulated, ſo as the too violent remedies which may be uſed to that purpoſe, do 'not produce diviſion inſtead of unity; and that together with the loſs of obe- 'dience to the Church, that fail not likewiſe which is due by the people to their 'Prince. What did not *Don Piedro di Tolledo* Viceroy of *Naples* do? what did he not 'trie to bring the Inquiſition into that Kingdom, in the Emperour your fathers 'time? *Naples* roſe, and ſo would the whole Kingdom have done; ſo as it was 'neceſſary to remove the occaſion of the tumults of that City. Let the Flemiſh 'then be permitted to enjoy the Government of *Flanders*: Free them from all 'ſuſpition either of Inquiſition, Foreign Forces, or any other more dreaded vio- 'lence. Let one contrary cure another: So the peoples fear ceaſing, the Coun- 'trey commotions will ceaſe. Nor is it to be doubted but that hereſie is rather 'ſuppreſt by peace then by war. It is too well ſeen how much it hath increaſed 'hereſie in *Germany* and in *France*: and ſince ſo many have done amiſs in *Flan- 'ders*, and that the faults ought not to be left altogether unpuniſht, let the pu- 'niſhment of a few ſerve for the example of all; and let it be laid there where 'the Country may be leaſt exaſperated thereby. In fine, clemency becomes a 'Prince; other people are capable of other vertues.

But the Duke of *Alva* ſpake thus to the contrary.

To begin (moſt puiſant Prince) where the Duke of Feria *ended; I ſhall both truely and freely deny, that it is now in your Majeſties power to uſe clemency. Which virtue ill uſed, degenerates into abject ſervilitie. And as in ſome caſes it preſerves Kingdoms, in other ſome it ruines them. How long will you indure to receive Laws in* Flanders, *inſtead of giving them? What remains now but that the Flemiſh who upon all occaſions boaſt themſelves to be as well free as ſubjects, having denyed all obedience to the Church, may alſo altogether deny it to you? ſo as a ſecond* Switzer *Commonwealth ſhall be ſeen to ariſe againſt you in* Flanders, *as the former did againſt the other Auſtrians in* Germany; *or rather inſtead of a popular tyranny,* Orange *and* Egmont, *and the other Authors of ſo many baſe novelties, oppreſſing the liberty of*

those people, instead of defending it, shall boldly divide those Provinces amongst themselves. The affairs of Flanders *do at the present lean this way; and shall we talk of pardon? and shall it be in your power to make the Church lose the Patrimony of so many of the faithfull, and your Crown the like of so many opulent Countries? Heresie triumphs there now with a thousand horrid impieties: and is not your Authority oppugned on all sides by Covenants, Petitions, and a thousand other perfideous practises? you have erred then sufficiently already, in using only fair means. And to say truth, to what end hath so long patience and dissimulation served? unless to make the disorders still the greater, and the Authors thereof more audacious. O that it were Gods will that you might go your self in person into* Flanders! *That would certainly be a prevalent remedy. We have the example thereof in your father against those of* Gaunt: *But that great Prince, born in* Flanders, *yea even in the City of* Gaunt, *and who punisht that City only, having all the rest of the Country in full obedience, would not go from thence till he had placed a strong and well Garisoned Castle in* Gaunt,. *They then likewise broke forth into complaints; they called upon their Priviledges as upon so many Tutelary Angels, and termed the Castle a chain and yoke. But all was in vain; they must at last submit their rebellious necks to so just force. If the Emperour thought that his sole presence was not sufficient upon that occasion, how much less should you think yours should suffice? who instead of one City, have the whole Country in rebellion; to boot with heresie, which infects it at home, and threatens it from all parts abroad. If then it stood with your Majesties conveniency to go now into the Low-Countries, you ought appear in a posture to command, not to intreat: which is as much as to say, powerfully armed, that you might leave your Authority when you should depart, armed with Castles and Garisons. So did the Emperour your Father; and so doubtlesly would you do. And how much more applyable is the cause whereof we now treat to this example of* Gaunt *then to that other of* Naples? *where the so many strong holds which are every where in that City, and throughout the whole Kingdom, and which are so well Garisoned, may suffice no less for the safety of Religion, then of your self. I wish (I say again) it were Gods pleasure that you your self in person might provide by such remedies as your great wisdom would apply, to remedy those disorders which now afflict* Flanders. *But since for other more urgent occasions your Majesties presence cannot at this time be dispenst withall from out this Center of your Empire, my opinion is, That without more delay you send an Army into those Provinces, appointing such a Commander over it as you shall think fit. Which if it be resolved on; for what remains, either in its passage to* Flanders, *or its being admitted entrance when it shall be there, I do not at all scruple it. Who knows not how much you may rely upon the Duke of* Savoy, *so near allyd in bloud to your Crown, and more unto your Interest? your Army shall then at its going out of* Italy, *pass through* Savoy *as through your own Country. If it were better to march through* Swisserland, *the Catholick Cantons which are your Confederates will easily accommodate you: hence it enters into your* Burgundy, *and* Lorain *neither can nor will resist you. When the Army shall be come to the confines of* Lucemberg, *which is the Gate of* Flanders *towards* Italy, *on what side shall any one so much as dare to oppose the passage of your forces? will the* Flemish *peradventure do it? as if it were as easie to raise an Army, as to frame a Conspiracy; and that the rabble-rout will be as ready to fight against armed squadrons, as they have been to wage War so wickedly against the sacred Images and Altars. Will the Confining Princes perhaps deny their passage?* France *is wholly on fire with Civil War: A Woman sits at the Helm of Government in* England; *and what can be feared from* Germany, *divided amongst so many Princes, and so at variance within themselves? moreover your case will be theirs. All Princes are equally concerned in the peoples disobedience. The damage insues peradventure but to one at once; but the example reaches always to all. On the contrary; when was ever your Empire in greater power and tranquility? your Empire, which imbraceth several worlds; and wherein God hath placed you, more for the amplifying of his glory, then of your own. Your forces will then without any manner of difficulty be received in* Flanders: *and the strife will be, who shall first give them entrance, and most fear them when they are entred. When they shall once be setled there, 'twill doubtlesly be consonant*

to



Ferdinand of Toledo Duke of Alva
Govern̄our of the Lov̄=countreys.

Ro: Vaughan sculp

to reason that that be rendred to God which is his, and what is yours to you. Punishment must be inflicted in proportion to the faults demerit. And if that frenzy (as it is termed) of fear, but which is indeed of perfideousness, made the Flemish fall blindfold into open rebellion, why ought not your forces hope for all good success against them? Yours, which will be so just, and so potent, against theirs which are tumultuary, managed by abject men, rebels to God, and to their Prince. Nor if need should require, will yours want succour by the same ways, either of Savoy *or of* Switzerland; *and succour may also easilier be conveyed by sea than by land. But there will be no occasion, in my judgement, that your forces should either move or be succour'd. We shall see the Rebellion suppress almost assoon as born by those which shall now enter* Flanders. *And what fairer occasion then this can you desire to bring an Army into* Flanders, *and make those Provinces the* Piazza d' Armi *of your Empire? to make by that situation, which may be said to be in the very bowels of* Europe, *the Churches Authority be so much the more reverenced, and your Name the more respected. Doubtlesly there are variety of Governments; but there can be no variance in the bond of obedience which is due by the people unto their Prince. Subjects are born with this Law, and when they go about to break it, 'tis they that use violence, they receive it not. Just thus it falls out now in* Flanders, *where all Laws both humane and divine are troden under foot. Your Majesty shall not then use force, save only to suppress force; nor sharp remedies, till after having so long in vain used moderate ones. The wound is degenerated into a Gangreen; it requires fire and sword.*

By so many and so efficacious reasons, on the one, and on the other side the King was rather confused then confirmed; Cardinal *Granville* adhered to the Duke of *Alva*; and though he appeared to be a bitter enemy to the Flemish; yet his long experience in the affairs of that Country, gave authority to his very passions. On the other side Prince *Ruygomez* who was greatly in the Kings favour, joyned with the Duke of *Feria*. And almost the whole Councel was divided between these two opinions. The King did then again waver a little before he put on any resolution: But the news of the novelties in *Flanders* still increasing, and particularly those of the violence used to the Churches, and of the excess of liberty which the hereticks took in all things else, the King thought it was now no longer an act of will, but of necessity to send an Army into the Low-Countries, and to use force against the *Flemish*. Princes usually when they can, commit the execution of affairs to those who have had the greatest share thereof in Councel. Therefore the King chose the Duke of *Alva* to go chief Commander over his Forces which went for *Flanders*. To boot that if there should be any occasion to use them, none in *Spain* was thought to be more able (as hath been said) in that profession: A man rigid both in nature and aspect: haughty in peace, and much more haughty in war; long bred up in arms; and who thought it always advantagious for him and the King, to have them, and to make use of them. The delay was not long: requisite orders were suddenly given for the raising of good store of new soldiers in *Spain*; that they might be placed in the wonted Garisons in *Italy*, and that those who were ancient Companies might be sent into *Flanders*. The chief strength of foot were to be *Spaniards*; the horse were to be composed of *Italians*, *Burgundians* and High-*Dutch*: and some Regiments of foot were to come to *Flanders* from *Germany*, which by their vicinity might the speedilier be raised. Whilst these preparations were a making in *Spain*, *Italy* and other parts, the Regents affairs prospered in *Flanders*, as hath been said. Obedience was restored to the King, and the Church had almost wholly recovered hers; and the Country was on all sides reduced to quiet: so as it was expected that the King would change his mind, and that no Army should be sent into *Flanders*. But were it that he did think that the tumults risen in those Provinces were rather husht then quite extinct; or that desires to establish his Authority the better there for ever after, he would not lose the present occasion of doing it; or that he thought he could not without a great body of forces, perfectly enjoy the secure possession thereof, they being placed amidst neighbours, which made him daily more jealous of them; he continued his first resolution. The Duke of *Alva* being departed from *Spain*, and come by sea

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to *Genoa*: he muſtered the men ſpoken of before, in the State of *Millan*, which came to near 8000 Spaniſh foot, under four Camp-Maſters. *Alonſo Ulloa* commanded the Neapolitan Brigado; *Guellielmo Romero* that of *Cicily*; *Sancio di Londonio* that of *Lombardy*, and the Sardinian Brigado was commanded by *Gonſalo di Bracamonte*. All experienced ſoldiers, and under valliant Commanders. He gave the command of the horſe which were raiſed in *Italy*, which might be about 1500. the greateſt part whereof were Itallians, the reſt Spaniards, to his natural ſon *Fernando di Tolledo*. 300 were afterwards added to theſe in *Burgundy*; and of the Dutch there was but only one Regiment of 4000 foot raiſed at the preſent under Count *Alberico di Lodrone*. The Duke would have alſo divers other Spaniards to be near him, who were fit for command; and amongſt others, *Sancio d'Avola* who was Governor of the Caſtle of *Pavia*, and who by his valour came afterwards to the chief Commands in *Flanders*. Of the Italian Commanders, the chief were Marquis *Chiapino Vitelli*, and *Gabrio Serbelloni*, Prior of the Order of St. *Johns* of *Jeruſalem*, in *Hungary*: Both of them long experienced in the wars of *Italy*, and who had therein won much renown. He made *Vitelli* Camp-Maſter-General, and gave the charge of the Artillery to *Serbelloni*. The Muſter being made, and the Army marching in very good diſcipline, not meeting with any difficulty either from *France* or *Germany*, he led it finally into the Province of *Lucemberg*. He made ſome Brigades of foot advance from thence, and quartered them where he thought moſt convenient, the better to ſecure his entry into the Country, and then he himſelf went to the Regent. The Flemiſh who were much aſtoniſht to hear of theſe forces, were much more aſtoniſht when they ſaw them. Many of them reſolved to quit the Country before the Duke ſhould bring them in: and the Prince of *Orange* had already led them an example. He being aſſertained of ſo great a preparation of forces, and that the Duke of *Alva* was Commander in chief, reſolved to withdraw into *Germany*. He knew how ſuſpected his actions were in *Spain*.

'That the Duke of *Alva* formerly a rival, was now become a Superiour: and 'inſteed of thundring out contrary opinions in the Councel at *Madrid*, he was 'to lead a powerfull Army into *Flanders*. That the ſore orders were to be put 'into ſorer execution; if Count *Egmont* and the reſt would periſh through con. 'fiding, he would ſecure himſelf by doing the contrary; 'twas therefore no lon. 'ger time to ſtand lingring; 'twas better to get into *Germany*, and to be a ſpecta. 'tor of the Tragedies in *Flanders* afar off. And how could he with honour be 'under the Duke of *Alva*, who was but a bare Grandee of *Spain*? whereas he 'himſelf enjoy'd the Prerogative of Free States, and many other greater in his 'Family in *Germany*. Let others endure to ſee the Provinces of *Flanders*, always 'accuſtomed to be governed by ſome of the bloud royal, or at leaſt nearly allyd 'thereunto, fall with ſcorn into ſuch hands.

Together with him went his brother *Lodovick*; and at the ſame time the Count of *Hoſtrat* went from *Flanders*, Before *Orange* departed, he oft-times incited Count *Egmont* to do the like; and not able to prevail with him, he told him, *You will repent, but too late.* And in other ſpeeches did prognoſticate unto him thoſe misfortunes whereinto afterwards he fell.

The Duke taking a houſe in *Bruſſels*, not with the Regent, but in a houſe near the Palace-Royal; the firſt thing he did, was to make the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn* priſoners, which he did thus: They were both of them of the Councel of State, and therefore the Duke ſeeming as if he would know their opinions touching ſome intended Citadels, and eſpecially concerning one which he meant to erect preſently in *Antwerp*, he made them come to his lodgings, with divers others of the Councel. Some diſcourſe being here had upon the buſineſs, the Councel being ended, as they paſt through divers lodgings, they were by feigned pretences parted one from another, and after made priſoners. At the ſame time, but not in *Bruſſels*, was *Antonio Strales* taken, who had been oft-times Burgamaſter of *Antwerp*, a man of great imployment in that City, and eſteemed one of the chiefeſt Authors of the Tumults which had happened there; and *John Caſembrot* Lord of *Bacharſel*, who was *Egmonts* Secretary, and who managed all his affairs. By means of theſe two, more then by any others, the Duke hoped to come

by



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by the knowledg of many inportant buſineſſes, not only touching the perſonages of *Egmont* and *Horn*, but concerning the paſſages and events of all the late revolts. Upon the news hereof in *Spain*, *Montigni* was likewiſe ſuddenly impriſoned, the Marquiſs of *Bergen* being dead ſome months before in *Spain*, not without ſuſpition of being poyſoned as the Flemiſh did believe. The Regent knew nothing of what had befaln *Egmont* and *Horn*, till it was done. From the Kings firſt ſending of the Duke of *Alva* with an Army into *Flanders*, he had declared that the Duke ſhould have the ſole Government of the Militia, and that for all things elſe the Regent ſhould continue in her former adminiſtration. The Duke at his firſt arrival had ſhewed his Commiſſion to be ſuch; but the Regent had already diſcerned, that he had private Orders for further Authority then he would as yet make known. Yet ſhe did not think the Duke would have proceeded ſo far as he had done in the Impriſonment of *Egmont* and *Horn*, without making her firſt acquainted with his reſolution therein; ſo as ſhe eſteemed this either a diffidence, or an undervaluation of her by the King; and almoſt an approbation of thoſe accuſations which were laid to her charge in *Spain*: as if ſhe had uſed too much tolleration in the diſorders which had happened, and had rather occaſioned then ſuppreſt the novelties. Judging then that ſhe could not with her honour continue longer in ſuch a form of Government, and deſirous alſo to be rid of it, as one who had always been contrary to the Duke of *Alva*'s ſence touching the affairs of thoſe Countries; ſhe intreated the King that he would ſuffer her to return to *Italy*: and after ſome reiterated requeſts therein, ſhe at laſt got leave ſo to do. The King notwithſtanding ſeemed very well ſatisfied with her Government, and gave large demonſtrations thereof. He honoured her ſeveral ways, and in particular teſtimony of his gratitude, he gave her a good increaſe of revenue for her and her heirs; to boot with that which formerly ſhe enjoyed as her Dowry, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. She went from *Bruſſels* about the beginning of the year 1568. nor can it be ſaid how much love ſhe left behind her amongſt the Flemiſh. She was born amongſt them, and her demeanors were conformable to her birth. She was gracious, affable and moderate: but therewithall a Princeſs of a manly ſpirit, and conſtancy; ſince involved ſo long in ſo many ſtorms and tempeſts wherewith her Government was agitated, ſhe knew how to come out of them with ſo much honour, and at laſt, did turn the tempeſts into a calm.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK IV.

The Contents.

Divers of the Duke of Alva's *cruel proceedings. A great many of the Flemish fly to the neighbouring parts. The disposition of the confining Princes to foment the revolts of the Low-Countries.* Orange *his particular indeavours in* Germany *to this purpose. He cals a Diet of some Princes, and Hans Towns. His Speech to the Diet. The Germans resolve to assist the Flemish. Their first motion, and their defeat.* Lodovick *brother to* Orange, *enters* Friesland *with an Army. Count* Aremberg *is sent against him by the Duke of* Alva. *They fight:* Aremberg *is routed and slain. The Duke resolves to go himself in person against* Lodovick. *To this purpose he gives order for the increasing of his Army. Before his departure he causeth* Egmont *and* Horn *to be beheaded in* Brussels. *Other severities of his. He comes to the Army in* Friesland; *makes an Oration to the soldiers.* Lodovick *retreats; but the Duke overtakes him, fights him, and utterly defeats him.*

Anno. 1568.

THe Reyns of *Government* being wholly left in the Duke of *Alva*'s hand, he apply'd himself with all attention to execute his begun rigour upon the Flemish. Soon after that *Egmont* and *Horn* were made prisoners in *Brussels*, he sent them both well guarded to the Castle at *Gaunt*; and put in an High-Dutch Garison into it, instead of the Flemish Garison which was there before. He formed a new Tribunal of Justice by the name of a Councel to sit upon Tumults, for the better cognisance of businesses of that weight, and all others of that nature, and composed it of such as he thought he might most confide in: Amongst other he placed a Spanish Lawyer in it, and a Burgundian of the same profession; and he himself would be the President thereof. Then publishing his Authority in Print to make it the more formidable by being divulged: and proclaimed all those to be guilty of High-Treason, both against God and the King, who had had any thing to do in the late actions of the Covenant,

Covenant, Petition, and of the violences uſed againſt the Churches, and the Catholick religion. He forthwith accompanied the terror of his Threats with the ſeverity of Puniſhment. He cauſed the Prince of *Orange*, his Brother *Lodovick*, Count *Hoſtrate*, *Brederode* and *Colemburgh*, and the reſt of the prime men who were gone out of *Flanders*, to be publikely cited to appear before him within a certain prefixt time, upon pain of rebellion, and the loſs of their goods in caſe they did not appear. He cauſed a great many others of all ſorts to be impriſoned in ſundry parts of the Provinces, who were fallen into the aforeſaid faults, and they were in ſo great numbers, that all the priſons throughout the whole Country were on a ſudden full of them. To impriſonment he added Death, and made the market-places the places of execution, to the end that the publikeneſs thereof might infuſe the greater terror. At the ſame time he deſigned divers Citadels, and began to lay their foundations where he thought either the ſituation of the Towns, or the condition of the Inhabitants did moſt require it. The firſt was placed in *Antwerp*, with five royal Bulwarks upon the *Scheld*, upon which River the City is ſeated; to haſten the which he went in perſon to *Antwerp*, and made the City contribute towards the expence thereof, giving them aſſured hopes that as ſoon as the Citadel ſhould be put into a poſture of defence, *Lodroneas* Regiment of High-Dutch which were there in garriſon ſhould be removed. He began to build a Fort in *Fluſhing*, the chief Haven of *Zealand*, and which opens and ſhuts the entrance into the *Scheld*. He deſigned another in *Groninghen*, upon the confines of *Germany*; and another in *Valentiennes*, which lies towards *France*: But unleſs it were that of *Antwerp*, the reſt were not built; for ſo many troubles aroſe from ſo many parts, as the Duke had not fitting opportunity to doe it. He notwithſtanding ſecured the Frontiers on all ſides by good garriſons, againſt all innovations which might be endeavoured from abroad; and within, he diſarmed many of the moſt ſuſpected Cities, and diſtributed forces in divers parts, where he thought it moſt needfull to curb the *Flemiſh* more ſtraightly.

This ſo rigorous a beginning of Government put the Country every where into ſuch fear, as it was on a ſudden abandoned by a great number of people of all ſorts; they were reported to be above thirty thouſand. Thoſe who were no wayes concerned, were affrighted to ſee the faults of others ſo ſeverely puniſhed; and they groaned to ſee that *Flanders*, which was wont to enjoy one of the eaſieſt governments of all *Europe*, ſhould now have no other object to behold but the Terror of Arms, Flight, Exiles, Impriſonments, blood, death, and confiſcations. The people fled to the neighbouring parts of *Germany*, to *France*, and *England*: But thoſe of beſt quality retired to *Germany*, drawn thither by *Orange*, who encouraged them more then all the reſt to follow his example, and run his fortune. And who from thence did anſwer the Dukes citation in writing, refuſing to ſubmit himſelf to his Tribunal, as to that of a Judge too much ſuſpected, and of too inferior a condition to take cogniſance of ſuch a cauſe; ſaying that he was a free Prince of *Germany*, and therefore in the firſt place a Subject to the Emperour; and that being a Knight of the Golden Fleece, he was only to be judged by the King himſelf, who was the ſupreme Head of that Order. *Hoſtrat* anſwered almoſt in the ſame ſort, ſave only that he left out the reaſon of being Feudatory to the Emperour, for he had no eſtate in *Germany*. *Horn* had ſome eſtate of that nature; and therefore his Mother, when he was impriſoned, had ſuddenly recourſe to *Cæſars* Authority, and had from thence procured favourable offices in her ſons behalf to the King and Duke of *Alva*. The like is done by divers Princes of *Germany* in *Orange* his behalf, and thoſe that were joyned with him in the ſame cauſe; for indeed the Catholike Princes were no leſs diſpleaſed then were the Hereticks of thoſe parts with the Dukes ſeverity; and that ſuch an alteration ſhould be made in the Government of *Flanders*, with which Country they had ſuch conformity both in language, cuſtoms, and laws. The King promiſed all fair intreatment, ſo as the Citation might be obeyed. But none of thoſe that were cited daring to truſt, and the time of citation being already elapſed, the Duke proceeded to puniſhment; and amongſt other things, he made *Colemburghs* houſe in *Bruſſels* be pull'd down to the ground, in memory of the deteſtation of the ſeditious practiſes which were there chiefly woven and concluded. *Orange*

was Master of divers fair Towns in sundry Provinces of *Flanders*, (The Principality of *Orange* is in *France*, though not subject to that Crown) and of a great many likewise in the County of *Burgundy*; in *Brabant* amongst others he had *Breda*, a noble p ace, having a stately Castle in it, and of such consequence as the Duke of *Alva* would suddenly secure himself the better thereof by putting a garrison into it. To the confiscation of his goods, the Duke added the retension of the Count *di Buren*, a Youth of twelve years of age, who was the Prince of *Orange* his eldest son, and who was then at the University of *Lovain* following his studies; and under pretence that the King would have him follow the same studies and exercises in the University of *Alcala d' Enares*, he sent him well guarded into *Spain*. *Orange* and his companions, together with other Nobles who were fled from *Flanders*, exasperated at these proceedings, did what they could to shew their resentment. Their chief end was to raise Forces, and lead them into *Flanders*; hoping assuredly that when any Forces should appear from without, they that were within the Country would suddenly rise. This was therefore hotly endeavoured, and it was managed by their Adherents in almost all the Provinces of *Flanders*. The Duke of *Alva's* government infused horror into them, and by all dreadful exagerations they endeavoured to make the people abhor it. From without they themselves endeavoured by all possible means to draw other Princes to favour their cause. From *England*, 'twas known the Queen had a great inclination to foment whatsoever novelties which might happen in the *Low-Countries*. She considered, that if the King of *Spain* should possess them peacefully, his Forces would be too formidable both by sea and land throughout all *Europe*: That she in particular was greatly to apprehend his Forces by Sea, since *England* and *Ireland* would be as it were invironed by the Fleets which might be maintained on the one side in *Spain*, and on the other in *Flanders*: That the King would not be backward in molesting her, having opportunity to doe it; as he who knew she sought to indamage him as much as she might, as he had already had several experiences. These outward dangers appeared unto the Queen to be the greater, when she considered also those within. She saw the Heretick government which she had introduced within her Kingdom began to totter; that a great many Catholicks were still in *England*, that *Ireland* was almost wholly Catholick; and that to cause innovations in those parts, particularly in matters of Religion, no Prince would be more forward therein then the King of *Spain*: She therefore desired to see her neighbour Countries involved in Heresie, hoping that people withdrawing themselves from the obedience of the Church, would the easelier be perswaded to doe the like from that of their Prince; and that one rebellion added to another, affairs should be so imbroiled in those parts, as there should be no design of troubling her. To this purpose the *Hugonot* Faction in *France* was at first favoured by her, and now more then ever; who joyed to see the progress thereof so great in that Kingdom. But her design in this point, was chiefly upon *Flanders*; for from thence, by reason of the vicinity of those Countries unto hers, both before, and much more after the Duke of *Alva* was entred there with his Forces, grew the greatest suspitions which she had of the King of *Spains* power. Wherefore she graciously received all those who fled from *Flanders* to *England*, and nourisht the complaints which they made against the *Spaniard*, and much more the hatred and ill will which they bore them. Nor content to favour them in her own Dominions, she did the like with the Hereticks of *France* and *Germany*, with whom she held continual correspondencie, and bore great sway. But though these offices did help, yet were they more then needed either for the one or the other faction. That of the *Hugonots* was already so increased in *France*, as they designed to ground a popular Commonwealth upon the ruines of the Monarchy. The government in Religion which they had imbraced was of this form: And desirous that their Politick interests should be guided by the like, they pretended that the King should permit them to meet in the general, and in the particular Assemblies, and to treat of what concerned their body apart, which was to make a total separation from the State, within the State. King *Charles* was then got out of his minority, and shewed himself to be both generously and piously given: But by reason of his youth, the government was still managed by the Queen his mother;

who

who set upon by the ambition of the Hereticks, and almost no less by the like of the Catholicks, did temporise amongst so many and so fierce storms, and sought to shun danger, since she knew not how to oppose it. Arms had already been several times both taken up, and laid down; and the King had endeavoured to allay the fire of Civil wars by divers Edicts of Pacification, (as they termed them) since the times would not suffer him totally to extinguish it. But the Edicts served but to little purpose to restore quiet to that Kingdom, since the factions were more inflamed then ever: Nor were Arms laid down, but that they might be taken up again with more advantage. To this end the *Hugonots* held close intelligence with the Queen of *England*, and with the Hereticks of *Germany*. And because the King of *Spain* assisted King *Charles*, and did integrally favour the Catholick cause, and especially by the *Flanders* Forces, therefore did not the *Hugonots* omit to foment the *Flemish* in their bad inclinations. Secret intelligence had ever past (as we have already said) between the Prince of *Orange* and *Coligni* the Admiral of *France*: But after *Orange* his retreat to *Germany*, their practises grew hotter: The one of them plotted the ruine of *France*, which was already begun; the other the ruine of *Flanders*, which was shortly to begin. Nor is it to be said how much the *Hugonots* desired to see the like troubles ensue in *Flanders*, as *France* did already suffer under, that they might have companions abroad, and to make but one cause of two, to the end that it might be so much the better defended by common forces, and honested by reciprocal examples. So that *Coligni*, and the other Chieftains of the Heretick faction used all possible diligence to make the *Flemish* who were fled into *France*, suddenly endeavour the like novelty, which they greatly desired to raise up of themselves in their Country. From *Germany* likewise, the Heretick Princes, and the *Hans*-Towns of the same Faction, seemed for the same reasons to have the same ends in the affairs of *Flanders*. Yet before the rise of *Luthers* Heresie, all the Princes and the Hans-Towns of *Germany*, which together with the Emperor their head doe compose the body of the Empire, were not well pleased to see that the House of *Austria*, first by the addition of *Flanders*, and then by that of *Spain*, should be so much exalted. Till then they had looked upon the fortune of that House with an envious eye. When *Charles* the Fifth was come to the Imperial Crown, they turned their envy into open fear, lest from being Head of the German government he might become absolute Prince of that Empire. They saw that how great soever his design might be, his Forces were equivalent in greatness thereunto. And their fear in this point was rather increased then diminished by the entry of Heresie into *Germany*: For they apprehended, lest under the colour of reordering the affairs concerning Religion, he might intend to advantage his own Authority the more easily in those which regarded the State. Hence in a great part were occasioned the troubles of those Countries; hence their so many Dyets, and particularly the Accords which insued in point of Religion. And though when *Charles* dyed, the House of *Austria* was divided, and that the greatest power thereof remained in that Branch which was transplanted into *Spain*; and that on the other side the Hereticks had great Forces in *Germany*, yet feared they much the neighbourhood of *Flanders*: They suspected that the Forces of that House might upon all occasions be on that side united against them; to boot that by the opportunity of that situation they saw too great advantages arose to the *Austrians* in *Germany* to continue the enjoyment of the Empire; and that in stead of being elective, it might become hereditary in that Family; and that the possession might remain in the Catholick part, with the exclusion of the Heretical. They therefore fauthor'd by all the means they might, the Novelties which had insued in *Flanders* in the Government of the Dutchess of *Parma*: They favoured Heresie, fomented Sedition, counsell'd their chief Leaders, and endeavoured by all other means to cause such Troubles in those Provinces, as that the King of *Spain* might either wholly lose them, or not quietly enjoy them. They termed *Flanders* the *Lower-Germany*, and reputed it as joyned to the body of their own *Upper-Germany*, by reason of the connexion of Countries, the conformity of speech and manner of living, and by the community of Traffick and Rivers; of which 'tis arguable whether the *Rhine* be more commodious to higher *Germany* by the longer course thereof,

or to the lower by her breadth. In theſe reſpects their friendſhips, adherents, and allyances were very great in thoſe parts. Moreover, divers of the beſt Families of *Flanders* derived from *Germany*; and amongſt others, that of the Prince of *Orange*, who afterwards married with the houſe of *Saxony*, as hath been ſaid. The heretick Princes held therefore their ſtreighteſt coreſpondencies with him, and to him did diſcover their moſt intimate ſence of the affairs of *Flanders*, becauſe it was moſt conformable with his own. *Orange*, being afterwards gon to them by reaſon of the Duke of *Alva*'s being come into *Flanders*, he ſtill indeavoured to increaſe in them a reſolution, not to tollerate that oppreſſion which he in the moſt horrid manner he could invent, affirmed to be already introduced by the Spaniards amongſt the Flemiſh. Affirming that this cauſe was common to both the *Germanies*; he mingled the Intereſt of Religion together with that of State; and by the ſtrength and vivacity of wit, made dangers a far off ſeem very near at hand. He chiefly propounded a meeting between thoſe Princes who were moſt to dread the Spaniſh forces in *Flanders*; the Queen of *England* aſſiſted him herein by her authority, and the Hugonots of *France* by their practices. So as the reſolution was ſoon put on; and divers Hans Towns joyned therein likewiſe, by ſending their Deputies thither; particularly thoſe which are ſituated upon the *Rhine*, in which by reaſon of their neighbourhood with *Flanders*, the aforeſaid power of the Spaniſh forces was moſt dreaded: Of the Princes, the Count Palatine of *Rhine* was moſt remarkable, his State lay neareſt to *Flanders*; he had the beſt forces: and being paſt on from *Luthers* hereſie to that of *Calvin*, he held greater coreſpondency with the hereticks of *France*, and with the Queen of *England*. The reſt were the Duke of *Wittenberg*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, the Marquis of *Bada*, the Marquis of *Durlack*, and ſome neighbouring Counts, beſides thoſe of *Naſſaw*. The King of *Denmark*, and the houſe of *Saxony* ſent likewiſe their particular Deputies to the Diet. Buſineſs doth ſtill proceed ſlowly, which is to be agitated by many: either they differ in their ends, or agree not in the means, or for the moſt part are loſt through confuſion. But their progreſs is more ſlow then ordinarily in *Germany*, where negotiations are not had without much prolixity, more by writing then by word of mouth, and where more time is ſpent in banqueting then in buſineſs. The Diet proceeded on then but ſlowly, and by reaſon of the variety of opinions, many difficulties were met with in the things propoſed. Whereupon the Prince of *Orange*, being all on fire himſelf, and that he might ſet others on fire likewiſe, ſpake one day thus,

'It is not aſſuredly any waies to be doubted (moſt Noble Princes and worthy 'Deputies) but that we now treat upon a common cauſe. The one and the other '*Germany* are ſufficiently united in ſituation, tongue, name, traffick, life, and in 'all things elſe. And who knows not that in former times they both made but 'one body? their people do chiefly affect liberty. And though in *Flanders* the 'Prince be heriditory, whereas in *Germany* he is elective, yet almoſt the ſame pre-'eminence is due by them to their States as is here attributed to your Dyets. 'But how oft, and with how much labour and danger hath it behoved the one 'and the other Nation, to oppoſe themſelves to the avaritiouſneſs of their Prin-'ces? I will leave the purſuit of ancient affairs, that I may come to the more mo-'dern; and thoſe of *Germany*, that I may deſcend to the preſent affairs of *Flan-'ders*. When the Emperour *Charls* the fifth was dead, every one knows the 'King his ſon's chiefeſt deſire was, to leave thoſe parts, and ſettle himſelf in *Spain*. 'Being there wholly transformed into the ſence and Cuſtoms of that people, he 'grew deſirous to govern *Flanders* after the ſame manner and Empire as *Spain* 'was governed. And what more imperious Miniſter of State could he leave be-'hind him with the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, then the Cardinal *Granville*? Did I ſay 'Miniſter of State? nay rather ſupream Governor; ſince whilſt he was there 'the Dutcheſs bore only the name of Regent: the whole power lay in him, baſe 'Burgundian! The firſt Author of *Flanders*'s miſchiefs; and who deſerves 'chiefly to be puniſhed, ſince the fault was chiefly his. The Government of the 'Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal affairs was ſuddenly altered in divers ſorts by abſo-'lute Authority; but chiefly by new Edicts, ſtill more grievous to the conſcience, 'and by introducing the Inquiſition. The ſecreteſt Oracles are come from the

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'Councel of *Spain*, and are executed by ſecret conſultations in *Flanders*. If the 'Nobility have complained, their complaints have proved vain; to Petition, is 'counted treachery: to ſeem troubled, rebellion; and the caſual headdy giddi-'neſs of the common people, a premeditated inſurrection of the whole Country. 'In fine, nothing but to have a pretence to uſe force againſt *Flanders*, was expe-'cted in *Spain*. And what more light pretence could be taken, then to go about to 'ſuppreſs thoſe tumults, which were ſeen to ceaſe almoſt aſſoon as begun? When 'ſo ſuddenly hereupon the Flemiſh are inſolently declared in *Spain* to be rebels to 'God, and to the King: and a foreign Army marches to cauſe *Flanders* to be 'treated hereafter, not as a ſucceſſive Nation, but as a Conquered Countrey. 'And who could be better choſen to execute ſuch violences then the Duke of '*Alva*? the moſt haughty minded man of all *Spain*; *Flanders* greateſt enemy: 'and who knows better then any other how to extinguiſh all remainders of re-'ligion, and in lieu thereof to uſe all ſorts of Tyranny. And juſt ſo it fell out. 'He hath begun to raiſe Citadels in the chiefeſt Cities: he hath placed Gariſons 'every where; the places of execution run down with bloud in all Towns. no 'more home-Laws are heard of, but forein ones. The Country is almoſt unpeo-'pled by exilement, impriſonment and running away. And nothing but gaſtly 'looks, complaints, miſery, deſparation, and calamity is ſeen every where. In 'this deplorable eſtate is *Flanders* at the preſent. How much more happie then 'is *Germany*, which enjoys her former libertie, and which abhorring all forein 'force, knows no other Empire then her own? I partake of this felicity, for from 'hence I derive my bloud, and my firſt ſtem remains ſtill here. Nay I am more 'hated in *Spain* then any other of the Flemiſh, by reaſon of my German ſpirit. 'I am held to be the contriver of Conſpiracies, the head of ſedition, the peſti-'lence of thoſe Countries. Their greateſt anger thunders againſt me, and the 'ſevereſt puniſhments are already fallen upon me. Thus they ſeek to turn my 'glory to infamy: And what greater glory can there be, then to maintain the 'liberty of a mans Country, and to die rather then be inſlaved? I then (moſt 'high Princes and Noble Deputies) who am both a German and a Fleming, after 'having laid before you the miſeries of the Lower *Germany*, whoſe tears and ſup-'plications I bring hither with me, do in her name implore the help and protecti-'on of the Upper *Germany*. But ſuch recourſe for refuge will not avail, unleſs 'you your ſelves repute the cauſe which is now in hand, to be common as well to '*Germany* as to *Flanders*, as I at firſt took for granted. And who can doubt it? 'who is not aware of the Spaniards vaſt deſignes? doubtleſly a deſire of Domi-'nation doth naturally reigne in all men. One will draws on another; nor doth 'what is poſſeſt give ſatisfaction. But how immence, how immoderate doth this 'thirſt appear particularly in the Spaniards? they think not their unknown 'worlds ſufficient to quench it; and will therefore extend their Empire ſtill fur-'ther in thoſe which are known. They fix their eyes, and their machinations much 'more, upon *Europe* in particular. When they ſhall have oppreſt *Flanders*, and 'have gotten ſo opportune a ſeat for their Arms, what Province will they next 'fall upon? that certainly which they ſhall have moſt reaſon to fear. He who 'will lay the foundations of ſervitude well, firſt ſeeks to beat down the Bulwarks 'of Liberty. Wherefore knowing that they ſhall be moſt withſtood by the pow-'er and undaunted ſpirits of this Nation, which in all things is ſo united to *Flan-'ders*, they will forthwith bend all their forces hitherward. It may then be con-'cluded, that the Spaniſh forces being in *Flanders*, will be always ready to enter '*Germany*: and then what will your miſeries be? when their Colonies ſhall 'likewiſe be ſeen here; new faces, new Cuſtoms, ſevere Laws, more ſeverely ex-'ecuted heavy yoaks upon mens perſons and more heavy upon their conſciences? 'This point being then granted, that the danger will be common amongſt us, 'the other will be clear, that the cauſe ſhould likewiſe be reputed common: the 'reſt follows on in conſequence: One neighbour runs to quench the fire that is 'kindled in another neighbours houſe. When a river threatens to break in, who 'runs not from all ſides to mend the banks? the ſame courſe ought now to be 'held all you muſt haſte to help the Flemiſh; ſince you are the firſt that are like-'ly to feel the flames of their fire, and they who ſhall firſt partake of the inun-

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'dation of so many miseries which they suffer. But do not believe that they will 'linger in expectation of your aids. They will move assoon as they shall see 'you move: and their worth and vertue, which by so unexpected and cruel a 'violence, is rather stupified then oppresst, will return with greater vigour then 'before, What cannot armed desparation do? what dares it not? the entrance 'will be always easie from these parts into *Friesland*, and into the Provinces of '*Flanders* which are on this side the *Rhine*, that river will with like easines be 'at all times past over: all the chief Cities will throw open their gates. The 'Nobility, and all the whole Country will joyn in the same opinion. But I 'came short when I said that only *Germany* and *Flanders* would joyn in this 'cause: *France* and *England*, and the other Northern Countries, will undoubt-'edly joyn with us, since they stand in like fear of the Spanish forces. He that 'commits violence doth not always boast thereof. And how oft do we see op-'pression prove the ruine of the oppressor? It may so fall out, as whilst the 'Spaniards do so greedily gape after other mens states, they may chance to lose 'their own. The Flemish expect only your assistance, to escape so hard a sla-'very. And I in their names do once again earnestly implore it. The cause can-'not be more just, nor more easily helped: and it is yours no less then ours. All 'neighbours will take it for their own concernment; and the whole North will 'favour it. But as the defence will in the first place fall to your share, so the first 'place of victory will be given to your forces. And so by the title of our being 'oppressed, you shall for ever be accounted our deliverers.

The Crown of *Spain* never had, nor never shall have a fiercer enemy then the Prince of *Orange*. To this his discourse made in publick, he added many others in privat. He exagerated all the evils which are wont to be said in detestation of great Empires and their Governors; and sought by all means possible to imprint those passions in the minds of others, which burnt so fiercely in his own. He pre-'vailed so far with the Diet, as even the backwardest amongst them, wisht they had helped the Flemish. Whereupon it was concluded that such men as were ne-cessary for that purpose should speedily be raised. This resolution was suddenly communicated by *Orange* to his confederates of *Flanders*, and to those also with whom he held intelligence in *France* and in *England*. They designed to enter *Flanders* at one and the same time in divers parts. The easiest way seemed to be by *Friesland*, as being the most open Country, and the most commodious to re-ceive German aids. The other side whereon they would endeavour to get en-trance was *Brabant* and *Ghelderland*, confining upon the States of *Cleves* and *Ju-liers*, and *Liege*. On the behalf of *France*, the Hugonot intimated hopes that they would cause some novelties in the *Walloon* Frontiers; and the like was pro-mised from *England*, in *Holland* and *Zealand* by sea. They made no delay: much soldiery did just then return to *Germany*, which *John Casimere*, one of the Count Palatines of *Rhine*, had not long before led into *France* in favour of the Hugo-nots. Arms were for that time laid down in that Kingdom by some agreement betweeh the parties interessed; and therefore the aforesaid Germans returning to their own homes, *Orange* and the rest of his adherents, thought it very oportune upon this occasion to make use of them for the accomplishment of their designes. Such as were needfull being then tane into pay by the Princes, and Ci-ties that did intervene in the Diet, as many of them as were requisit, to boot with the men which they raised in their own Countries, began to march under Count *Lodovick*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, with intention to enter the Low-Countries on the side of *Friesland*: but before he began to move, another was heard of towards *Ghelderland*. *Lumay* and *Villiers*, were two of those Nobles who had shared most in the Covenant, Petitions and revolts which had happened in the Dutchess of *Parma*'s time, they feared to be punished by the Duke of *Alva*, proportionably to their demerits. Having therefore through this appre-hension quitted their Countrie, they would now return again with forces. They resolved to put it to a tryal, by indeavouring to surprise some important place in *Ghelderland*. They thought *Ruremond* a fitting place, a City standing on the *Mause*, and which might serve them for a passage into *Brabant*. *Orange* insti-gated them hereunto; for he designed to enter with very powerfull forces on

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that ſide, and then to ſettle in the midſt of the Countrie. Having gathered tumultuouſly together about 2000 fot, and ſome few horſe, a rabble of people, all of them almoſt of the neighbouring Countries, they moved to execute the aid deſigne: and they hoped for better ſucceſs, for that they had ſome intelligence in the City. This was ſoon foreſeen, and ſpeedily prevented by the Duke of *Alva*. He diſpacht away the Camp-Maſter *Londonio* forthwith thitherward with ſome *Spaniſh*, ſome *German*, and ſome *Walloon* Colours, and ſent *Sancio d'Avila* likewiſe thither with 3 o horſe; and in the firſt place ſecured *Maſtrick*, that being the chief paſs towards *Germany*. That City is cut through, not in the midſt, but on one ſide by the *Mauſe*, the leſſer part thereof makes as it were an angle, which is called by the name of *Vich*. This part belongs to the Principality of *Liege*; but the chief body of the Town is under the Low-Countries. The City is united by a ſtone-bridg: and the *Ligeois* contented with the Civil Government of what belongs to them, leave both the leſſer and greater diviſion under the Military cuſtody of the King of *Spain*. The revolters drew near *Ruremond*, and endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of one gate; but they failed in their deſigne: for they reaped no good by the Intelligence they had within; but found things in a better poſture of defence then they expected. They therefore preſently withdrew into the State of *Liege*, fearing to have the Spaniards on their back, if they ſhould tarry in the Kings Territories. This mean while *Londonio* and *Avila* were on their march; and underſtanding that they were retreated, *Londonio* was not minded to purſue them into *Liege*, ſaying,

Will not this be to offend and irritate our neighbours? our own Countrie is too full of jealouſie. Let us make a bridg to them that fly; to ſee the enemy run away, is to have ſufficiently overcome.

But *Avila* was for purſuing them: replying,

Our neighbours will be ſo far from being hereat offended, as they ought rather to thank us for it. Do not we know that theſe wicked ones have entred the Country of Liege *by force? the* Ligeois *will then repute our forces for their own, and muſt confeſs that we have done this to free them, not to invade their Countrie.*

This opinion prevailed; and the Spaniards advancing, heard that *Lumay* and *Villiers* were retired with their men towards *Dalem*, a little Town, bordering upon the Country of *Liege*, environed with a wall and a ditch, but otherwiſe not ſtrong. They did not think that the Spaniard would have touched upon that State: but when they knew they marched towards them, they got underneath the walls of *Dalem*, and aſſiſted by a ravelin on one ſide, and by the carriage carts on the other, they prepared to defend themſelves. When the Spaniards were come up, they ſent ſome of their men forthwith to the other ſide of the Town, and with the reſt gave ſo ſtrong an aſſault to the enemy on the front, as they wholly routed them. They ſlew many of them, took many of them, and amongſt the reſt, *Villiers* was taken priſoner. So the deſigne of the Flemiſh who had quit their Countrie, proved vain on that ſide. Not long after they indeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of the Town of *Graves*, which was firſt poſſeſt by the Prince of *Orange*; and which being ſeated upon the *Mauſe*, on the utmoſt confines of *Brabant*, would have been very fit for their purpoſe. But they were not well got in, by means of ſome intelligence which they had, when they reſolved to be gon again, hearing that the Dukes men marched towards them. Nor had they better ſucceſs in a conſpiracy of theirs, which (as was commonly divulged) was not long before diſcovered againſt the Dukes perſon. He oft-times uſed to paſs by the Forreſt *Soigny*, near *Bruſſels*, upon occaſion of frequenting a Monaſtery which was thereabouts, called *Groendal*. Some of the Nobility had reſolved to ſet upon him with ſome men in that wood, and to kill him, and ſo ſuddenly to run to *Bruſſels*, and to raiſe the people there. But were it either that the report was falſe, (for the conſpiracy was not much believed) or that the deſigne could not be executed, the buſineſs ſoon vaniſht, no certainty of it being ever known. Count *Lodovick* was this mean while fallen into *Frieſland* with an intire Army, conſiſting as 'twas ſaid, of 10000 foot, and 3000 horſe; and *Orange* did prepare at the ſame time to paſs into the Low Countries on another ſide with a much greater ſtrength. *Lodovick* being entred *Frieſland*, he began to fortifie the

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Town of *Delfeziel*, ſituated towards the mouth of the river *Embs*. This river divides Eaſt-*Frieſland*, which belongs to the Upper-*Germany*, from Weſt-*Frieſland*, which appertains to the Lower. As it grows nearer the ſea, it ſo inlargeth it ſelf, as by the mouth thereof it makes a gulf. Here is the City of *Embden* ſeated, one of the moſt conſiderable Towns of all the Maretine part, by reaſon of the frequency of people, and oportunity of Commerce, which is much helped by the Haven thereof, being held one of the moſt commodious of all the North. The Flemiſh *Frieſland* (if I may ſo call it) makes two Provinces; that which joyns upon *Germany*, is called *Groninghen*, from the City of the ſame name: a City very well populated, and ſuſpitiouſly ſeated, being the chiefeſt Key of thoſe Confines. 'Tis ſeated very low, as is its ſiſter Province, which retains the name of *Frieſland*. In Winter the fields ſtand full of water; and there is no coming to their habitations but upon the banks: in Summer the land lies dry, and yields great ſtore of paſturage You would ſay that in thoſe parts the ſea is interchangably turned into land, and the land to ſea. By reaſon of the low ſituation, and great humidity, there is no Woods in the Country, nor almoſt any ſort of Trees which may ſerve for firing. But where nature is therein wanting, the Inhabitants make it good by their induſtry; they make uſe of Turfs cut out of the Earth, and dryed in the Sun, in ſtead of Wood. Theſe are the Woods of *Frieſland*, and the Inhabitants uſual fire. In divers other parts of *Flanders* they ſu ffer likewiſe the ſame wants, and with the ſame induſtry provide againſt it. *Lodovick* intended to make himſelf Maſter of the City of *Groninghen*, and there were ſome within the Town who fed him with hopes of ſo doing. He therefore encamped thereabouts, and fortified himſelf where he thought beſt; eſpecially where he might receive new ſupplies from *Germany*. But the Duke of *Alva* had not been wanting this mean while in taking ſuch order as was needfull to withſtand this Army. Count *Aremberg* was Governour of that *Frieſland* which belong'd to the King of *Spain*; he was one of the chiefeſt Lords of *Flanders*; of great eſteem in the Militia: and who a little before was ſent by the Duke into *France* with a good ſtrength of horſe to the aid of King *Charls* againſt the hereticks of that Kingdom. The affairs of *France* being afterwards ſetled, and *Aremberg* being returned to *Flandets*, the Duke ſent him ſuddenly into *Frieſland*. He had under him a Regiment of High-*Dutch*: and Count *Mega*, Governour of the Provinces of *Ghelderland* and *Zutfen*, had another. The Duke then ordered, that as many of the High-*Dutch* as could be had, ſhould fall down into thoſe parts. He diſpatched away thither alſo the Camp-Maſter *Bracamonte*, with almoſt his whole *Spaniſh* Brigado, and ſome horſe, and ſix Field-Pieces. *Lodovick* had begun to fortifie the Town of *Dam*, from whence there runs a Channel to *Delfeziel*; but hindred by the coming of the *Spaniards*, he reſolved to quit thoſe Quarters, and to go to a certain Priory not far from thence, which was more commodious and ſafe: the ground was higher here then in other parts, and there were ſome trees which ſerved for the uſe of the Priory. Here the Count took up his Quarters, not knowing whether the *Spaniards* would aſſault him or indeavour by reducing him to ſtraits, to make him return to *Germany*. If they ſhould aſſault him, it would make for his advantage, by reaſon of his ſituation, and becauſe the *Spaniards* were of neceſſity to paſs through the hollow places where they had cut out Turfs, which ſtood ful of water and mire, as did likewiſe all the fields thereabouts. He feared rather to be ſtraitned in victuals, and conſequently inforced to retreat: but he was not left long in this doubt. The *Spaniards* aſſoon as they deſcri'd the enemy, began to murmure for that *Aremberg* would not ſuffer them to fall on and aſſault them; which he was againſt, conſidering wiſely that *Mega* was not yet come, and that he expected ſome further reinforcement of horſe and foot, his preſent forces being fewer in number then were the enemy. But his councel was but little liſtned unto, nor his Authority reſpected. For the *Spaniards*, impatient of all delay, deſpiſing his Command, would forbear no longer. Nay ſome of them uſing injurious and offenſive words towards him, tearmed him a coward for matter of War, and diſloyal in the Cauſe of the Church and King. Whence much incenſt, he ſaid,

Let us then goe, not to overcome, but to be overcome; and not by the Arms of our Enemies, but those which Nature adoperates for them. Shall not we be buried in water, dirt, and Ditches, before we can come to assault them? How strong in all other respects is their Situation? and how much greater are their numbers then ours? Notwithstanding will be one of the first that will fight, and dye: Then will I shew whether I degenerate from my blood or no, whether I be a Coward, and whether I be faulty in my loyalty to my Religion and to my King.

This being said, he with the rest fell headlong into the battel. The *Spaniards* were on the front, the *High-Dutch* followed; and the Horse were plated more where the quality of the ground would permit them to be, then in any good order; the Artillery guarded one flank of the Enemy, where they lay most open. *Lodovick* on the contrary, seeing himself at such advantage, full of joy, put his Army in order, and encouraged them thus unto the battel.

What Victory (my fellow) Souldiers, was ever more certain, then that which we shall this day win upon the Spaniards? *Do you see how rashly, and with how much arrogancie they come to assault us? as if this Quarter of so valiant Souldiers were the proud* Alva's *Palace, and that they were by their base treacheries to imprison here some other* Egmont *and* Horn; *to make them afterwards laughing-stocks, and to destroy them in their new Forts, wherewith they have inthralled* Flanders *every where. But this day undoubtedly will make them repent their so many tyrannical proceedings; and make the Country conceive a certain hope, that all bondage being shaken off, it shall soon recover its former liberty. If we consider Forces, ours are twice as many as theirs: If the Cause, Violence displayes the Colours on their side, and Justice on ours: If the condition of Souldiers, many of theirs are to be accounted ours; and how can their* Germans *differ in opinion from you? But say they were all* Spaniards, *that they were more in number then we, and that they had the better cause; were not our so many other advantages sufficient to win us the victory? The water, dirt, and holes will rob us of the honour of overcoming them. This will not be like the encounter at* Dalem, *where those few of our men thinking to be safe in the Country of* Liege, *were set on at unawares, and routed without almost any fighting. Deceits will not avail here: We will here soon repay our selves for that loss, with good use to boot. In Wars, the beginning useth to presage the end: And therefore we by this present Victory, will ascertain the future. But lo the Enemy already comes on; receive him couragiously: For as Justice leads them on to punishment, so doth it you to prey, revenge, and glory.*

He had ordered his men thus: The Horse on the right wing, under his brother *Adolphus*, who had the command of them, on which side the ground was more tractable; the Foot on the left, where they were sheltred by a little hill, whereon he placed some Files of Musquetiers; he left the ground on which were trees on his back, and on his front that which was most myery. At the first the Spanish Artillery did somewhat prejudice his men; and some of them did so couragiously charge *Lodovicks* Musquetiers who were placed to defend the little hill, as they hoped to win it: whereupon the *Spaniards* gave on upon the Enemy with more obstinate resolution then before. But they soon were aware of their errors: For bemyred in the water and mud, the more they endeavoured to get out, the faster they stuck; and the rest who came to help them, had need of help themselves. They were then wounded and slain by the Enemies Foot, who ran no danger thereby: And *Lodovick* making his Horse wheel about, invironed *Arembergs* men, and without any trouble routed and defeated them. In the Battel about 600 *Spaniards* were slain, and almost none of the *Germans*; for they suddenly yielded upon discretion to the Enemy, who easily gave them their lives, upon obligation that they should never bear arms more for the *Spaniard*. *Aremberg*, playing the part rather of a common Souldier then of a Commander, whilst he fought couragiously was slain at the first encounter. There were but few lost on *Lodovicks* side: their greatest loss was in his brother *Adolphus*; Some will have it that he was slain by *Arembergs* own hand, and that *Adolphus* slew *Aremberg*. The *Spaniards* lost their Artillery and their Baggage, and some monies which was brought to their Camp to pay the Souldiers. The Battel was not well ended, when a Troop of horse appeared, led on by Count *Curtio Martinengo*, and by

Andrea Salatſar, which Count *Mega* had ſent before to reinforce the Horſe of the Kings army. Their arrival helped at leaſt to hinder the Enemy from ſlaughtering any more of the disbanded men, who ran away from the Spaniſh Camp. Nor was *Mega* himſelf long after in coming up; who conſidering the danger of *Groninghen*, entred thereinto ſuddenly, and did there aſſemble all the men he could get together, leſt they might fall into *Lodovicks* hands.

The ſucceſs of this Battel was ſundry times related to me in the time of my being Nuntio in the *Low-Countries*, by Count *Aremberg*, ſon to him that was ſlain: who was Knight of the Golden Fleece; a Gentleman of very much merit likewiſe, and no whit inferior to his Father in the managing as well of Military as Civil affairs in *Flanders*.

Upon the news of this Rout, the Duke of *Alva* was much troubled: He ſaw how that *Lodovick*, when he was hardly entred *Frieſland*, had won ſo important a victory; that *Orange* prepared likewiſe to enter the Country with very potent Forces; and that now the Neighbours would be much encouraged to aſſiſt them, and the *Flemiſh* ready to receive them. Moved by theſe conſiderations, he would have gone himſelf in perſon preſently into *Frieſland*, the better to ſecure that Frontier, to drive *Lodovick* from thence, and to hinder *Orange* from entring into *Flanders* by any other part. But he conſidered on the contrary, that he had not at that preſent men enough to confront the Enemy, and to ſecure the Country. But he chiefly queſtioned whether he were to go ſo far or no from the impriſoned *Egmont* and *Horn*, ſince a ſlight guard would not be ſufficient to keep them, and his Army would be too much leſſened by leaving a great garriſon. Amidſt theſe difficulties, he judged it was not fit to afford the Enemy time: whereupon he reſolved to haſten as faſt as might be divers Levies, which he forthwith gave order for, of German, Burgonian, and Walloon foot and horſe, and to go with all ſpeed to drive *Lodovick* out of *Frieſland*. This reſolution being put on, he determined to have the cauſe of the aforeſaid Counts, and of other Priſoners of quality ſpeedily heard and determined; touching which he had received divers expreſs Commiſſions from *Spain*: The Kings Councel thinking it fit that the hainouſneſs of ſo many faults committed by ſuch Chieftains againſt the Church and King ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. The two Counts being forthwith brought with a good guard from *Gaunt* to *Bruſſels*, after ſeven moneths impriſonment, they received their ſentence, whereby they were adjudged to be publikely beheaded, and their goods confiſcated as guilty of the aforeſaid faults againſt divine and humane Majeſty. Before they came to their execution, eighteen of a meaner condition were publikely put to death in the ſame City, for being Rebels. Soon after, for the ſame faults, Monſieur *de Villiers* and Monſieur *de Dny* had their heads cut off in ſight of all the people. And laſtly, two dayes after the ſentence was executed upon *Egmont* and *Horn*; the place of execution being firſt well guarded by a great many *Spaniards*, to hinder any tumult which might ariſe amongſt the people by ſeeing two Perſonages of ſuch condition led to death, one of them being eſpecially ſo generally beloved by the *Flemiſh*. The ſorrow which they ſhewed for his death, was anſwerable to the love they bore *Egmont*. He was bewailed by all; many vowed his revenge; and they were not a few who gathered up the blood which ran from his body. So great was the ſenſe which was then had of his ſuffering, and ſo fatal accidents did afterwards inſue, as if the neck of whole *Flanders* had depended upon his. *Egmont* dyed with demonſtration of great piety and courage. *Horn* did likewiſe undauntedly wait the blow; and being to loſe his life, he ſtood not much upon his conſcience. *Strales* formerly Burgamaſter of *Antwerp*, who had ſo much fomented the ſeditions of that City, as hath been ſaid in its proper place, was executed in *Vilvorde*, within two leagues of *Bruſſels*, where he was impriſoned. And *Caſſenbrot*, formerly Secretary to *Egmont*, was whilſt alive torn to peeces by four horſes in *Bruſſels*. Other four obſtinate hereticks, who had had the greateſt hand in the violation & depredation of the Churches, were publikely burnt; and divers others were at the ſame time executed in ſeveral places, to the ſo great fear and horror of the people, as nothing was any where ſeen or heard but ſighs, groans, and lamentations. To all this was added a horrible Proclamation againſt all thoſe that were fled, who were ſummoned



Chiapino Vitelli Marquess of Cetona
Campe-master-generall

moned to return upon pain of loſing their goods, if they did not, and a ſtrict ſearch was ordered to find out all their wealth. At the ſame time *Montigni*, brother to Count *Horn*, was put to death in *Spain*; the Marquis of *Berghen* being dead there likewiſe ſome monet s before, as hath been ſaid. The Duke being thus free from the fear of his Priſoners he gave himſelf wholly to the thought of Arms. He diſpatcht away the Marquis *Chiapino Vitelli* immediately with many men, to ſecure *Groninghen*: And this mean while 1500 German Horſe were raiſed by *Henry*, one of the Dukes of *Brunſwick*; 400 German Dragoons by *Hans Bernia*, and 1000 in *Burgundy* by Signior *Norchernet*; and the German Regiments which were under *Mega*, *Ladrone*, and *Schamburg* were recruited. To theſe Foot were added three new Walloon Brigades under the command of Count *de Rules*, of *Egidius Barlemonte* Lord of *Hierges*, and *Gaſpero de Robles* Lord of *Bigly*; and all theſe people were ordered to meet at *Deventer*, a City ſtanding upon the River *Iſel* in the Province of *Overiſel*, joyning upon *Frieſland*; in which City the Duke was to be with all the Spaniſh Brigades, except it were ſome few Companies which were left in the moſt important Garriſons. Theſe expeditions being made, *Vitelly* ſoon arrived at *Groninghen*; and there were with him *Brunſwicks* Horſe, *Mega's* Foot, and part of *Shamburg's* Foot. *Lodovick* durſt not all this time lay a formal ſiege to *Groninghen*, partly becauſe he had not men enough for that purpoſe, partly becauſe he hoped to be brought in by Intelligence, and finally becauſe he would not ingage himſelf in a buſineſs, of which he could not diſingage himſelf but either by danger or diſhonour. *Vitelli* being afterwards come to *Groninghen*, *Lodovick* ſtaid ſtill neer thereabouts in a place ſtrengthened by a River on one ſide, and by the buildings of a Priory called *Salveret* on the other, where he had fortified himſelf very well. *Vitelli*, to encourage his men, and to try the Enemies valour, made many skirmiſhes, and reſolved at laſt to poſſeſs himſelf of a place ſomewhat higher neer to *Lodovicks* quarters, and where the Enemy had fortified themſelves: The place was ſomewhat diſputed, but at laſt he won it with the ſlaughter of about an hundred of their men. This mean while the Duke himſelf was on his march; and having thrown Bridges over the *Mauſe*, *Rhine*, and *Iſel*, and readily paſt over all thoſe Rivers, he about the midſt of *July* arrived at *Deventer*: Then raiſing his whole Camp from thence, he in three dayes march came to *Rolde*, a large Village neereſt to *Groninghen*, and not far diſtant from the Enemy. He was not well got thither, when a great Alarm was given, occaſioned by a ſpeech that the Enemy did aſſault that place which *Vitelli* had taken from them. The Duke went himſelf in perſon to ſee what was doing, and he found the rumour falſe: whereupon, calling to mind the bad ſucceſs of *Frieſland* occaſioned through the ſelf-default of the Kings ſouldiers, and incenſed at this new inconvenience which had hapned in his own ſight at *Rolde*; as ſoon as he was return'd unto the Camp, he call'd his Souldiers unto him, and ſpake thus:

What my Military Government hath been in the ſo many occaſions wherein I have had the honour to command the Spaniſh Forces, may be ſufficiently known to all men. And what old Souldier is there in this Army, eſpecially of my Nation, who either hath not fought under the ſame Enſigns with me, or hath not been diſciplined under me? The form of my Command being not then unknown to you, nor your wonted obedience unknown to me, I may juſtly wonder to ſee your actions ſo altered, as it may almoſt be queſtioned whether you be the accuſtomed Souldiers, or whether you think me your accuſtomed Commander? I am now again ſtrangely moved in thinking upon the diſorders lately happened in Frieſland: *One or two dayes patience might have made the Victory aſſuredly ours: Count* Mega *was already on his march with great Forces: the Flemiſh Rebels were but few in number*; Lodovick *their Commander had neither meat nor money to maintain the* Germans; *his people were for the moſt part tumultuary and full of confuſion within themſelves. In this caſe what was to be done, but to have fought the Enemy by diſcommodiating them, and thus to have defeated them? That was my opinion then, and ſo was Count* Aremberg *ordered by me to doe. And notwithſtanding, not his command, but mine being contemned; and not conrage, but raſhneſs being uſed, that Victory was brought home, as it may be ſaid to the Enemies doors, which they could not otherwiſe ever have hoped for. Who could have expected ſuch errors as theſe? eſpecially from* Spaniards, *who are wont to be a*

preſident of diſcipline and obedience; and who knew better then all others when to fight, and when not to fight. The injurie was done to me in particular, which was offered by ſome of them to that ſo worthy Commander: as if I had been indiſcreet in making choice of him upon ſo great an occurrencie; and yet it was my opinion, that I could not oppoſe any one more faithfull to the Church and King. and more valiant in arms, then was Count Aremberg, *againſt ſo perfidious and rebellious a Leader as is* Lodovick, *From which ſucceſs, what advantage have the rebels made unto themſelves, who are now entred* Frieſland? *How much are others thereby incouraged who prepare likewiſe to enter theſe Provinces by other parts? What doth not the Prince of* Orange *do? What doth he not now endeavour amongſt the hereticks of* Germany *after ſo joyfull news? O* Orange *I ſay! the plotter of all the paſt revolts; the occaſioner of all theſe preſent troubles? We are here then to drive* Lodovick *out of* Frieſland, *and to hinder* Orange *from entring into theſe Provinces by any other way. Now whilſt I expect that thoſe errors be amended under my command, which were committed under* Arembergs, *what diſorders, what new tumults do both my ears and eyes meet withall? What doth this Alarm, and this running to take up arms without any occaſion, mean? Doth not this Army believe that they have the Duke of* Alva *ſtill for their Commander? or doth it no longer fear the ſeverity of his orders, and the rigour of his diſcipline? Peradventure you will ſay the fault lies in the new men, perhaps ſo, but their Governours are not new men. And therefore as a great part of the fault hath been theirs, theirs ſhould likewiſe be a great part of the puniſhment. But let indulgency at this time prevail over rigour; and let it never be ſaid that my men were puniſhed before the enemies were ſo. But if I ſhall be hereafter provoked to reſentment, I do from this time declare it ſhall be ſuch, as every one ſhall at laſt know how inſeparable an union there is between my Command and Diſcipline, and between Diſcipline and my Command. Raſhneſs is alwaies blind, and almoſt alwaies unfortunate in all humane actions; but how much more in Military, then in Civil Government? For in theſe, time is allowed to amend evil councels by good ones; whereas in the other, at the very inſtant that the error is committed, the loſs is irremediably received. And this may ſuffice to have been ſaid for what is paſt, together with caution for what is to come. For what remains, I am reſolved now to uſe theſe very means to break and defeat Lodovick, which* Aremberg *ought to have obſerved by my Command. I hope to ſee him ſoon return to* Germany *with ſhame and ſcorn enough, only by the advantages of Incamping, and by the ſole force of ſufferings, or elſe to drive him out by lively force Buckle your ſelves my ſoldiers then to this buſineſs either I ſhall have forgot the myſterie of War, or I will make good my words.*

That age had not a more compleat Commander then was the Duke of *Alva*; nor who did leſs hazard the event of Arms to the uncertainty of Fortune. To encamp always with great advantage; to keep his men in great diſcipline; to weary the enemy, to reduce him into ſtraits, to overcome oftest without fighting; or to fight with little loſs of his own mens bloud. and great effuſion of the enemies: theſe were the arts he uſed in his Military Government. It would be truely ſaid, that he was the *Spaniſh Fabius* of his time: ſo did he imitate him in his form of waging War. The Duke parted from *Rolde*, and marched in very good order, leſt *Lodovick* might meet with him between *Rolde* and *Groninghen*, and force him to fight before thoſe of the City could joyn with him. But *Lodovick* forbare ſo doing, fearing likewiſe leſt if he ſhould aſſault the *Spaniſh* Camp, he might at the ſame time be taken in the midſt between the Dukes men and thoſe of the City. He therefore kept in his former quarters, and had fortified himſelf very well there: he had the River, which winding about, fenced him almoſt on two ſides, the reſt was ſtrengthened by good Trenches, and by the ſeat of the aforeſaid Priory; a great Trench was likewiſe thruſt out on this ſide the River, which lay upon the front of the *Spaniſh* Camp; and which *Lodovick* had made the better to defend two wooden bridges which lay over the ſame River. He thought to keep himſelf ſtill in ſo commodious a quarter, intending to keep the Kings Army imployed in *Frieſland*, and the mean while afford the Prince his brother the better commodity to enter into thoſe Provinces alſo; or that if the Duke ſhould turn upon *Orange*, *Groninghen* and all that Frontier might remain in the former danger. But theſe deſignes which *Lodovick* propounded unto himſelf,

were

were very well foreſeen by the Duke, who was therefore reſolved not to ſuffer him to tarry long in *Frieſland*.

When he had certain information that the enemy did not ſtir, he entred into *Groninghen*, and having refreſht his men, he led them out of the City, and drew near the enemies Camp. The Duke geſſed juſt as it fell out. To wit, that *Lodovick* when he ſhould be faced with ſo powerfull an Army, when he ſhould ſee himſelf in danger to want victuals, and that he ſhould not be able to retreat when he would, better weighing his deſignes, he would prevent theſe difficulties, and without more adoe reſolve upon retreat. *Lodovick* at laſt reſolved to do ſo: and that he might do it without loſs of men or reputation: he effected it thus, that very day towards the evening he ſent away his baggage before, after it his foot and left the horſe for the laſt: having taken order for breaking down the bridges which were over the river, to the end that the Spaniards might not follow him. The Duke had foreſeen this; and to be the more ſure, he gave order that *Robles* the camp-maſter, with 400 *Walloons*, ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of a certain houſe conveniently ſeated to diſcover the enemies goings the retreat was then apparently ſeen: the Duke made no delay: he forthwith ſent forth 400 Spaniards of the Neopolitan Brigado to aſſault the great trench which was formerly ſpoken of; which was ſo wel perform'd, as they drove away thoſe that defended it, who ſuddenly firing the bridges, repaſt over the river. The night now drew on, and the enemy was already ſo far advanced, and in ſo good order, as the Dukes men could do them no great harm. Yet ſome Spaniards and Walloons waded over the river where it was ſhalloweſt; but they met with ſuch hindrances by the ſquadrons of the enemies horſe, and by the narrowneſs and badneſs of the ways, as they could make no further progreſs. But few of the enemies were ſlain in this action; yet were they much diſcouraged and confuſed therwith, ſeeing themſelvs ſo boldly ſet upon. After this rather flight then retreat, *Lodovick* continued his march backward towards Eaſt-*Frieſland*: intending for as much as was conceiv'd, to ſtay notwithſtanding on this ſide the river of *Embs*, in ſome good ſituation, and as near *Embden* as poſſibly he could, that by the nearneſs of the river and the City, he might come the better by victuals, and come what would come, ſecure his laſt retreat. By which means he ſtil thought he might compaſs his intention, either of keeping the Duke of *Alva* buſied, or to keep with his former hopes in *Frieſland*, if the Duke ſhould in ſome other parts oppoſe his brother. He thought he might likewiſe believe that the Duke would not touch upon *Germany*, nor hazard the want of victuals, or ſuffering of other incommodities in a Countrey which appeared openly averſe unto him. And howſoever, he thought he ſhould be able ſo wel to fortifie himſelf, as the Duke ſhould not ſo eaſily diſlodg him the ſecond time, as he had done the firſt. To boot with the river which fenced him on the one ſide, the Country was almoſt altogether impaſſable, ſince it hardly allowed conveniency to be marcht upon, and that upon the banks, and muchleſs to fight. And moreover the river ſwelling much more then ordinarily at a high tide, the Country might eaſily be overflown by means of certain ſluces, which cutting the banks of the ſame river in divers places, are uſually opened or ſhut by the Inhabitants, according as the ſea ſwels or leſſens. This was *Lodovicks* deſigne. So he purſued to march after his firſt retreat, and did advance ſo far that very night, and ſome days after, as at laſt he quarter'd in a great village on this ſide the *Embs*, call'd *Geminghen*. He might firſt have ſtaid in another call'd *Rheeden*, and have had the paſſage over the *Embs*, more cõmodiouſly there alſo, by reaſon of a bridg which was nigh at hand: but it was known that he would ſtay on this ſide the river; and yet as near as he could to the City of *Embden*, for the reaſons which have been already ſpoken of.

On the other ſide the Duke continued his purpoſes, which were to follow *Lodovick* to the *Embs*, and to endeavour by all means poſſible to ſend him back routed and defeated into *Germany*, that ſo he might be the freer afterwards to turn back upon *Orange*. He therefore made his Army march, leaving almoſt all the new raiſed horſe in *Groninghen*, becauſe they could not be ſerviceable in thoſe parts. He lodged the firſt night in a Village called *Sclotenem*: and not hearing any news of the enemy, nor of good conveniency for victuals for all that Country was againſt him) he was inforced to ſtay two days in that place. He doubted

ed that *Lodovick* might be tarryed in *Rheeden*, that he might enjoy the oportunity of that near bridg which ſecured unto the paſſage over the River. Knowing afterwards that he was paſt further on, the Duke liked the buſineſs much better, and ſtaid his Camp in *Rheeden*, ſecuring that paſs for himſelf. Here he at laſt had certain advertiſement, that the Enemy were lodged in *Geminghen*. From *Rheeden* to *Geminghen*, at ſome 8 miles diſtance, there runs a continued bank which ſerves as a curb to the River, whereby the better to tame the ſwelling thereof occaſioned by the ſea. The Duke was to make his men march upon this Bank, if he would defeat the Enemy. Divers Channels ran into the River, which had houſes and bridges upon them for the uſe and ſervice of the Country people, who in the ſummer time (which now it was) had ſome abidings not ſo low, nor not ſo muddy as in the Country. *Lodovicks* Quarters were thus fortified: He had the Town of *Geminghen* upon his back, on his left ſide the River, and on his right the open fields fortified with Trenches where the ſituation would allow it: On the Front, the Bank it ſelf, ſomewhat diſtant from the River, gave the entrance, which without was cut in two by two Ravelins, and better guarded within by two peeces of Artillery. In this ſo ſtrong place, he either did not expect, or did not fear the Duke: Who deſirous to try all wayes to fight, and defeat him, reſolved to goe to him. He ſent ſome Horſe before under his natural ſon *Fernando*, who had the charge of the Horſe, and made the houſes and bridges ſtill as he marched be taken, to ſecure his retreat upon all occaſions. From hence he advanced *Sancio d' Avila* with 50 Horſe and 500 Harquebuſiers, all of them *Spaniards*; and ſent the two Camp-maſters *Romero* and *Londonio* after him, with each of them 600 Spaniſh Foot, part Harquebuſiers, part Muſquetiers, and with two Companies of Lances, commanded by *Ceſar d' Avalos*, and *Curtio Martinengo*. The reſt of the Army marcht in this order: The *Spaniards* were the Van; the *High-Dutch* followed next; and the *Walloons* brought up the Reer, incloſed by ſome Troops of Horſe: the Files were very ſtrait, for they could not march well but upon the bank. At *Avala* his firſt advancement, he found ſome of the Enemy, who had opened the Sluces to overflow the Country, and ſaw that the water entred already in abundance: But putting them to flight ſuddenly, he made the Sluces be ſhut, and kept as they ought to be. The Duke himſelf advanced this mean while, together with *Vitelli*, *Norchernes*, and ſome few others, who came in ſight of the Enemies quarters. He underſtood by the Spies that they were in ſome diſorder, as well for that they ſaw his Army ſo neer, as that *Lodovicks* men were almoſt all of them tumultuous, and ſo ill paid, as ſome uprore was already feared in the Camp. The firſt *Spaniards* had this mean while drawn the Enemy forth to skirmiſh; who not thinking that the body of the Army was ſo neer, thought they might eaſily break the forerunners. There was no long delay made: Two great Squadrons of Foot (for as much as the narrowneſs of the place could permit) vigorouſly aſſaulted the *Spaniards*, by whom they were no leſs vigorouſly withſtood. The Dukes Van this mean while advanced; and look how much courage this added to the Catholicks, ſo much did it leſſen in the Hereticks. They then would have retreated; but being hotly purſued by the *Spaniards*, they began baſely to run away; and the *Spaniards* followed them ſo cloſe at the heels, as they fell in with them at the ſame inſtant into their quarters: where the Dukes men ſhewed no leſs valour, nor the Enemy any more reſiſtance; who being ſtill more imbaſed, and thinking only how to ſave themſelves, fell every where into diſorder and confuſion. The reſt was not to be termed fighting, but execution: The *Spaniards*, more greedy of blood then booty, by reaſon of the ſlaughter which the others had committed the preceding battel, put as many of the Enemy as they could unto the ſword; but there were almoſt as many drowned as ſlain: for ſeeing they could not eſcape the fury of the ſword, they blindly threw themſelves into the River, which was very large and deep in that place. It was ſaid that *Lodovick* ſwom it over with much adoe, and that 7000 of his men periſht; the reſt ran away ſome here, ſome there, in ſo great terror, as there hardly was left any remainder of that Army. Few of the Dukes men were ſlain: And the Battel was ſuch, as certainly few will be the like, wherein the vanquiſhed were more indamaged, and the vanquiſhers leſs.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO*.

BOOK V.

The Contents.

Orange *enters* Flanders *with great Forces raised in* Germany. *The Duke of* Alva *goes to meet him. They lie many dayes in the face of one another.* Orange *at last gives way, and must quit the Country. The Duke returns triumphant to* Brussels. *His necessity in matter of monies, occasioned by a great reprisal made thereof in* England. *He therefore resolves to impose unusual grievances. Commotions which insue thereupon. A general Pardon proclaimed by him. The Arch-Dutchess* Anne *of* Austria *passeth through* Flanders, *to marry with the Catholique King. The* Flemish *are scandalized at a Statue of the Dukes which was set up in the Citadel at* Antwerp. *The Castle of* Lovestein *is surprised by* Orange *his followers, but is suddenly recovered by the* Spaniard. Lumay *more luckily takes the* Bril. *A particular Description of* Holland *and* Zealand. *The troubles of* Zealand. Sancio d'Avila *goes to the succour of* Middleburgh. Valentiennes *falls into the* Hugonots *hands, who not long after are made to quit it. By their assistance* Lodovick *steals into the City of* Mons, *and prepares to maintain the siege.*

THe Duke of *Alva*, after having obtained so notable a victory, return'd to *Groninghen*, and staid there some dayes, the better to secure it from any new danger. He therefore munited it according as was requisite: And because he feared danger more from within, then from without, he left a Citadel begun to be built there, according as he intended at first, the better to bridle the Inhabitants. From thence he past to *Utrecht*, whose Province is as it were incorporated in *Holland*. He thought to have stayed there some time, the better to secure the affairs of *Holland*: But the news which he heard from divers parts of *Orange* his approach, or preparation so to do, made him go from thence much sooner then he had intended. From thence he went to *Balduke*, giving at the same time such order as was requisite for the gathering together of the Army, and the reinforcing it with Foot and Horse. To this end he fill'd up the *German* and *Walloon* Regiments, and added another Regiment *Anno* 1568.

ment of *Wallons* under *Chriſtophero Mandragone*, a *Spaniard*; and commanded that the Train-Bands of *Flanders*, which came to about 20000 Horſe, ſhould be in a readineſs. This force of Infantry, diſtinguiſhed into Companies of Curaſſes and Harquebuſſes, under the chief Lords of the Country, was of great eſteem in time paſt; but afterward it leſſened much in reputation. When there is need to make uſe thereof, the charge is given apart to ſome one chief Lord of the Country, who knows no other Superior then the Generaliſſimo of the Army. Whilſt the Duke was preparing in this manner, the Prince of *Orange* uſed no leſs diligence in gathering together great Forces to enter *Flanders* with them, where it might be more for his advantage. He had received very conſiderable helps, but more in men then mony, from the aforeſaid Princes and Free-Towns of *Germany*: To boot with the German ſouldiers, he and his adherents had aſſembled together a good number of thoſe *Flemiſh* and *Walloons* who had left the Country, and ſome *French*. He was upon the banks of the *Rhine* with all theſe people, part whereof were taken into pay, and part were a taking in, intending to paſs the River, and then to thruſt into *Ghelderland* or *Brabant*, as it hath been ſaid, and fix himſelf in the beſt parts of the Country. He was not to expect any obſtacle in his paſſing over the *Rhine*, not wanting means to doe ſo in many of his friends territories in *Germany*. His greateſt difficulty lay in paſſing over the *Mauſe*, which did wholly appertain unto the King of *Spain*; except the State of *Liege*, which was alſo wholly a Catholick Country, and almoſt incorporated into the Kings Dominions. But he hoped to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome important place upon that ſhore, which might ſecure his paſſage, both for his entrance, if he ſhould advance, and for a ſafe retreat, if he were neceſſitated to turn back. *Orange* having thus muſtered his whole Army together, he paſt freely over the *Rhine* above *Colen* about the end of *Auguſt*; and then over the *Moſel* at *Trevers*: And winding to the right hand, he advanced towards the Country of *Juliers*, confining upon the Kings Provinces of *Ghelderland* and *Limburg*, and upon the State of *Liege*. The common report was, that his Camp conſiſted of 20000 Foot and 9000 Horſe, all of them *Germans*, except the aforeſaid *Flemiſh*, *Walloons*, and *French*. With *Orange* was his Brother *Lodovick*, Count *Hoſtrat*, and Monſieur *de Lumay*; and ſome other *Flemiſh* of good quality, together with many German Commanders of great conſideration. The Army was well enough furniſht with Artillery and ammunition for war, but had not ſo much mony nor victuals as was needfull. This being underſtood, the Duke of *Alva* reſolved to make his Rendezvous at *Maſtrick*, the moſt commodious place upon the *Mauſe*, that he might oppoſe *Orange* where it ſhould be moſt convenient. There were come unto the Duke from *Spain* at this time 400000 Crowns, and 2000 Spaniſh Foot, which (being all of them new Souldiers) he placed in the Garriſons, and drew out from thence the old ones. His eldeſt ſon *Frederick* came likewiſe then to *Flanders*, to whom he gave the command of all the Foot. The Rendezvous being appointed, the Kings Army was found to conſiſt of 16000 choiſe Foot, to wit, 6000 *Spaniards*, the reſt all *Germans* and *Walloons*; and of 6000 Horſe, ſome whereof were *Spaniſh*, ſome *Italian*, ſome *Germans*, ſome *Burgonians*, and ſome *Walloons*, and thoſe Train-Bands of *Flanders*, which were commanded by *Carlo Philippo de Croy* Marquis of *Haure*. The Duke removed the Camp afterwards from *Maſtrick* to *Haren*, a great Village not far from thence, and ſeated likewiſe upon the *Mauſe*. And here he made a Bridg of Boats that he might have free paſſage over it at all hours, and receive victuals the better from all thoſe parts. This place was almoſt in the midſt between *Liege* and *Ruremonde*, upon which two Cities *Orange* his deſigne was likelieſt to be. *Ruremonde* is in *Ghelderland*, as hath been ſaid: It ſtands upon a little River called *Ruer*, juſt where it fals into the *Mauſe*. 'Tis rather a place of great circuit, then much people; but the ſituation thereof is of importance, by reaſon of both thoſe Rivers. *Liege* lies upon the ſame River a little higher. The *Mauſe* hath not a City upon it of larger circuit, nor better peopled: 'Tis divided by the River, but joyned together again by divers Bridges. The Biſhop governs the Inhabitants there as well in temporal as in ſpiritual affairs, being alſo Prince thereof; though the City enjoy ſuch ample priviledges, as the form of Government therein partakes more of a Common-

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wealth, then of a Principality. 'Tis one of the moſt Catholick Cities of all the North, fulleſt of Eccleſiaſtical goods; and moſt devoted to the Apoſtolical See. *Orange* deſired to try *Liege* firſt: he wrote to the Magiſtracy, omitting to write to *Gerardo Groſbech*, who was then Biſhop of the City, and a perſonage of great worth; thinking that he adhered too much to the Kings and the Catholick cauſe. But the ſame mind and zeal appeared to be in the Magiſtracy: for they determinately anſwered, That the City would not receive in any foreign ſoldiers, and that they had men enough of their own to defend themſelves againſt any violence that ſhould be offered them.

This practiſing of *Orange* with the *Ligeois*, and his marching with his Army towards that City, made the Duke reſolve likewiſe to draw near it with his. But *Orange* his deſigne upon *Liege* proving vain, he without trying *Ruremond*, turned ſuddenly elſewhere, with intention to paſs the *Mauſe* where he might beſt foard over it. The river happened to be very low that year, for the climat of *Flanders*, which even in Summer is very rainy and moyſt, was of ſome late months more drie then uſual. Having found the moſt commodious foard, and making uſe of the night ſeaſon, *Orange* in great ſilence paſt his Army over the river, juſt againſt *Stocchem*, in the State of *Liege*. Which when the Duke heard, he forthwith went thither alſo, and drew near *Orange* with his Army. Their deſignes were notwithſtanding very different. *Orange* would have fought at the very firſt; for finding himſelf much ſtreigthned in mony and victuals, and with men who he was rather to obey then command, he thought he could not long maintain his Army. And nothing being done as yet in *Flanders* in favour to him, he knew that if he ſhould not have ſome favourable ſucceſs by way of battel, the Countrie would hardly riſe, having ſo powerfull an Army as was that of the Duke of *Alva*'s within its bowels. The Duke out of the very ſame reaſons ſhun'd giving of battel. He ſaw that *Orange* in loſing a battel, could loſe nothing but his Army; whereas he together with the loſs of his Army, ſhould hazard the loſs of all *Flanders*. Reſolving therefore rather to coaſt along by his enemy then to fight him, and to vex him ſo with ſufferings, as at laſt he ſhould disband of himſelf, he only kept near him.

And becauſe it was already evidently ſeen that *Orange* his intention was to enter into *Brabant*, the Duke provided the places of greateſt danger with all things needfull; which were *Tilemon*, *Lovayne*, and *Bruſſels*; and had an eye alſo to all other parts where there was any cauſe of ſuſpition. The two Camps being thus quartered, *Orange* moved towards *Tongueren*, a great Town in the State of *Liege*, intending to poſſeſs himſelf of it, and there to get victuals for his men. But the Duke did ſo ſecure it, as *Orange* durſt never aſſault it. *Getringberg*, a very good Town in the ſame Countrie, was more eaſily perſwaded to let him have victuals, and to receive his ſoldiers into the Town. Which it ſoon repented, by reaſon of the inſolencies which they committed, particularly againſt the Churches and ſacred things. Departing ſuddenly from thence, for that it was not tenable. He quartered upon the confines of *Brabant*: hoping that when his Colours ſhould be ſeen ſo nigh at hand, the malecontents within the Countrie would likewiſe diſplay theirs. But the Duke flanking ſtill upon him, and ſtreightning him now on one ſide, now on another, did not afford him one minutes reſt. *Chiapino Vitelli* had the particular care of the quarters; which he was very diligent in taking and muniting. To which purpoſe he had a great many pyoneers in the Army, and upon occaſion he would make the very ſoldiers work within the Trenches. In theſe the Camps approachings one unto the other, in their quartering and diſquartering, and particularly upon occaſion of forrage, there happened almoſt continually ſome skirmiſhes between the ſoldiers of the two Armies. Nor was there any conſiderable advantage got on either ſide for many days. But at laſt one action proved very bloudie. *Brabant* is watered by many ſmall rivolets which fall almoſt all of them into the Demer, which inlarged by their acceſſions, doth at laſt diſgorge it ſelf into the Scheld: Amongſt other, the Geet runs into it. *Orange* being advanced into *Brabant*, he could not paſs this river ſo ſpeedily and with ſuch caution, before that a good part of his Reer ere it could re-joyn with the reſt was in danger to be aſſailed upon great advantage by the Dukes ſoldiers,

who did not loſe that oportunity: The Camp-Maſters, *Romero*, *Bracamonte* and *Bigli* advancing with their Spaniards and Walloons, gave violently upon the enemy (who ſeeing the danger, had tumultuouſly fortified themſelves in a Village upon the river ſide) and without much gainſaying, quickly put them to the rout. Many of them were drowned in the river, many ſlain, and many taken priſoners: Amongſt others *Hoſtrat* was wounded, and ſoon after died of his wounds. This action put a period to all *Orange* his hopes of ſeeing the Countrie riſe, and to the like of the Flemiſh malecontents of ever exciting any. He was the more troubled at this ſucceſs, becauſe his hopes were much increaſed at this time by advertiſements that he had received of great ſuccours ſent from the French Hugonots, which were at hand. They were led on by Monſieur *Genlis*, and ſent by the Prince of *Conde*, out of the aboveſaid ends which the Hugonots had to foment the neighbourghring revolutions of *Flanders*, that they might the better eſtabliſh their own in *France* *Orange* thinking now on nothing elſe but how to put himſelf into ſome ſafe condition, left *Brabant*, and went into the Contiguous Provinces of *Namures* and *Hennault* to meet the French ſuccour (which he did) and ſo make his retreat the ſurer. *Genlis* had about ſome 4000 foot with him, and 1500 horſe. *Orange* was ſomewhat inheartned by the coming of theſe men, for many of his own men were miſſing, and many ran away every day: and the reſt being ill diſciplined, and worſe paid, and threatning continually to mutiny, he thought to return back the ſame way to *Germany*: But finding the *Mauſe* at that time very high, and greater oppoſition then before in the *Legeiois*, he turned again into the Province of *Hennault*. From thence he continued his retreat towards *France*; and having in vain tryed the Caſtle of *Cumbray* before he quitted *Flanders*, being ſtill cloſe purſued by the Duke of *Alva*, he at laſt went out of *Flanders*, and ſtaid near St. *Quintains*, at the entrance into *Picardy*. Here, according to the diverſity of deſignes, he divided his men, and thoſe of *France* into ſeveral parts. The High-Dutch, quite ſpent by hunger and hardſhips, returned to *Germany*. *Orange* ſtaid a while in *France*, to renew the former practiſes with the chief Hugonots; and his brother *Lodovick* tarryed there afterwards for the ſame end, till their ſecond coming from *Germany* and *France* againſt the Duke of *Alva*: as ſhall be ſaid in its due place.

The Duke having gotten ſo important a Victury without the loſs of almoſt any one of his Army, or riſing of any place: he diſtributed his ſoldiers into their ſeveral quarters, and about the end of the year returned as in triumph into *Bruſſels*. And for that it appeared he had merited no leſs for his ſervice done to Religion then to the King, Pope *Pius Quintus* ſent him ſoon after the Helmet and Trunchion which are preſented only to great Princes, and particularly to ſuch who by ſome famous action have deſerved well of the Church. This mean while theſe proſperous proceedings of the Spaniſh forces in *Flanders*, were looked upon with a clean contrary eye by the Queen of *England*. She had hitherto aſſiſted the troubles in thoſe parts rather in ſecret then barefaced; but when ſhe ſaw that thoſe of *Naſſaw* were driven out, and that the King of *Spains* forces were now more potent there then ever, ſhe returning to her former fear of having them ſo near at hand, reſolved to let ſlip no occaſion whereby ſhe might more openly prejudice the Kings affairs in thoſe parts. There were two of her privy Councel who then bore great ſway with her. The one was *Robert Dudly* Earl of *Leſter*, a Gentleman of Noble deſcent and great imployment. And the other, *William Cecil* her Secretary of State; who being but of mean bloud, though of great wiſdom, paſſing through divers Court-Offices, to the managing of State-affairs, had drawn almoſt the whole Government of the Kingdom upon him. Both theſe had chiefly perſwaded the Queen ſtill to eſtabliſh the hereſie of *England*, and conſequently to indamage the Catholick Church, and the King of *Spain* as much as ſhe could, for thoſe reſpects which have been formerly ſpoken of. She perſecuted the Church cruelly in her Kingdom. And watching for an opportunity whereby ſhe might ſtill more incommodate the Kings affairs in *Flanders*, it was not long ere ſhe met with one of very great conſequence: which was this; The King by means of divers *Genua* Merchants had raiſed a great ſum of money for the affairs of *Flanders*; whereof 400 thouſand crowns were ſent by

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sea to *Antwerp*; the ships which brought this money met with some Pyrats: so as to save themselves they were forced to fall in upon *England*. The Spanish Ambassador who was then with the Queen, hearing of this, apply'd himself presently to the Queen, that the money might be freely carried to *Antwerp*; and received answer from her sutable to his desire. But she being resolved within her self, and councelled thereunto by *Lester* and *Cecil*, to detain the money, so as at one and the same time she might accommodate her self, and disaccommodate the King of *Spain*, let the Ambassador know, that being informed that those monies were not really the King of *Spains*, but that they belonged to some *Italian* Merchants, she had resolved to make use thereof her self, allowing them just consideration. The Ambassador laboured to make it appear that the money belonged unto the King, and sent by his direction to *Flanders*: and to strengthen this the more, he made the Duke of *Alva* write to her about it. But she feigning one difficulty after another, gave such delatory answers, as it was plainly seen she had no mind the money should goe into *Flanders*. The Duke stormed mightily hereat, and presently dispatched away *Assonville* to *London* about it, who with much earnestness renewed what the Ambassador had formerly prest for. But look how much the Duke made his need of the monies appear the greater by his so earnest desiring them, so much the more did the Queen by the interposal of new and subtill Impediments on her behalf, deny them.

He being thus deluded in his Negotiation, and being by nature inclined rather to overcome then to sweeten difficulties, resolved at last to see if he could bring the *English* over to his will, or no, by reprisals. He therefore first made the goods and the persons of such Merchants of that Nation be detained, who did in great numbers traffick in the *Low-Countries*; and made it be known unto the Queen, that the like should be done in all the King of *Spain's* other Dominions, unless the monies of *Spain* were set at liberty which were so unjustly detained in *England*. The Queen was not inwardly displeased hereat: but growing the bolder by such a pretence to make good the mony-business, she began to pretend satisfaction, in stead of giving it; and complained bitterly of the Duke of *Alva* to the King himself. To her complaints she added resentment on her behalf; she commanded that the same reprisals should be made in *England* against the King of *Spains* subjects: And appearing much incenst against the Duke of *Alva's* person, she publikely threatned to indammage him as much as she could in his affairs of *Flanders*. Both sides being thus incensed, divers means of mitigation were used. But this made nothing at all for the Duke of *Alva's* present necessity: who finding himself much in arrears to the Army, and at great charges with the Citadels which he had begun to build, particularly with that of *Antwerp*, which he would suddenly see finished; could not bear with the malitious delayes made by the *English*. Moved therefore by so urgent necessity, and considering what new troubles might befall him by *Orange* his plots and machinations which he was framing both within *Flanders* and without it, he resolved to have recourse for aid to the *Flemish* themselves by laying new Impositions upon the Country: his design was to raise so much mony as might suffice for the present necessity, and to establish a setled Treasury for the future, so as the grievances should not be every day to be renewed, and therewithall the danger of incensing the Provinces with odious demands, as doubtlesly those would be which should be made in so abhorr'd a business. The Duke thought therefore to lay on so great impositions at once, as might suffice to carry through his whole business. And the way was this: That a true value being made of all moveable and immoveable goods, for once only but one of a hundred should be paid; but that upon every contract, the twentieth part of the immoveables should be paid and the tenth of the moveables; and that these two last payments should last as long as the publike necessities should require This being resolved upon, the Duke call'd together the States General of all the Provinces to meet at *Brussels*, to acquaint them with the Kings mind in this business, and to get their consent. He first represented unto the Deputies what great necessity the King had of monies at that time. He said,

That to boot with the great expences of the Armies late march, the Queen of

England *out of malicious pretences, and which argued more malicious machinations in her, had detained* 400000 *Crowns which were sent from* Spain *to* Flanders. *That howsoever, the Souldier must be satisfied, which had long wanted their due pay. That from the vigilancy of the Kings enemies, in procuring by all means how to beat down his authority, and to raise tumults amongst his people, the necessity of those remedies might appear, which were to be opposed to so many perverse intelligences and conspiracies. That without doubt the best lay in building of Citadels, and in maintaining of Garrisons in fitting places, upon which the peace and safety of the Country did depend; and that all whatsoever monies ought to be held well laid out to that purpose. He wisht them to remember what the obligation of every good Subject was towards their Prince; how great the Kings affection was towards those Provinces; and how behovefull it was, that in such and so urgent need, the Kings desires should be by them willingly received, and readily executed.*

He afterwards propounded the demand in manner abovesaid. It would be hard to say how much troubled, and how full of confusion the Deputies of the Provinces were at the hearing of it: *Flanders* had never formerly been wont to suffer the grievances of taxes and impositions, as is used in *Spain*, *Italy*, and other places. The antient custom was, for the Prince to desire such assistance from the people in his necessities as was thought needfull; and the often denying thereof shewed that the granting it lay in the peoples free will: When they were resolved to grant any, every Province imposed upon it self such a proportion as was fit for that purpose: These contributions were demanded by the Prince, and granted by the people, but for a certain prefixt time; and as oft as the one was necessitated to make new desires, as oft was the other to renew again their consents. So as this unaccustomed fashion propounded by the Duke, of taxing the Country so integrally, for an unlimited time, and in a manner not prescribed by the Provinces, but by himself, did strangely move mens minds; especially at this time, when humours were stirred every where. The Deputies took time to give their answer, and in the mean while acquainted their several Provinces with the whole affair. Who when they heard thereof, the people strove who should most storm: Nothing but complaints, lamenting, and execrations were heard against those who had counselled it, and against the Governour who had made it.

That the miseries of Flanders *did infinitely increase. Was it not sufficient to introduce forein Armies by violence; to violate her liberties by Garisons, and strong Holds; and to unpeople Cities by banishments, imprisonment and death; but that the people whose contributions were formerly voluntary and moderate, must now be compell'd to submit themselves to immense and everlasting tributes? That the Flemish did not only not desire, but did wholly detest the bringing in of these forces, and these unaccustomed yokes. And yet how faithfull had the Countrie apeared when the House of* Nassaw *was in arms? and how ready was it by its own proper forces to strengthen the Kings Army? That the enemies forces being driven out, the Kings were now become the greater enemies. And as if the war had been begun by the Flemish, 'tis they that must now bear the burthen thereof. That* Flanders *was astonished at the very name of Tribute. How much more would she be so to feel the effects thereof? Hence it was that the concourse of foreiners grew less, and therewithall the Traffick of the Provinces. That Merchandizing ceasing, by which the people did chiefly sustain themselves: what was to be expected but to see them fall into the greatest misery and calamity that might be? where was the former moderate Government of their preceding rather Fathers then Princes? where the Emperours rescent goodness? that in lieu thereof, the King deriving his blood from* Spain, *and his opinions yet more, and imitating the Spaniards yet more particularly in his afflicting* Flanders, *seemed as if his only end were to take from her all shews of Liberty, and reduce her to the miserablest condition of slavery. That to this purpose he had made choice of the most Imperious and cruel Duke* Alva, *for his Agent: who was come to ruine, not to govern the Low-Countries. But the Flemish had already tollerated too much: 'twas now time to turn their patience into generosity; and retaining as well the worth of the antient* Belgiques, *as their descent from them, they ought for the future to be as forward in withstanding violence, as they had been formerly in tolerating it.*

The Dukes ears were fill'd with these complaints from all parts, much agitated therefore

therefore between his desire of promoting what he had propounded, and the difficulties he found of so doing, he treated very fervently thereof with the Councel of State, to find out some means whereby he might overcome the difficulties which therein were met withall. The Councel differed likewise in their opinions: there were not wanting some who incouraged the Duke to proceed, and who fed him with hopes of good success. They proposed to begin with that which was likelyest to succeed, to wit, with that of the hundreth penny. That this more easie entrance being made, the Provinces would be the easilyer induced afterwards to give way to the harder Impositions of the tenth and twentieth penny. That some of the Provinces should be first dealt withall herein, as were thought were most inclinable to the Proposition. That the example of one, would conduce much to the rest. And where example would not serve, let Authority at last supply the place. But the greater part of the Councel were of a contrary opinion; and the President *Vigblio* appeared more openly against it then al the rest: a State Minister who was esteemed of incorrupted Loyalty to the King and of experienced wisdom in the affairs of *Flanders*. He shewed how that too great difficulties would be met with even in the exaction of the hundreth penny, alleadging the example of what had insued some years before upon the desire of the like subsidie. He shewed how much the times were since then impaired: how averse the Countrie did now appear to ordinary Contributions: and how the minds of all men were agitated for what had happened. That howsoever he did not think this kind of Imposition altogether infeisable, since it would not be very grievous, and but for once. But as for the other upon goods moveable and unmoveable, he thought that Imposition altogether uneffectable; those oppositions not being to be overcome which would assuredly be made by whole *Flanders*; as well for being grievances never before experienced, and laid on for an unlimited time, as that also without all peradventure, the overthrow of all Traffick and Commerce would thereupon insue.

'For, (said he) will not all the concourse of foreign Merchants cease, when they 'see they cannot freely buy and sell Merchandise according as they had wont? 'What is it that doth not often turn from one to another species, when it hath 'left its former homely and simple nature? who will not abhor so oft a repeated 'grievance? the price of other Merchandise increasing, the like will certainly in'sue in what concerns victuals. How will the poorer sort of people be there'withall grieved? and how much will the very ablest be displeased? there will 'be no remedy found for so great an evill, but for no foreigners to Traffick in 'these Provinces, and immediately to take away those of our own, who are of the 'same profession. Thus the Countrie will be impoverisht both in men and mo'nies. By which, how much will the King himself suffer? so as instead of recei'ving unwonted Impositions, such as are usual will peradventure not be had here'after. Nor can it be doubted but that the contradictory example which will be 'seen in almost all the whole Countrie, will be of greater prevalence then the 'ascent, and that uncertain, which may perchance be found in some one Province. 'Our neighbour-Nations will likewise much complain of this noveltie, with 'which ours hath expres Covenants of free Trade. But the mischief will at last 'fall wholly upon us; and in the first place upon the King. For in fine, Princes 'are rich according as their Subjects are so. And look what of commodity is got 'from them in time of peace, much more is reaped in time of war. In my opini'on, then that advantage ought to be past by, which brings with it a greater e il. 'And all means ought rather to be indeavoured, whereby to appease mens minds, 'then to afford them new occasions of exasperation. Otherwise I foresee (and I 'wish I may prove a false Prophet) that the losses which we shall receive at home, 'will prove much greater then the victories which we have lately obtained a'broad advantagious.'

These reasons alleadged by *Vigblio*, were undoubtedly of great wheight. But they did not though divert the Duke of *Alva* from his indeavours; who being accustomed to overcome Military difficulties, thought he might much more easily do the like in Civil affairs. So as continuing in his former fervency, he ceased not to interpose sometimes prayers, sometime power, and very oft threats to

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arrive at the end which he had propoſed unto himſelf. He particularly indeavoured to compaſs thoſe means in every Province, which might the eaſilyer diſpoſe them to allow of the aforeſaid Impoſitions. The Walloon Provinces were the moſt Catholick, and of leaſt Traffick. It was ſo handled, as theſe aſſented preſently to the hundred penny; and by their example, though not without much difficulty, the reſt were induced to do the like. The Duke, to make himſelf appear the more gracious at the ſame time to the people, cauſed ſevere juſtice to be executed upon one *John Speell*, a Fleming who had had a great ſhare in all the moſt odious criminal affairs. This man was therefore very much abhor'd by all the Country, not only for what he had done, but for the manner of doing it, with all ſort of cruelty and corruption. When he was condemned to die, the Duke would have him hung up in the publick market-place at *Bruſſels*. And two others whom he had uſed moſt in his negotiations were baniſhed. To this Act of Juſtice, the Duke added a much greater of Clemency. He had lying by him a general pardon from the Pope, and another from the King which bore with them abolition for the miſdeeds committed in *Flanders* againſt the Eccleſiaſtical and Regal Authority; of both which he had liberty to make uſe accordingly as he (being upon the place) ſhould think fit. The Popes diſpenſation was to this purpoſe obtained in *Spain*, and the King had likewiſe ſent his: but in each of them ſuch high defaults were excepted, wherein Divine and Humane Majeſty were moſt offended: and the King reſerved unto himſelf the free power to make good or abrogate thoſe priviledges which had ſerved for a pretence to the late riſings. The Duke going to *Antwerp*, which by reaſon of Traffick was a City then very much frequented by forreigners, he made a ſtately Throne be erected in the chief *Piazza*, upon the top of which was placed a Chair of State, whereon he himſelf being ſate, and invironed round about with great pomp, he made both theſe pardons be proclaimed. All the people ran to hear this, and the news thereof was ſuddenly divulged throughout all the Provinces. And the Duke at the ſame time indeavoured to reconcile himſelf unto them, by reducing the ſoldiers to a leſſer number, by ordering their quarters better, and by putting divers things in better order, for the better ſatisfaction of the people: But in fine, it proved too true, that let a man do well or ill, all actions are abhor'd which proceed from a hatefull Government. And juſt ſo it fell out then: The Flemiſh ſeemed little ſatisfied with all that the Duke had done; nay many of them gave a ſiniſter interpretation to both the Indulgencies: as if there were too much ſcope left by the ſo many exceptions, both to puniſh paſt faults, and cauſe new ones to be committed. And that clauſe did in particular diſpleaſe very much, wherein the Kings intention of aſſuming unto himſelf a power of anulling all priviledges for the late riſings was ſo clearly ſeen. There wanted not thoſe in *Flanders*, and elſewhere who fomented theſe evil ſuggeſtions. And becauſe the gathering of the hundreth penny was already begun, and that great difficulties were met withall therein, many of the ill-affected Flemiſh, and Kings back-friends in the neighbouring parts, indeavoured ſtill to alienate the people more and more. This alienation, by reaſon of the aboveſaid grievance, appeared particularly in *Holland* and *Zealand* to be greateſt, as alſo in all that Maritine Coaſt. And as for the other of the tenth and twentieth penny, 'twas plainly ſeen that none of the other Provinces would ever be brought unto it: But becauſe Traffick was much greateſt in the Maritine parts by reaſon of the commodity of Navigation, which made them be more frequented by forreiners, and chiefly by Engliſh Merchants, and by thoſe of the neighbouring Hans-Towns, Cities of *Germany*, all of them infected with hereſie: Therefore a greater backwardneſs was ſeen for the preſent in the aforeſaid Provinces, and a greater preparation for the like in the future. This mean while the Dukes neceſſity of monies increaſed. Much pay was due to the ſoldier. The new Citadels proved to be a very great expence; and nothing near ſo much mony could be come by from *Spain* as was requiſite. *Lodrone's* Regiment of High-Dutch did juſt at this time mutiny for want of pay. And though the ring-leaders of the mutiny were ſeverely puniſhed, and that the contagion brake no farther forth in the Army, yet the danger was great, as was alſo the Dukes fear. Whilſt things paſt thus in *Flanders*, the Archdutcheſs *Anne*, daughter to

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the Emperour *Maximilian*, was gone from *Germany* towards *Spain* to marry with the Catholick King. She came by *Flanders*, that ſo ſhe might imbarque in *Zealand*, and goe the ſooner to *Spain*. The Duke of *Alva* went therefore to receive her upon the confines, and waited upon her till he ſaw her under ſail; who ſoon after arrived happily in *Spain*. With her were the two Archdukes her brothers, *Albertus*, and *Vincelaus*. The latter whereof dyed afterwards in *Spain*, and the other tarried long there. This is that *Albertus* who devoting himſelf firſt to Eccleſiaſtical life, was made Cardinal, and was afterwards ſent to govern the Kingdom of *Portugal*; and laſtly the Low-Countries: wherein returning to a ſecular profeſſion, and having married the Infanta *Iſabella*, eldeſt daughter to the King, and had thoſe Countries in portion with her; of Governour, became afterwards Prince of them, and joyntly with his wife governed them many years. Princes both of them, of ſuch religion and piety, and indow'd with all other ſuch eminent virtues, as this our Hiſtory will have fil'd room enough to illuſtrate it ſelf in their times, if it ſhall pleaſe God that it ſhall arive thereat, and that their memory may thereby be rendred as famous to poſterity, as the knowledg of them hath been in this our age.

The Duke of *Alva* made uſe of the new Brides going into *Spain*, to obtain leave of the King that he might quit the Government of *Flanders*. To the which the King giving way, the Duke of *Medina-Celi*, was deſtin'd to ſucceed him, who at that time was Viceroy of *Cicily*. But whatever the occaſion was, it was not for the preſent ſo done; the King thought, it may be, that the danger of new troubles in *Flanders* was not ſo far ceaſed, as that it was fit to remove the Duke of *Alva* from thence: who peradventure foreſeeing them, deſired that the tempeſt might fall upon a new ſucceſſor. Being then returned to *Bruſſels*, after he had attended the new Queen to the ſea-ſide, he betook himſelf wholly to the buſineſs of the new Impoſitions. And becauſe greater difficulties and obſtacles were every day found in that of the tenth and twentieth penny, he indeavoured that in lieu thereof the Provinces ſhould pay at one intire payment, 6 million of Crowns, which he afterwards reduced to four. But this appearing ſtill to be too exceſſive a ſum, no favourable reſolution could be had therein. The Provinces were rather inclined to build the intended Citadels at their own coſt; and this was propounded; but the Duke would in no ways liſten thereunto; holding that it neither ſtood with dignity nor ſafety, to ſuffer that the Flemiſh in ſo important a buſineſs ſhould chuſe rather then obey. 'Twas ſaid, that to ſweeten the Duke, both in his interceſſions to the King, and in his own rigour towards the Countrie, the Provinces offered to give him a donative of a hundred thouſand crowns in Gold: and that he with no leſs wiſdom then generoſity, refuſed it; as well not to render his Authority undervalued in *Flanders*, as not to afford colour for ſuch calumnies, as his enemies might plot againſt him in *Spain*. He at this time did one thing which did exceedingly exaſperate the Flemiſh, and increaſed their hatred more againſt him. The Citadel of *Antwerp* was already made defenſable, and the Duke cauſed all poſſible haſte that could be, be made to perfect it. He gloried to leave ſuch a memory of him behind him in the Low-Countries; thinking that by ſuch a curb he had mainly ſecured their obedience to the King. But deſirous that together with this image of his mind, another of his body might likewiſe remain there, he made his Effigies be ſet up in the Citadel in a Statue of Braſs. The Statue was all in Armour, ſave the head, and 'twas made by *Jongeling*, a German, one of the famouſeſt workmen that was then in all *Europe*. At the feet thereof was a monſtrous Figure of braſs alſo, which had two heads, and ſix arms, and other miſterious ſignes in other parts which did clearly denote the paſt ſucceſſes of the Covenant, Petitions and Revolts. This great piece of workmanſhip was ſuſtained by a great Pillar of Marble with four faces. In that which looked towards the City, were ingraven ſome ſingle Letters with a full point to each of them, without any other expreſſion of words therein contained: but the ſence thereof, as it was commonly interpreted, was in praiſe of the Duke of *Alva*, for having preſerved obedience to the Church and King in the Low-Countries, and reſtored Juſtice and quiet unto the Provinces. In the two ſide faces, ſome miſterious ſignifications were expreſt in Sculpture, in praiſe likewiſe

wiſe of his Government: and in that behind was the Sculptures name. The Flemiſh ſeemed deeply concern'd in this action: and great complaints were made thereof every where, as if the Duke would be publickly ſeen in this his Statue, upon their necks; and as if not content to have reduced them already to this ſlavery, he would boaſt of his Trophies, in this to them ſo ignominious a faſhion. Innovations were not long in inſuing. In the late indeavours which thoſe of *Naſſaw* had made to enter with their forces into *Flanders*, they had experienced how hard a matter it was to get any footing there, having no place upon the Confines which would receive them, and more particularly upon the River, and becauſe the greateſt hopes of new commotions lay yet in *Germany*, therefore *Orange* his adherents, ſpying out the conjuncture of time, reſolved to indeavour the taking of ſome opportune place upon the *Manſe* on that ſide. In this river, after it hath changed its name to *Wahell*, in one of its branches is contained the Iſland of *Bomele*, of large circuit. The ſituation of this Iſland could not be of more importance, in reſpect alſo of its nearneſs to the *Rhine*. And not far from thence was *Balduke*, upon the utmoſt confines of *Brabant*, which is one of the moſt populous Cities of that Province, and one the beſt fortified both by Nature and Art, of all *Flanders*. One Captain *Hermanno Reiter* was a native of this City, who depended npon the Prince of *Orange*, and deſired to ſignalize himſelf by doing him ſome ſervice. Upon the lower point of the aboveſaid Iſland ſtands a little Caſtle called *Loveſteyn*, more conſiderable for its ſituation then ſtrength. *Reiter* with ſome of his companions got in hither by fraud, and brought in ſome fifty withhim. *Roderigo de Tolledo* lay in *Balduke* with ſome *Spaniſh* Companies; who by reaſon of his being ſo near, was advertiſed hereof. He therefore preſently diſpatcht away 200 foot, under Captain *Lorenſo Perea*, of the ſame Nation, that he might indeavour by all means to recover the Caſtle. The Invaders did not think to be ſo ſoon ſet upon: ſo as not being able to defend themſelves by their own forces, nor having time to expect any from elſewhere, they preſently ſurrendred it to *Perea*, not without ſome little diſpute, wherein *Reiter* was ſlain. Thus was *Loveſteyn* recovered almoſt before it was loſt. But the Duke was notwithſtanding much moved hereat, weighing more the occaſion, then the effect of ſuch a deſigne: for he might fear that other more dangerous and more conſiderable deſignes were hatching, as the event ſoon after ſhewed He being ſtill more neceſſitated in expences, and in monies to defray them; and much incenſt to ſee how hardly the hundreth penny was payed, and more particularly upon the Maritine coaſt, where no exaction thereof could ever be made; and being yet more angred at the attempt of *Loveſteyn*: he reſolved by all means to recover not only the hundreth penny, but the tenth and twentieth too, he made the Kings mind in that affair be publiſht, having notwithſtanding moderated the Impoſition ſo, as thoſe of the Country were taxed leſs, and foreigners more, and thus he would have it executed. But the people were no leſs reſolved to the contrary, notwithſtanding any moderation which was added. And this repugnancy grew ſo great, as in ſome places no more meat was brought to the Markets, nor did the Merchants expoſe to ſale their wonted Merchandiſe.

Anno 1571. Thus did affairs ſtand in the end of the year 1570. The other of 71 follows; which will bring with it deplorable memorials for ever to *Flanders*. For then the war broke forth almoſt every where in her; and ſo great a fire was afterwards kindled, as could never be extinguiſht, but by the truce of twelve years, where with it was not quencht, but ſmothered up, Arms being ſuddenly afterwards reaſſumed, and the War continued with more obſtinacy on both ſides.

We told you before how the Prince of *Orange* and his brother *Lodovick* were got into *Picardy* in *France*, after the Duke of *Alva* had driven them out of *Flanders*; and that *Orange* retiring from thence into *Germany*, had left his brother in *France*. Their Forces were almoſt quite disbanded, for they wanted neceſſarie conveniences to maintain them. But the whole ſtrength which *Genlis* brought with him in aſſiſtance of thoſe of *Naſſaw*, as hath been ſaid, was ſtill intire: Nor were the chief of the *Hugonots* in *France* wanting, in nouriſhing in themſelvs, and in reviving in the *Flemiſh* runagates, hopes of new revolutions which were to ariſe in thoſe Provinces: The *Hugonots* promiſed therefore all aſſiſtance

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on their ſides, and ſhewed how it would be eaſie to make themſelves Maſters of ſome good Town in the *Walloon* Provinces, which (as hath been ſaid) lie neareſt *France*. They therefore ſtood expecting all fit opportunities for this purpoſe. *Orange* uſed all the means he could with the Princes his friends, and other his adherents in *Germany*, to prepare new Forces, and facilitate his deſigne of entring *Flanders* again on that ſide. He excuſed his firſt undertaking, and promiſed better ſucceſs in the next; repreſenting how ill-affected the *Flemiſh* were to the *Spaniards*, and how much their hatred was increaſed by reaſon of the grievances which the Duke of *Alva* would lay upon the Countrie. Nor was his indeavours, and thoſe of his aſſociates in *France* ere a whit leſs fervent with the Queen of *England*, ſo as by the opportunity of the Sea, and for other aforeſaid conſiderations, 'twas hoped that eaſier footing might be got in *Holland* and *Zealand*, and eaſilyer maintained. To this end, ſome of the fled-*Flemiſh*, the better to raiſe ſome inſurrection, were got to ſea in men of War: to which they were driven even by deſpair. For their goods being confiſcated, and not knowing how to live but by rapine, they thought they might better do ſo by ſea, then by land. The Lord *Lumay*, Count of *Marcia*, deſcended of Noble bloud, and who neither wanted courage in undertaking, nor induſtry in executing hard enterpriſes, was one of the beſt qualified amongſt them. From this Maritine part, where the danger appeared to be greateſt, the miſchief firſt broke forth, which *Lumay* was in this manner the Author of. Having got together about 25 Veſſels, ſome of them fled-*Flemiſh*, and ſome of them *Engliſh* Pyrates, and fomented in private by the Queen of *England* her ſelf, he ſteered about the end of *March*, towards *Holland*; and unexpectedly, by underhand dealing, got into the Town of *Brill*. In the Weſtern part of *Holland* there lies a little Iſland, made by the *Mauſe*, and by the Sea, on the utmoſt part whereof towards the ſea, ſtands this Town; which by the commodiouſneſs of its Haven, is held one of the chiefeſt Keys of thoſe Maritine parts. *Lumay* had with him about a thouſand ſouldiers, pickt up from ſeveral parts, which were all hereticks, of mean condition, moſt of them fugitives, or ſuch as were driven from *Flanders*, and ſuch in fine, as deſired to raiſe tumults there. Now becauſe from this firſt commotion in *Holland* many others ſuddenly inſued both in that Province and in *Zealand*, ſo as the war was more kindled there then in other places, and many of the moſt memorable accidents happened there: I think it fit, firſt to ſet down here briefly their ſituation, and nature, to the end that deliniating (as I may ſo ſay) the portraiture thereof, the Reader may have the events, as it were before his eyes.

Both theſe Provinces lie on the North and Weſt ſide of *Flanders*. In *Holland*, the *Rhine* and the *Mauſe*, and in *Zealand* the *Scheld*, fall into the Sea, in ſo large Channels, as loſing the condition of Rivers, they ſeem to carry new Seas into the Sea; on the contrary, the Ocean firſt waſhing the ſaid two Provinces for a long trackt of ground, and turning then as it were from the ſea into a River, penetrates into each of them by divers Channels, and hides it ſelf there in ſundry Gulfs. From hence joyning with the Rivers, and together with them, cutting *Zealand* thorough in many places, it makes many Iſlands thereof, and reduceth *Holland* into a *Peninſula*. To boot with theſe three forenamed Rivers, which are the chiefeſt of all *Flanders*, there are in *Holland* divers other leſſer ones; and as if Art would contend with Nature; there are thereunto added an infinite number of Channels cut by hand, which are made for the more commodiouſneſs of the Countrie. There are within it likewiſe a great number of Lakes and ſtanding waters: ſo as the ſituation of both theſe Provinces being well conſidered, 'tis to be queſtioned whether the ſpace of ground be greater which is won from the earth by water, or from water by the earth; nor is it leſs to be diſputed whether their Country do more abound with, or be more failing in thoſe Commodities which men enjoy in other parts. Through the condition of their ſituation they want both Corn, Wine, Oyle, Wool, Wood, Hemp, Flax, and almoſt all other Commodities and delights which are uſed in more temperate and drie Climates; and yet again there is no Country not only in that Northern nook, but not even in any part of *Europe* which abounds ſo much as *Holland* and *Zealand* doth in almoſt all the aforenamed things, and even of thoſe which are leſs neceſſary for the

maintenance of humane life. So great is the advantage which theſe two Provinces receive by the Sea and Rivers, whereby their Commerce with all other parts is ſo eaſie. Which ſince they have introduced and made ſo familiar in the *Indies*, it cannot be ſaid how much both Merchandiſe and Merchants are increaſed in both of them. Hence it is that they abound ſo much in Inhabitants, and that their Cities, Towns and Villages are ſo well peopled. But the Sea likewiſe is as full of Ships and other bottoms; and all their watry places with other ſorts of boats, which ſerve all for habitations, eſpecially to Mariners and Fiſhers. Great is the number of people which apply themſelves to theſe two vocations in *Holland* and in *Zealand*. They make houſes of their ſhips, and of their houſes ſchools: Here they are born, here they are bred up, and here they learn their profeſſion. And the Mariners eſpecially practiſing their Calling, in running ſo oft and ſo boldly from the one Pole to the other, and whetherſoever the Sun communicates it ſelf to mortals, they grow ſo expert therein, as though they may be equalled, yet cannot they be out-done in this Seafering myſterie, by any whatſoever Nation. For what remains, theſe people are generally given to Traffick; and are extraordinary induſtrious in Manual and Mechanical Arts. Their greateſt delight lies in their feaſts and at their meat: by which they temper the melancholy of their tedious Winters; which are rather long then ſharp, the Country abounding much more in rain then in froſt. They are generally well ſhaped in body: as candid in nature as in countenance: pleaſant in their leaſure times, but fierce in their revolts; and much better at fighting by ſea then by land. They feed moſt upon fiſh and white-meats, wherein their Country doth infinitely abound. They have alwaies been inclin'd to a Free Government; and have ever tenaciouſly held their antient Cuſtomes. And ſince Hereſie began to creep in amongſt them, turning their Liberty by degrees into licentiouſneſs, it hath ſince been eaſier for the Authors of the late Novelties, to make them riſe, and forgoe their former obedience to the Church and King. Holland is full of great Cities, good Towns, and infinite in Villages: But by reaſon of the frequency of Foreigners, and multitude of ſelf-Inhabitants, *Amſterdam* hath always been the chief City of that Province. Even whilſt Commerce flouriſht in *Antwerp*, great was the concourſe of Foreigners to *Amſterdam*; but Commerce failing in that City, by reaſon of the War, it is ſo mightily increaſed in this other, as *Amſterdam* is at this hour the place of greateſt Merchandiſing, not only in *Holland*, but in all the North. In *Zealand*, *Midleburg* is the Town beſt peopled, and of greateſt Traffick: That Province cannot notwithſtanding come any thing near *Holland*, neither in circuit, people, nor plenty. 'Tis almoſt impoſſible to enter either of theſe Provinces by force: becauſe not only the chief places, but even the commoneſt Towns are Invironed either by the Sea, Rivers or Lakes, or by Earth, then which there can be none more low, nor more myery. So as it is no wonder if theſe People, being thus favoured by Nature, were both ſo fierce in taking up Arms at firſt, and have with like animoſity maintained them ever ſince.

But to return to where I left: As ſoon as *Lumay* was received into the *Brill*, he preſently began to fortifie himſelf; judging that without delay the Duke of *Alva* would ſend to drive him from thence. He openly profeſt Hereſie, wherewith that Town was likewiſe much infected, ſo as great violence and impiety was at firſt committed againſt Church-men and ſacred things. The news of this flew ſuddenly round about; and the Duke of *Alva* was ſoon advertiſed thereof by *Maximilian*, Count *de Boſſu*, Governour of *Holland*. The Duke was mightily troubled hereat. He knew what practiſes there were in *Germany*, *France* and *England*, to cauſe new troubles in *Flanders*; and that the neareſt and greateſt danger lay on the Maritime ſide of the Country: He therefore ordered *Boſſu*, to draw out ſo many men out of the neighbouring Gariſons with all poſſible ſpeed, as would ſuffice not only to recover the *Brill*, but to drive *Lumay* out of that Iſland. To this purpoſe *Fernando de Tolledo* marched thitherward, with part of his men which lay neareſt, and went to *Roterdam*, one of the greateſt and moſt Merchandizing Towns in all *Holland*: 'tis ſeated upon the *Roter*, a little River (from whence it takes its name) and almoſt where it falls into the *Mauſe*, which inlargeth it ſelf there very much. The Kings Forces paſſing from thence, met with

Boſſu

Boſſu in *Waldargin*, a Town ſituated likewiſe upon the ſame ſtream of the *Mauſe*, not far from the *Bril*; and hence they were conveyed in Barks into the Iſland. But *Lumay*, being firſt advertiſed of their advancing, *Boſſu* met with ſuch impediments in effecting this enterpriſe, as he was inforced, and that not without great difficulty, to turn back; and all thoſe people were already manifeſtly inclined to riſe, through an opinion which was every where received, and by the Hereticks cunningly ſpread abroad, that the Kings ſouldiers went to gather the impoſed taxes by force. When the *Spaniards* were come out of the *Bril* iſland, they return'd again to *Roterdam*, where they found difficulty in being received: But being got into the town, and greater miſlikes ariſing amongſt the Citizens, they came from words to blows; nor did the quarrel end, till the Town by military licentiouſneſs was ſackt. This ſucceſs drew after it very bad conſequences: For every Town in *Holland* ſeemed to ſhare in this ſacking of *Roterdam*; and the example ſhewn therein by one Town to another, extended it ſelf ſuddenly from one Province to another. The affairs were notwithſtanding for that time appeaſed there by Count *Boſſu*. *Lumay* growing bold by this proſperity, and growing ſtronger by new men who came in unto him, went to get further footing thereabouts, eſpecially in ſome other place upon the *Mauſe*: But divers of the Kings ſouldiers being aſſembled together, hindred all his further attempts at that time. *Orange* prepared this mean while to march with his Forces from *Germany*. He was to this purpoſe in a Town of his called *Dilimburgh*, near the *Rhine*; and endeavoured again to make all that ſide of the Country joyn with him. And ſeeing that fortune began already to ſmile on him in *Flanders* by this ſucceſs of the *Bril*, he thought it good to allure men yet more by writing. He and his brother *Lodovick* did therefore publiſh a *Manifeſto*, the tenor of which was to this purpoſe:

They ſhewed how much they were obliged by Nature and Honour not to ſuffer their Country to be oppreſt.. They ſaid that the King, being abuſed, could not remedy thoſe things which were concealed from him. They added to the paſt miſeries, by greatly exagerating the preſent: calling the Duke of Alva's *introduced grievances Tyrannies, and things till then unheard of in* Flanders. *They endeavoured by ſpecious titles, even of doing ſervice to the King, to make the Country incline to them, and particularly to ſecure the Catholicks in matter of Religion. And in fine they ſtrove to be ſo zealous of the publike good, as others ſhould not fear that any of their own private ambition were hidden underneath it.*

The Duke of *Alva* ſeeing theſe beginnings, delayed not to take new men into pay: He gave order for the ſpeedy raiſing of 6000 *Walloon* Foot under 3 Camp-maſters, to wit, the Meſſieurs of *Capres*, *Bevoir*, and *Liques*; and he gave out other Commiſſions to the ſame effect. He was chiefly jealous of *Zealand*, by reaſon of the particular correſpondencies which *Orange* held there, who was formerly Maſter of many places there, of importance. The Ilands of that Province are full of Havens, but *Fluſhing* is the chiefeſt. This Town ſtands further into the Sea then any other on that ſide which looks towards *Spain*, and commands the mouth of the Channel where it is ſeated. The Duke ſought to ſecure himſelf of this Haven which opens and ſhuts the chief ingreſs into that Country, by a Citadel which he cauſed to be built there, but which was not yet made defenſible. Neer *Fluſhing* ſtands the *Ramechins*, a little Caſtle, but well fortified. And more inward, *Ramua*, an open Town, but which hath one of the beſt Havens of all the North. Between *Fluſhing* and *Ramua*, a little within land, ſtands *Middleburgh*, the greateſt and chiefeſt City for traffick in all *Zealand*, as hath been ſaid; and which therefore makes its own Iland (called *Walcheren*) the nobleſt of all thoſe Ilands. The City holds communication with the Sea by a large Channel cut out by hand, and receives all commodities from thence. The Duke of *Alva* having theſe jealouſies of *Zealand*, he in the firſt place endeavoured to ſecure *Fluſhing*, and ſuddenly diſpatched thitherward Captain *Oſorio d'Angulo* with three companies of Spaniſh Foot. Nor did the Duke conceive amiſs. The marching of theſe people being heard of at *Fluſhing*, the Townſmen reſolved not to receive them into the Town; and boldly did as they reſolved. The Souldiers being come neer the Town, the people within took up Arms, ran to the gates, and ſhut them up: Exclaiming

that they came to raiſe by force the new Impoſitions; and moreover, to ſack *Fluſhing*, as they had done *Rotterdam* Nor were they content to keep out the Kings Souldiers; but impriſoning Captain *Pacieco* a Spaniard, who had the care of ordering the new Citadel; and after having treated him abuſively in divers ſorts, they cut off his head, and hung it up for a publike ſpectacle in the market-place. This oppoſition, accompanied with ſuch ſad circumſtances, forced *Oſorio* to quit the Iſland, and to retreat, as he did, to ſome place of ſafety, expecting new Orders from the Duke, who was extremely troubled at this ſucceſs. But it cannot be ſaid how glad *Orange* was of this, and how much his Fautors rejoyced every where. They all of them applied themſelves with all diligence to ſend men into *Fluſhing*, and in a few dayes many *High-Dutch* and *French* came and were there received, and the Queen ſent ſome Souldiers privatly thither from *England*. *Jerolomo* Lord of *Seras*, born at *Breda*, came thither afterwards, who was made Governour of the Town by *Orange*; and he gathering together 3000 Souldiers, did better eſtabliſh the Inſurrection of that Town. The Tumultuaries expecting from hence better progreſs, they without any gainſaying took *Ramua*, and *Vere*, a conſiderable place not far from thence, and all other places of leſſer importance. So as of the whole Iland of *Walcherin*, only *Middleburg* and the ſmall Caſtle of *Ramechins*, remained to the King. Wherefore the Tumultuaries, deſiring to be maſters of the whole Iland, and hoping to be ſo, they reſolved to beſiege *Middleburgh*, and ſate down before it with thoſe men which they had, whoſe numbers increaſed daily. The Duke hearing of this ſo great revolt, feared very much that *Middleburgh* would alſo be loſt: He knew that there were but few of the Kings Souldiers within it, and that many of the Citizens were but ill enough inclin'd. Wherefore he ſuddenly ſent the Signeur *de Beavoir* thither with 400 old *Walloon* Foot, for the new Souldiers of his Regiment were not as yet raiſed. *Beavoir* was received into the City: And becauſe to boot with the ſmall number of Souldiers, the City was but ill munited and victuall'd, the Duke gave order to ſend ſpeedily a powerful ſuccour thither; he commanded that many ſhips ſhould be made ready in *Antwerp*, and that the greateſt ſtrength of *Spaniards* and *Walloons* that could be had ſhould be muſtered, and that the Rendezvous ſhould be at *Berghen ap Zoom*. *Berghen* is but a few leagues diſtant from *Antwerp*; the River of *Zoom* runs by it, which not far off fals into the *Scheld*. So as it is a place of importance in it ſelf, and was then the fitteſt from whence to ſend that ſuccour. To encourage the enterpriſe, the Duke ſent his ſon *Frederick* to *Berghen*, and with him Signior *Norchermes*, and here all things were preparing which were needfull for the above-mentioned enterpriſe. But news coming every day of greater danger, if *Middleburgh* were not ſuddenly ſecured, therefore it was requiſite to ſend away an indifferent aid, ſince there was not time allowed for a plenary ſuccour. *Sancio d'Avila* was choſen by the Duke to conduct it, who was Governour of the Caſtle of *Antwerp*, and greatly eſteemed of by him. The Tumultuaries hearing of theſe preparations, they likewiſe endeavoured by all the power they could to impede the effect thereof: They fortified thoſe places where they thought the *Spaniards* were likelieſt to land; and with all diligence increaſed their Forces at Sea, intending to incounter and break the Fleet which was to bring the ſuccour. *Avila* began to move about the end of *April*, and had with him 500 choiſe Spaniſh foot under the Captains *Oſorio d'Angulo*, *Gonſalvo d'Ovalla*, *Fernando d'Aguaſco*, *Inico de Mediniglia*, and *Joavinni d'Avola*. To theſe *Spaniards* were added as many *Walloons*, all of them alſo old Souldiers, under the Signiors *de Liques* and *de Glimus*, and Captain *Torres*. And to theſe were afterward added a good many of Reformado-Officers and other people of qnality, eſpecially of the Spaniſh Nation, who deſired rather to ſerve as Voluntiers, then to take pay upon ſo hard ſervice *Avila* went down the *Scheld* at a low ebb, that he might make uſe of the next flowing water, and drew his men towards the lower part of the channel which waſhes the Iſland of *Walcherin*. He would have landed his men there, becauſe the ſuccour would have been neerer from thence, *Middleburgh* lying on that ſide. But he found the Enemy ſo well fortified in that place, as he reſolved to go to the oppoſite place which looks upon the ſea: A plain ſituation, and of all others furtheſt remote from the City, and where the Enemy by reaſon of theſe difficulties

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did not expect that they ſhould endeavour to land. In evils which may happen, nothing is worſe then not to fear: Nothing is more uſually ſeen in war, then the inſuing of damage, where danger was leaſt looked for. *Avila* being arrived on that ſhore, found no impediment in landing his men, ſave only that they muſt wade a little way through the water, before they could come to the land. Watching the Enemies proceedings from thence, he was informed that they were in no very good order, eſpecially toward that place where he and his men had landed, as leaſt apprehended. The Kings men were greatly hereby encouraged: And *Avila*, to make them be ſo the more, ſpake thus unto them.

My fellow-ſouldiers! The worſt is over, now that we are landed and off the ſea; where the Enemy might have beaten us by power, and alſo by fortune. On land, all the advantages will make for us. We ſhall not fight here one ſhip-board flying from another; nor will the wind, be it propitious or contrary, have any ſhare here: but the victory or loſs will lie in our arms and military valour. Which of us can then doubt, but that at our firſt appearance the Enemies are likelier to betake themſelves to their heels, then to put themſelves in order? We are for certain fewer then they: but 'tis not only numbers that fight, nor are victories had by unexperienced men. And what more contemptible people can be found, then thoſe whom we are now to aſſail? Mariners, and fiſher-men for the moſt part, who are not acquainted ſo much as with the name of Arms; who have tumultuouſly taken them up, and will in like manner lay them down. Perfidious to the King, and more to God: and who by very divine juſtice are now delivered up into our hands, to the end that without any delay they may receive puniſhment according to their demerit. They have with them ſome Heretick foreign Souldiers, but almoſt all of them vagabonds, abject people, who in war look after nothing but pillage, and underſtand nothing but rapine. On the contrary, who is he in this our ſo antient Militia, who hath not either ſeen or done ſome egregious action? which of us have not ſeen our late victories abroad againſt thoſe very Chieftains who now foment theſe preſent rebellions here within us? Let us reſolve then to overcome, before we fight: For I preſage as much. The Rebels doe not look for us on this ſide, ſo as we ſhall be upon them at unawares. The beſieged will at the ſame time ſally out upon them: we ſhall fill their Camp with blood, ſlaughter, and runaways: And ſo by ſuccouring one onely City, we ſhall ſoon ſee the whole Iland ſet at liberty.

This ſpeech being ended, *Avila* began to march: And advancing himſelf and *Liques* with ſome *Spaniards* and *Walloons*, the better to diſcern what the Enemy was doing, they found that there was no appearance of any oppoſition on that ſide. Then calling up the reſt, they went reſolutely to aſſault the Enemy. Nor did *Avila's* preſage prove falſe: For they forſaking their Trenches, which were either ill made, or ill guarded on that ſide, thought rather how to ran away, then how to fight. At the ſame time the Kings ſouldiers ſallied out of the City; ſo as the Enemy being incloſed on both ſides, many of them were ſlain, and the reſt in great confuſion ſcattered here and there abroad. Thus was *Middleburg* freed, and *Ramua* was ſuddenly regained; and ſome of the Enemies ſhips were there taken, which *Avila* made uſe of the better to ſecure the Haven; and moreover he fortified the Town where it was moſt needfull. Whilſt he was thus victorious he would have endeavoured the recovery of *Fluſhing:* But the Town being munited, and at all times ſuccorable, and he having but a few men with him, he could not doe it. The Duke of *Alva* ſent for him back, to know the better from him by word of mouth, what was beſt to be done to eſtabliſh the affairs of *Holland* and *Zealand*, ſo as might make moſt for the Kings ſervice. But he was no ſooner come, then the Duke heard of another novelty of great conſequence, which had hapned neer the Frontiers of *France*. Upon that Confine ſtands the Town of *Valentiennes*, which was the firſt Town that did rebell in the Dutcheſs of *Parma's* time, as was then ſhewn. It is one of the beſt peopled, and moſt Merchant-like Town of all thoſe parts: and holds great correſpondencie in traffick with the neighbouring Provinces of *France*. Notwithſtanding the puniſhment which was inflicted upon the firſt Tumultuaries, there were yet many Hereticks in it, who ſtill held continual practiſes with the French *Hugonots*. The Duke had already begun to build a Citadel in this Town, as hath been ſaid, it being ſubject to ſuſpi-

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tion both by its ſituation, and condition of Inhabitants: And the Citadel was by this time in a good forwardneſs, but it was not as yet made wholly tenable, nor yet provided of a ſufficient Garriſon. This conjuncture of time being by the *Hugonots* obſerved, Monſieur *de Fama* entred the Town on the 15. of *May* with 400 men: He preſently ran to the Town-houſe; and poſſeſſing himſelf of the moſt commodious places to annoy the Citadel, he prepared with ſome Artillery, and ſome other proviſions to beſiege it. The Duke was beyond meaſure moved at this diſorder; both in regard of it ſelf, and for fear leſt others the like, and peradventure greater might inſue upon the ſame Frontier; where he greatly apprehended not only the open practiſes of the *Hugonots*, but even the ſecret ones which by order or connivance of the King of *France* the very Catholicks might nouriſh in thoſe parts. He therefore with all ſpeed ſent ſuch men as were needfull, to chaſe the *French* forthwith from out that Town, and to prevent the danger of the coming in of others to aſſiſt the former. *Alonzo de Lumbrales* marched thitherward immediately with 150 Spaniſh horſe, and was followed the next day by *Garzia de Gualdes* with above one hundred more of the ſame Nation. Theſe Horſe were brought without any difficulty into the Citadel; and time was afforded this mean while for *John de Mendoſa* General of the Light-horſe, to come with both more Horſe and Foot: he brought with him alſo ſome Companies of *Walloons*, taken newly into pay. So as being entred with all theſe men into the Citadel, and charging vigorouſly upon the *French*, who could not in ſo ſhort a time be ſuccoured from without, nor ſufficiently fortified within, they were firſt ſoon diſordered, and afterwards put to flight. Many of them were ſlain, and but few of them would have eſcaped, if the Kings men would in that heat have purſued them. But they were no leſs angry with the Townſmen, ſuſpecting that they had favoured the *French*: So as leaving theſe, and falling on the others, they began to ſack many houſes, and ſhed much blood, not much diſtinguiſhing between ſuch as were guilty, and ſuch as were in no fault at all.

The Duke had not well recovered *Valentiennes*, when he heard that upon the ſame Frontier, by means of ſome other *Hugonots*, who had taken *Lodovick* of *Naſſaw* for their Leader, *Mons* was loſt. And the miſchiefs were already grown ſo general on all ſides in *Flanders*, as it was impoſſible to withſtand their courſe any longer: juſt as the waters of an overſwoln Torrent, bearing down firſt the leſſer obſtacles, and afterwards the greater, doe at laſt in ſundry places overflow the neighbouring fields, and in ſundry ſorts make ſtrange havock. The *Walloon* Provinces (as hath been often ſaid) lie towards *France*: *Henault* is one of the chiefeſt of them, and *Mons* is the chiefeſt Town therein: a noble City for ſituation, Inhabitants, and buildings. And becauſe it ſtood not upon the very edge of the Confines, but lay ſomewhat more inward, therefore was it neither very well fortified, nor yet carefully guarded; though it were of it ſelf ſtrongly ſituated, and well provided with ditches, and ſtrong antient walls. *Lodovick* drawing ſecretly neer to that Frontier, with a few French *Hugonots*, he was let in on the 25. of *May*, and thus ſurpriſed the Town. Some other French were firſt entred *Mons* under pretence of merchandiſe, with certain Fats full of Arms; and had private intelligence with divers of the Townſmen. So as the agreement being had, they made themſelves maſters of one of the Gates; and killing him who kept the keyes of it, and driving away the reſt of the Corps de Gard, they let in *Lodovick*, who to that end had marched hard all that night with an hundred Horſe. When he was entred the City, he began to run into every place, and endeavoured by ſeditious ſpeeches to make the people adhere to him, hoping for more ſuccour. But no *French* appearing from without, nor the Townſmen riſing any way within, he forewent almoſt aſſoon the hopes of making himſelf maſter of the City, as he had aſſumed them, and reſolved to quit it: Nay he began already to fear, leſt the people, being almoſt all of them Catholicks, ſhould rather turn againſt him, and either drive him out, or, to his greater danger, take him priſoner. But Fortune, which had favoured him the firſt time, did ſo the ſecond: He was not well gone out of the Town, when he met with 200 other French horſe with foot *en croupe*, which came to ſuccour him, being led on by Monſieur *Genlis* himſelf, who was the chiefeſt plotter of all the Hugonots upon that Frontier: So

as

as reaſſuming courage, and aſſuring himſelf that the gate by which he was newly come out, was yet open, he again entred the City. And having in the firſt place poſſeſt himſelf of all the Market places, and chiefeſt ſtreets, he ſummoned all the beſt of the Town into the Town-houſe, and endeavoured to juſtifie his action, honeſting it with words full of zeal towards the Country, and of devotion towards the King: but of deteſtation againſt the Duke of *Alvas* Government, and the Spaniards actions. He afterwards gave all aſſurance that the City ſhould receive no outrage, nor be in any ſort damnified: and the better to ſecure himſelf and his men, he ſeiſed upon all the Arms, and Warlike Ammunition he could any where find. Then he began with all diligence to take order for ſuch things as were requiſit for the defence of the City, conſidering that the Duke of *Alva* would without any delay, bend all the Kings Forces againſt him. *Genlis* went himſelf in perſon to ſollicite the Hugonots in *France*, and to be himſelf their Conductor. And *Lodovick* was not wanting in haſtning his brother the Prince of *Orange* to come in unto his ſuccour from the ſide of *Germany*, and by ſo great an acquiſition, the better to confirm thoſe hopes which he conceived they had reaſon to build upon of making yet greater in a ſhort time.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK VI.

The Contents.

The Duke of Alva *was mightily incenſt at the loſs of* Mons. *Other Inſurrections in* Holland *follow.* Orange *prepares to enter* Flanders *the ſecond time. The Duke of* Alva *makes a great levy of men to hinder him. Conſultations touching the marching of the Kings Forces. Reſolution is taken to beſiege* Mons. Genlis, *and other Hugonots of* France, *endeavour to bring in relief: They are met with by the Kings Forces, fought, and routed.* Orange *enters* Flanders *with a great Army by* Ghelderland. *He takes and ſacks* Ruremonde: *He ſecures himſelf of* Malines; *and ſtaies his Camp in the Province of* Hennault. *He is ſo oppoſed by the Duke of* Alva *as he cannot relieve* Mons. *He often endeavours therefore, but in vain, to draw the Duke to battel. Great confuſion in the Prince of* Orange *his Army; whereupon the Duke takes occaſion to make a Camiſado by night, wherein he ſucceeds well, and makes great ſlaughter.* Orange *retreats and paſſeth into* Holland. *Sundry troubles in that Province, and in the others beyond the* Rhine. *The Duke of* Alva *enters* Mons. *The Town of* Goes *is beſieged by the Tumultuaries, and with memorable courage ſuccoured by the Kings men. The Catholick Army in* Brabant. *Sacks* Malines. *Recovers divers places in* Ghelderland. *Takes and ſacks* Zutfen; *and doth almoſt wholly deſtroy* Naerden.

Anno 1572.

THE Duke of *Alva* was the more troubled for the loſs of *Mons*, in that he did no ways ſuſpect the loſing of it. He conſidered it was not only the prime City in all the Province of *Hennault*, but even one of the chiefeſt of all *Flanders*. That from that Line of the Confines which was towards *France*, it lay far enough inward in the Kings Territories, but yet not ſo far but that it might be eaſily ſuccour'd from without: That it might eaſily be made very ſtrong, being on one ſide in a very low and ſpongy ſituation, and well provided of Walls and Ditches on all other parts. That being near the very Province of *Flanders*, and that of *Brabant*, it might eaſily further the Tumults both in the one and the other of them, and conſequently make

make the fire more laſting, which was to be kindled in ſo many parts. He therefore with much fervency apply'd himſelf to the ſudden regaining of it; and hoped well therein, by his having ſo eaſily recovered *Valentiennes*. He ſaw that *Lodovick* of *Naſſaw* might be ſuccoured on two ſides; to wit, by the way of *Germany*, by the Forces which *Orange* prepared, and by the way of *France* by the Forces raiſed by the Hugonots; theſe were doubtleſly the neareſt, and therefore likely to be the ſpeedieſt. The Duke therefore reſolved to make his quickeſt oppoſition on this ſide of *France*, hoping that when he ſhould have interrupted that ſuccour, he might more eaſily impede the other: but ſuch, and ſo grievous commotions happened ſuddenly in *Holland*, as they put upon him new, and greater neceſſities, and rendred him much perplext touching what he was to reſolve upon. The Town of *Enchuſen* had there led the way firſt to open diſobedience; which Town lies very opportunely for ſituation, as lying upon the point of a great Gulf which the Sea makes in *Holland*, towards the North; and no leſs for the quality thereof, and number of ſhipping which are continually buiſt there, and which makes it one of the beſt, and moſt eſteemed Arſenals of all that Province. Nor was it long ere other greater revolts followed: For *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Gouda*, and almoſt all the other Cities and chief Towns did at once the like, except *Amſterdam*, which continued then, and long after in Allegiance to the King. Great raiſing of Arms was likewiſe heard of in *Germany*; and that *Orange* having paſt the *Rhine*, grew ſtill ſtronger in men, intending to enter *Flanders* again by the ſame way he did before. To obviate ſo many evils which threatned him in ſo many ſeveral parts, the Duke of *Alva* betook himſelf ſuddenly to raiſe great levies, both of horſe and foot; and gave order for the taking of 5 or 6 thouſand horſe into pay in High-*Germany*, the chief care whereof was had by *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, formerly imployed by the King upon like occaſions; by *Salentine*, Count of *Iſemburg*, Archbiſhop of *Cullen*, who ſhewed himſelf very faithfull to the Catholick Cauſe and the Crown of *Spain*; and by *Peter Erneſtus* Count of *Mansfield*, who came originally from *Germany*, and who had yet many friends and kindred of great eſteem there; he gave order for the raiſing of 18 thouſand foot in ſix Regiments: to wit, 3000 in the Upper, and 3000 in the Lower *Germany*. The firſt were taken into pay by *Ottone* Count of *Erbeſtein*; by *George Baron* of *Fronsberg*, and by *Nicholas Purvighliere*, all of them natives of the ſame Country. And the latter by *Giles* Count of *Barlemonte*; by *Maximilian* Count of *Boſſu*, and by *Lancelot* Count of *Mega*; all of them the Kings Vaſſals in the Provinces of *Flanders*. Theſe levies required great ſtore of money, whereof the Duke was very much exhauſted. But he had repreſented unto the King the affairs of *Flanders* to be in ſo dangerous a condition, as he was in ſome ſort preſently furniſht therewithall for his neceſſities: and the King promiſed him to ſee him continually furniſht with what ſhould be requiſit for maintaining the Churches Cauſe and his own (which was now become one and the ſame) in thoſe Provinces. The new Inſurrections which had happened in *Holland* bore with them very bad conſequences, to boot with the former in *Zealand*. And the Novelties which had ſucceeded, and which ſtill grew greater in the Frontiers towards *Germany* and *France*, required powerfull and ſpeedy remedy. The Duke of *Alva* conſulted therefore with the chief Commanders of the Army, to what part it was beſt to bend the Kings Forces; or if by dividing them, they might ſuffice for both occaſions. 'Twas generally thought that there were not enough to be divided. And as for the turning to the one or the other place, Marſhal *Vitelli*, Camp-Maſter-General, who was greatly eſteemed in the Army, as well for the prerogative of his Place, as for his Valour, was of opinion that they were to bend all their Forces immediately towards *Holland* and *Zealand*. ſaying,

That by good reaſon of War, Forces were to be turned thither where their imployment was of greateſt conſequence. And how much did it moſt import firſt to ſecure the Maritine Country? That in thoſe parts which lay more inward in the Country, the people were neither ſo infected with Hereſie, nor ſo inclin'd to Rebellion. And though ſome loſs might be ſuffered by the Forces from Germany *and* France, *it was to be hoped that they might be eaſily regain'd. That the Hugonots Forces were of no*

ſubſtance of themſelves; nor was it to be thought that the King of France *would favour them, if for what might concern the good of* Spain, *at leaſt for what might reſpect the ſervice of his own Kingdom, ſo grievouſly infeſted by them. That the heretick Forces of* Germany *which were to enter* Flanders, *were to be eſteemed of the ſame nature: being tumultuouſly raiſed, ill provided of men, and worſe of money; more ready to pillage then to fight; and that prey and pay failing, they would ſoon forgoe their obedience, and inſteed of carrying their Colours againſt their enemies, they would turn them againſt their Commanders. That for theſe reaſons it was to be believed, that the noiſe was greater then the blow would be from either of both thoſe parts: and that thoſe foreign Forces being ſoon ſcattered by the oppoſition made by the Kings Towns (which to that purpoſe were with all diligence ſuddenly to be munited)* Mons *would eaſily be recovered, as alſo whatſoever other damage might inſue in any other part upon thoſe Frontiers. But on the contrary, how firmly was hereſie radicated, both in* Holland *and* Zealand? *how much were the people alienated from their former devotion to the Church, and to the King? That by reaſon of the Sea and Rivers, Merchandiſe did very much abound there; as alſo monies and victuals: and that every Town there was ſo ſtrong by Nature, that allow but a little time to Induſtry, every Paſs would require an Army to overcome it, and every Siege almoſt an Age to finiſh it. That by the opportunity of the Sea, new Forces might continually be ſent unto the Rebels on thoſe ſides, from* Germany *and* France, *but eſpecially from* England. *And they being Maſters of the Maritine parts, what advantages might they by other deſignes work unto themſelves in the more inward Countries? What difficulties would the ſuccours then meet withall which ſhould be ſent by Sea from* Spain *to* Flanders? *Which ſuccours were to be eſteemed the ſpeedieſt and moſt profitable; the others which were to be expected by land being ſo far off, and ſo chargeable to convoy, that* Orange *had long govern'd both thoſe Provinces, having great ſtore of wealth, and adherents in them, that therefore it was to be believed, that out of ſo many conſiderations of his own advantage, he would indeavour to lay the chief ſeat of the Rebellion there. That therefore the Frontiers towards* Germany *and* France *being ſecured the beſt that might be, they were preſently to turn with all their forces toward* Holland *and* Zealand. *That from thence the chiefeſt head of this new* Hydra *aroſe. And that it was not to be doubted, but that the hardeſt difficulty being once overcome, the reſt would afterwards prove much more eaſie.*

This opinion of *Vitelli* was grounded upon very ſolid reaſons. But amongſt others, *Norchermes* was rather of a different then of a repugnant mind. He was held to be the ableſt ſouldier of all thoſe Provinces. He was Governor of *Hennault*, and therefore adding his own privat ends to the publick conſiderations, he propounded the recovery of *Mons* in the firſt place. He ſaid,

'That that City might be recovered by a ſhort ſiege, and alſo all the deſignes 'which *Orange* and the Hugonots could have upon thoſe Frontiers of *Germany* 'and *France* be eaſily broken. That turning the Kings Forces ſuddenly from 'thence, upon *Holland* and *Zealand*, they might be there time enough to allay the 'Rebellion which was there begun. Nor was this reſolution to be taken ſo much 'out of conveniency, as out of neceſſity. That the loſs of *Mons* was of too great 'importance: That by the opportunity of its ſituation, the Enemy might make 'it very ſtrong, and make it as it were a *Piazza d' Armi*, from whence they might 'infeſt the whole Countrie of *Walloon*, and alſo the two neighbouring Provinces of '*Brabant* and *Flanders*, which were the two largeſt, and moſt opulent Provinces 'of all the Low-Countries. And how could they be ſure, but that ſo many 'Forces of the Enemy might make further progreſs in thoſe Frontiers? That it 'was not poſſible to furniſh all the Kings Towns in thoſe parts with all things ne-'ceſſary. And though the chiefeſt ſhould make reſiſtance, doubtleſly the wea-'ker would not be able to do it; which notwithſtanding being quickly fortified 'by the Enemy, would make way for their further entrance on other ſides into 'the Kings Provinces. How much would they then moleſt the Countrie every 'where? and what other commodities would they there receive whereby to main-'tain themſelves? the Towns would then be burnt on all ſides, the fields fill'd 'with amazement, the Inhabitants with horror, and to boot with the prejudice 'the Kings affairs ſhould ſuffer, how much ſhould he thereby ſuffer in his ho-

nour?

'nour? In my opinion then, we muſt in the firſt place recover what is loſt, and 'ſeek to prevent other greater loſſes, which our Enemies may occaſion unto us in 'our Frontiers upon *Germany* and *France*. This being done, all the Kings For-'ces may the eaſilier march to the reducing of *Holland* and *Zealand* to their for-'mer obedience. One ſucceſs will bring on another, and we ought to expect as 'good ſucceſſe in the ſecond, as we have reaſon to hope for in the firſt.

The Duke was of this opinion. He thought he ſhould be able to ſettle the Kings affairs ſo ſoon in one place, as he might have time enough to ſecure them on the other. To the which he was the more incited out of a deſire not to permit the *French* to neſtle ſo much as any one minute in *Flanders*. And no leſs out of the bitter hatred which he and the Prince of *Orange* bore each to other, as well for privat as publick reſpects, as hath been ſaid. He therefore deſired to oppoſe him as ſoon as might be; and to drive him now again out of the Countrie more ſhamefully then he had done before. The buſineſs of *Mons* being then reſolved on, he forthwith diſpatcht away ſome Troops of horſe thitherward, to hinder the coming of any others thither from *France*; and ſent afterwards his ſon *Frederick de Tolledo* thither with 4000 foot, and 800 horſe, accompanied by *Vitelli* and *Norchermes*. Towards the end of *June* theſe people appeared within ſight of the City: and poſſeſſing themſelves of the fitteſt places round about it, did as it were beſiege it at a large diſtance. The City of *Mons* receives its name from its ſituation, which in that Language ſignifies a Mountain, or Hill; but the riſe of the earth is there ſo gentle, as it cannot well be ſaid to be mountainous. 'Tis a very Noble City, as well for the concourſe of people, as for Commerce: it hath many good houſes in it, and there ſits the Kings Councel, which adminiſters Juſtice to the Countrie; all which Prerogatives gives it the precedency over all other Towns of that Province. It commands large and ſpacious fields round about it, which may be queſtioned whether they abound more in Paſture or Tillage. Nor is the Territory thereof leſs rich in Woods; nor generally indeed all the reſt of the Province. The City is ſtronger by natural ſituation, then by manual induſtry. It is cut thorough on the lower ſide by a little rivolet called *Trulla*, which as ſoon as it goes out of it, fals into another ſomewhat bigger, called *Hayne*; which croſſing through the Province, before it be gotten quite out, fals likewiſe into the *Scheld*. The beſieged this mean while ſought only how to furniſh themſelves with victuals, which they were not well provided of. The Harveſt was then ripe; wherefore they determined to make a ſtout ſally, thereby to afford leaſure for the cutting down of the neareſt Corn, and for the bringing of it into the City. The Kings men were not backwards in oppoſing them, ſo as a very fierce skirmiſh inſued. But freſh ſuccours coming ſtill into the latter, the defendants were forc'd at laſt to retreat, and *Vitelli* as he was purſuing them, was ſhot with a muſquet in the leg. *Genlis* was not this mean while idle on the French behalf: he had with very great diligence gathered together a conſiderable ſtrength of horſe and foot, wherewith he marched ſpeedily to relieve the beſieged. The Province of *Hennault*, looks towards the South on *Champania* and *Picardy* in *France*, ſo as the ſpeedieſt and eaſieſt ſuccour was hoped for from thence. *Genlis* his deſigne was to draw ſo near *Mons*, as that he might put thereinto a good number of ſoldiers, and then to go himſelf with the reſt of his Forces, and joyn with the Prince of *Orange*. The Admiral *Coligni*, who was the principal Architecture of all the plots hatched by the Hugonots as well within *France*, as out of it, had exhorted him, to goe immediately to find out *Orange*. Count *Lodovick* had ſignified the like unto him from *Mons*; both of them being of opinion that the body of the Army conducted by *Orange* being rendred ſo much the greater, that City might be the eaſilyer ſuccoured. But *Genlis* perſiſting in his own opinion, would needs purſue it; ſo took his way through *Picardy* to the Confines of *Hennault*. *Frederick* being advertiſed hereof, reſolved by *Vitelli*'s advice, to incounter him, and fight him before he ſhould get into the Kings Countrie. When the Kings men were come to the River *Heyne*, and heard that the Enemy began to appear out of a Wood, near the Town *Hoterage*, they marched towards them, and by a skirmiſh kept them at firſt ſomewhat farther from the Wood, and from the Town. Here the skirmiſh was turn'd into parties, and the parties into a bat-

tel. The French seeing the necessity of fighting, made two squadrons of their foot, and but one of their horse, placing them all according as best fitted the situation of the Wood and of field-room. The Kings foot were likewise divided into two bodies, which were seconded to the best advantage by the horse. *Vitelli*, who by reason of his wound, was brought into the field in a chair, not without great pain and danger, ordered the battel. *Julian Romero*, a Spanish Camp-Master, and one of known valour and experience, had the charge of the Van. Here they fell to it; but the fight continued not long; the circumstances whereof being well considered, it might rather be called an Incounter then a Battel. The French did not look to be so soon faced by the Kings men, and therefore came not so well prepared to fight as 'twas needfull they should have been, that they might have disputed the victory better then they did. Being vigorously set upon by the Kings men, they made at first some resistance: but their first force suddenly failing, they fell soon into disorder: and for the rest, 'twas nothing but slaughter and flight. They suffered more by the Country people afterwards, then they did at first by the souldiers. For many Country people of those frontiers having followed the Spanish Camp, fell bitterly upon the French after their defeat, suffering few of them to escape, and fully revenging themselves for the losses their Country had suffered by this their march. The common opinion was, that *Genlis* had with him about 7000 foot, and 1000 horse; whereof a third part together with the loss of almost all their Colours, were either slain or taken prisoners. *Genlis* himself was taken prisoner, and Monsieur *de Geniſack*, who Commanded the horse, and another Chieftain of the Hugonots of good quality, called the *Ringrave*. The Baron of *Runti*, and one *Giumella*, both of them foot Colonels, were slain in the battel. These were the chief of the Hugonots Camp: all the rest of their men, what by being slaughtered by the Country people, and what through terror of the discomfeiture, were reduced to so weak a remainder, as they could not be any more serviceable to the Hugonots neither within, nor without the Kingdom. *Genlis* was carried to the Castel of *Antwerp*, where he soon after fell sick and died. Very few were found missing of the Kings Camp, and of those, not any one of quality. Thus ended the succour brought by the French Hugonots: whose unfortunate succes, was a presage of that no less unhappy event which was soon after seen, both in the Army Commanded by *Orange*, and in the siege sustained by his brother. The fight was not many miles distant from the City: so as the Kings party returned suddenly to the siege. And *Pruighlier* being come not long after unto the Army with 4000 foot, and some horse, *Frederick* incouraged by so great an addition of Forces, and by the coming likewise of *Fronsbergs* horse, and *Bracamonts* foot, began very hotly to begirt the besieged. He took up his quarters particularly in the Village of *Nimy*, St. *Sinforiano*, *Bertamonte*, and *Jemmampel*, which inviron *Mons*; and he indeavoured to secure his quarters every where the best he could by the Rivers *Heyne* and *Trulla*. There was a Priory under the Walls of *Mons*, well furnisht with Edifices. And because the Kings men might be much prejudiced from thence, they within the Town had put a good Garison into it, and seemed as if they would strive to defend it. At which *Frederick* being moved, he resolved howsoever to take it: but he failed in his first attempt, through the valiant resistance made by the defendants, and by the help they received by the Cannon which were at that time drawn out of the City. But returning the second time with greater Forces, and playing upon the place with two pieces of Cannon, the Spaniards prepared for the assault, when the French knowing they could no longer hold it, forsook it, and withdrew themselvs within the Walls of the Town. The Priory being lost, the Town was more narrowly besieged. The Duke of *Alva* came at the same time to the Army,, as well to encourage the enterprise by being present thereat himself, as to hasten whatsoever was needfull to oppose *Orange* his designe of relieving *Mons*, and freeing his brother. With him came the Duke of *Medina-Celi*, who was then come by sea to *Flanders* from *Spain* with fresh men; being sent by the King to succeed the Duke of *Alva* in that Government.

The Country had in these dayes contributed a great sum of money more then usual, so as the Army was much increased by their arrival, and by the new Levies

of

of *Flanders*, and much more by thoſe that were raiſed in *Germany*: to boot that, ſet the chief Garriſons aſide, all the old Souldiery were ordered to come to the Camp. The Duke therefore preſently prepared divers Batteries and Trenches, where it was eaſieſt to fall down into the Ditches; and the City-walls began already to be furiouſly plaid upon from ſundry ſides. The greateſt part of the Canon were placed againſt the gate *Bartimonte*, and againſt a Ravelin which fenc'd it: the Battery was one day ſo fierce, as ſome of the Peeces broke, and the Ravelin was almoſt quite level'd. But the reſiſtance and valour of thoſe within was no leſs. Monſieur *de la Nue* was with *Lodovick*, a man of great valour, and the beſt eſteemed of any that was then in *France* of the *Hugonot* Faction: the defence of *Mons* paſt chiefly through his hands, and by his directions; and therefore the beſieged failed not to do what in them lay for their beſt advantage. Fearing therefore to loſe that place, they made a Work more inward, and placed two Culverins upon it; and prejudicing the Kings men greatly thereby, they forced them to proceed more cautiouſly in their aſſault which they deſign'd againſt that ſide. But though they were not wanting in defending themſelves the beſt and moſt reſolutely that they could, yet their chiefeſt hopes lay in their ſuccor from *Orange*: who being already upon his march with a powerful Army raiſed almoſt wholly in *Germany*, was got into the *Low-Countries* by *Ghelderland*, and made towards *Ruremond*. He intended to uſe only fair means, and not force, to be accommodated with victuals by that City, thinking he ſhould not ſo eaſily win it; nor was he willing to waſte his time and forces before it, to the prejudice of his chief deſign, which was to relieve *Mons* as ſoon as might be, and afterwards to make there a great Magazine of Arms. He therefore friendly intreated thoſe Citizens to accommodate him with victuals and other things which his Army wanted. But they anſwering more boldly then they ought to have done, and not meaſuring their Forces by their words, gave him a flat denial. He did not expect ſuch an anſwer, ſo as he grew much incenſed; and to his anger neceſſity was joyned, for his people ſuffered already in many things. There were not Hereticks wanting in the City, and they deſired to ſee it in *Orange* his poſſeſſion, who had formerly held ſome intelligence with them to that purpoſe. Practiſes being then renewed within, and the men prepared without, he made a fierce aſſault upon one of the Gates, which with equal valour was defended by thoſe within: who ſhewed the like ſtoutneſs twice after, when *Orange* renewed twice his aſſaults. In the heat of this reſiſtance which the Catholick defendants made, the Hereticks Townſmen making uſe of opportunity, poſſeſt themſelves of another gate, and thereby let them in that were without. *Orange* either could not, or would not hinder the ſacking of the City: withheld perhaps on one ſide, by judging it was not fit to uſe examples of cruelty, when the *Flemiſh* did moſt expect clemency; and inforſt on the other ſide to provide for the neceſſities of his people, which ſince he was not able to ſatisfie with pay, he muſt ſupply the want thereof by plunder. But ſacking was the leaſt miſery which *Ruremond* ſuffered: For the Hereticks with unheard of barbariſm, mingling ſlaughter with pillage, grew cruel to all ſexes and all ages, eſpecially againſt Church-men and Church-adornments. By the taking of *Ruremond*, *Orange* got another City in thoſe parts, which gave him a ſecure paſs over the *Mauſe*. He turn'd from hence to *Malines*, which was already wrought to be at his devotion, by Monſieur *de Dorp*: ſo as he put a good Garriſon thereinto of *High-Dutch*. In his march he likewiſe made himſelf maſter of many other places of leſſer conſideration: And being come to *Lovain*, deſired to be there received. But meeting with more ſtiffneſs in the Citizens then he expected, and fearing that he ſhould loſe too much time in ſtaying to force it, he reſolved to accept of a certain ſum of money, which the City was contented to give him.

Thus leaving *Brabant*, he came in the beginning of *September* into *Henault*; and here he muſtered his Army. His Forces conſiſted, as it was ſaid, of 1600 Foot, and 9000 Horſe; all of them *Germans*, except ſome *French* and *Walloons*. He was aided by the ſucceſs of a buſineſs which had happened a little before in favour of his adherents in *Zealand*, to move ſooner then he himſelf had thought. A great many Flemiſh ſhips were at this time returned from *Lisbone* richly laden;

and

and out of choice rather then neceſſity, they put in according to their cuſtom at *Fluſhing*, not knowing till then any thing of the new revolutions which had happened there. The Inhabitants of that Town being maſters of ſo great a booty, made ſuddenly monies thereof, and ſent the greateſt part to the Prince of *Orange*; juſt when he ſtood in moſt need, to aſſemble his men together, and make them march. But the greater his Army was, the greater was his difficulty in maintaining them: For neither had he ſufficient monies to that end, nor any authority grounded upon command, but only upon intreaties. He came with the like reſolutions as before, to wit, to doe all he could to draw the Duke to battel; hoping at leaſt thereby to find ſome means to ſuccour *Mons* the more eaſily. On the other ſide, as the Dukes ends were clean otherwiſe, ſo did his reſolutions appear to be. He as before, deſired to beat *Orange* by the Arms of his own Neceſſity: ſo as deſpairing of Battel, and no leſs of ſuccour, and forced by diſaccommodations and ſufferings, he ſhould at laſt confeſs himſelf overcome, by returning diſcomfited. The Duke doubted towards which part *Orange* would betake himſelf. The ſpeedieſt and ſhorteſt way was towards *Nimi* and St. *Sinforiano*. Between theſe two Villages ſtands a Wood; and therefore the Duke uſed all needful diligence to fortifie all thoſe places, ſo to hinder his paſſage on that ſide. Which *Orange* hearing of, he changed his way, and turning Eaſtward, paſt by *Perone* a Village ſome two leagues diſtant from *Mons*; and fording without any difficulty over the *Heyn* and *Trulla*, he marched towards the other part of the City, drawing ſtraight upon *Jumampel*. The ground was here a little more hilly then in other parts thereabouts, and was therefore thought leſs eaſie to fortifie; and therefore *Orange* judged he might ſooneſt ſuccour the beſieged on that ſide. But as ſoon as the Duke had diſcovered this deſign, he turn'd moſt of his men ſuddenly thitherward, and reſolved to raiſe a Fort there: which was done with all ſpeed, and the Duke *Medina celi* took particular care of it. To boot with the Fort, which was provided of Artillery the better to entertain the Enemy on that ſide, the Duke ſurrounded his Camp on that ſide too with a Trench. Having thus ſecured himſelf, and having a watchfull eye over all things, he commanded upon ſevereſt puniſhment that no man ſhould ſtir from the Squadrons without his order, nor ſhould in any manner whatſoever offer to fight. *Orange* was this mean while drawn neer this place: And having ſent his brother *Henry* a little before, who was a gallant Youth, with fifty Horſe, to learn ſome news of the Spaniſh Camp, he met with almoſt as many which the Duke of *Alva* had ſent out towards the Enemy to the ſame purpoſe. A bloody skirmiſh was had between theſe two Parties of Horſe, wherein the Dukes men coming off with ſomewhat the worſe, *Orange* came up ſoon after with his whole Army, and offered the Duke battel. But he, ſtill more ſtedfaſt in his firſt reſolution, kept all his men in great order within their Trenches, ſuffering only the Artillery to play upon the Enemy, who did the like upon the Spaniſh camp. *Orange* took up his Quarters afterwards at *Querenon* a Village not far from *Jumampel*, and endeavoured divers times to provoke the Duke to fight. To this end he greatly annoyed the Kings Camp with continual thunder of Cannon; he endeavoured to keep them from forrage or victuals, and ſallied out in skirmiſhes as oft as he could, ſo to provoke them to battel the ſooner; wherein, having much the greater number of Horſe, he hoped to be Victor. There were ſome with the Duke, who adviſed to fight the Enemy, ſhewing how much his men did exceed the others in valour; ſaying,

That victories were not won by numbers, but by worth. How oft had their firſt Squadrons born it away? nay, how oft their firſt Files? What compariſon was there to be made between new tumultuary baſe people, ſuch as were the Enemy; and old Souldiers, ſo well diſciplin'd, and ſo nobly born as were his? Let him then go out of the Trenches: and fighting in ſo juſt a cauſe, and with ſuch valiant men, he might be ſure to overcome. The Archbiſhop of *Cullen* was particularly of this opinion; who being of a warlike mind, was come in perſon into the Camp. But the Duke, ſtill firm to his old Maxim, not to fight with Fortune, which in all humane affairs is ever fickle, but eſpecially in affairs of war and battel, anſwered in words befitting ſuch a Commander:

That

That the end of thoſe who govern an Army, was alwaies to overcome, but not alwaies to fight. And that he ſhould have fought ſufficiently; when he ſhould have overcome.

Orange being thus deluded of all hopes of bringing it to a day of battel, apply'd himſelf wholly to the relief; and the Duke wholly to keep him from it: and this was the chiefeſt indeavor of them both. *Orange* propounded unto himſelf the conſequences of preſerving ſuch a place as *Mons* was: and the Duke the importancy of re-poſſeſſing himſelf of it. *Orange* had aſſur'd his friends that he would ſuccor and relieve it; and the other had ſignified no leſs aſſurance in *Spain* that he would hinder him from ſo doing. Each of them argue the future from the preſent ſucceſs. And warring one againſt the other, rather out of privat hatred, then the publick reſpect, each of them fervently deſired to compaſs their ends with reputation and glory, the more to thwart the adverſaries deſigne with loſs and diſhonour. *Orange* was much afflicted to find himſelf amidſt the aforeſaid neceſſities, which did foretoken that if he did not very ſpeedily relieve *Mons*, his Army would immediately moulder away: he had no money to maintain it, nor was it any longer nouriſhable by rapine; and fearing every day leſt the ſouldier might mutiny, he knew that in ſuch a caſe his own forces would be more prejudiciall to him then thoſe of his enemies. And doubtleſly he ran hazard either of being brought into great agony by his own men, by actual impriſonment, or through greater perfidiouſneſs and avarice, of being delivered up into the Duke of *Alva*'s hands, which was the moſt hideous thing his thoughts could ſuggeſt unto him. Without any further delay then, chuſing out 2000 of his beſt horſe, and 1000 of his beſt foot, he ſent them with great reſolution towards that part where he thought they might eaſilyeſt enter *Mons*, on the ſide of *Jumampel*. He divided the horſe into two ſquadrons, and by them ſheltered the foot, which he intended to put into the City; and diſpoſed of all the reſt of his Army ſo as might ſerve upon any occaſion which fortune might preſent of battel. But the Kings men who had very well furniſht that paſs before, and eſpecially with ſome Spaniſh Colours under *Sancio d'Avila*, and *Julian Romero*, did ſo gallantly oppoſe the Aſſailants, and were ſo advantagiouſly ſeconded by the Artillery which from the Fort commanded the Champian, as *Orange* could in no ways compaſs his intent. The conflict was notwithſtanding very fierce, and was accompanied by a double tempeſt of Canon-ſhot, wherewith the Kings men played continually upon the Enemy both within and without: they being no leſs playd upon by the others likewiſe, both from within and without: but few of the Spaniards were ſlain. Of the Enemy about 300. *Orange* deſpairing of bringing in any relief on that ſide, removed his Camp that very night, and lodged in the Village *Hermenes* upon the bank of *Trulla*, not far from *St Sinforiano*. The Duke of *Alva* turned ſuch forces likewiſe as were requiſite on his ſide thitherward, to hinder the enemy from all relief on that ſide. Nor was it long ere he made them loſe all hopes thereof. *Orange* his ſouldiers were quartered in great diſorder, eſpecially the Germans; all other things alſo in his Camp were in much confuſion, nor was it any wonder: For the ſouldiers being for the moſt part pickt up here and there, without pay, or the curb of diſcipline, they obeyed no longer then they liſted. The Duke of *Alva* was very well informed of all theſe diſorders and wants amongſt the enemy; which he ſuddenly made advantage of. Having himſelf viewed the Germans neareſt quarters, he reſolved to aſſault them that very night, hoping that fortune would befriend him in their change of quarters. He gave the charge thereof to *Norchermes*, who was then very much imployed by him in *Vitelli*'s abſence, he being gone out of the Camp to be cured of his wound. The buſineſs inſued thus: A thouſand Spaniſh foot were pickt out and the Camp-Maſter *Romero* was choſen to conduct them, who though he was very good at Councel, yet was much better at execution. To theſe thouſand Spaniards as many *Walloons* were added, to ſecure the retreat where need ſhould require. In the deepeſt ſilence of night the Kings men began to move: and that they might be known from the enemy in the dark, they went with ſhirts uppermoſt. The Germans were then in a great deal of careleſneſs all of them faſt aſleep, ſo as they were ſlain before they knew they were aſſaulted: they thought ſom

tumult

tumult had caſually hapned amongſt them; but being diſdeceived by their wounds and bloud, and ſuddenly ſeiſed upon by confuſion and fear they betook themſelves rather to flight than to fight. The Kings men at the ſame time they aſſaulted the Germans, the more to increaſe their terror and loſs, had fired their quarters: the fire burſt forth on a ſudden in ſundry parts, and burnt many of the enemies; So as it was queſtionable whether more of them periſht by the Sword, Fire, or Water, whereinto many of them did blindly precipitate themſelves. So to ſhun one death met with another: and the Kings men having continu'd ſlaughter a good while, they were forced at laſt to retreat, for the Enemies Camp was by this time in Arms. In this action about 500 Germans were loſt; and ſome few of the Spaniards, who not obſerving well their orders, were either borne away with too much heat of fighting, or were not well acquainted with the places of retreat. But the Enemy was hereat ſo affrighted, as forgoing all obedience and diſcipline, and leaving behind them great part of their baggage, they of their own inclination betook themſelves preſently to be gone. They ſtormed againſt *Orange* for having abuſed and betrayed them, and that inſtead of returning home loaded with ſpoyl and booty, they were now to carry away nothing but ſufferings and diſaccommodations. Amidſt theſe outcries which taſted more of threats then complaints; *Orange*, being ſtrangely confuſed, and being reduced to a condition rather of obeying then commanding, raiſed his Camp and marched towards *Malines*. The Duke was councelled by divers not to let ſlip ſo fitting an occaſion of falling on the enemy whilſt they retreated in diſorder. But he anſwered with the vulgar Proverb;

Let us make a Bridg to them that fly.

and ſhew'd how that without doubt *Orange* would within a few days be forced to quit the Country. That it was ſufficient for him that he had compaſt his end in the ſame manner as he deſired. *Orange* left a ſtrong Gariſon in *Malines*, intending to keep that City, which lying in the heart of *Flanders*, might ſerve him for many purpoſes. His Army afterwards wholly disbanding, and he luckely eſcaping out of their hands, whom he now ſuſpected more then the enemy, he at laſt by way of a fugitive, rather hiding himſelf then retiring, got to *Delfe*, a City in *Holland*, there to put on ſuch new reſolutions as time and neceſſity ſhould adminiſter. When *Orange* was gone from about *Mons*, the Duke of *Alva* began narrowlyer to begirt the beſieged. He re-inforced the begun batteries, and uſed all other neceſſary diligence, to the end that being rid of this ſiege, he might the ſooner alſo recover thoſe other places which *Orange* had made himſelf Maſter of. The beſieged did notwithſtanding valiantly and conſtantly defend themſelves for ſome days; but at laſt all hopes of ſuccour failing them, they reſolved to yield, having received ſuch honourable conditions as upon ſuch occaſions are uſually articled and agreed upon between the vanquiſhers and vanquiſhed. Count *Lodovick* went ſick out of *Mons*; and paſſing into *Holland* to ſee his brother, he departed ſuddenly for *Germany*, to move every ſtone there which might ſerve to diſturbe *Flanders*. Whilſt affairs went thus about *Mons*, many important novelties had happened in *Holland*, *Zealand*, and in other places. Monſieur *de Seras* was Governor of *Fluſhing*, being ſent thither, as hath been ſaid, by the Prince of *Orange*: and many hereticks were come from the neighbouring Countries to joyn with him. He therefore borne away with greater deſignes, and deſirous in particular to lend his helping hand to the beſieged in *Mons*, by entring into *Flanders*, and afterwards into *Hennault*, betook himſelf thereunto. He gathered together 3000 foot, and eaſily imbarked them in the maritime coaſts of *Flanders* he had not notwithſtanding ſufficient Artillery to force any place; wherefore he placed his hopes more in the peoples riſing, then in his own forces. But the Duke having uſed all needfull care to ſecure that Province, and *Seras* meeting with good reſiſtance in all parts, he came from thence almoſt as ſoon as he was entred, and laid aſide all thoughts of doing any good on that ſide. The chief end of the tumultuaries in *Zealand*, was to poſſeſs themſelves of *Midleburg*. They thought that the Town of *Targoes*, placed on the Northern parts of one of thoſe Iſlands,

called

called *Southbeverlant*, would be a hindrance herein unto them. This Town was guarded by ſome *Spaniards*, and *Walloons:* and *Midleburg* might better be relieved by the Kings men from thence, then from any other part. *Seras* applying himſelf to get this place, brought a good number of men with him, and endeavoured to enter it by force: but he found ſuch oppoſition, as he ſoon forſook the enterpriſe. And being deſpiſed by his own men, for theſe two unfortunate ſucceſſes, as alſo for ſome other things; thoſe of *Fluſhing* would no more receive him, nor the reſt any longer follow him; ſo as he was faiñ to forgoe the Province with as much ſhame as he was at firſt received thereinto with honour At the ſame time that Count *Lodovick* had poſſeſt himſelf of *Mons*, the aboveſaid inſurrections had happened in *Holland*; and except it were *Amſterdam*, the whole Province was almoſt revolted. To the *Brill*, where *Lumay* had raiſed the firſt tumults of thoſe parts, many heretick ſouldiers were come from the neighbouring Countries, eſpecially from *England*. People were likewiſe raiſed by the Rebels in other parts of the Province, who fortified divers other Paſſes which lay more inward in the Countrie, to the end that they might be Maſters of the beſt Avenues on both ſides. The Duke of *Alva* had taken with him, to the relief of *Mons*, and to oppoſe *Orange*, almoſt all the whole Army, as hath been ſaid, eſpecially the Spaniards, in whom he did moſt confide. So as *Holland* being as it were abandoned to the will of the tumultuaries, it was no wonder, if having ſo large a field to break forth in into novelties, they were both ſo eaſily contrived by them, and ſo eaſily executed. Divers notable alterations to the Kings prejudice aroſe likewiſe in the contiguous Provinces of *Utricht*, *Frieſland*, *Overiſel*, *Groninghen* and *Zutfen*. At *Orange* his entrance into *Flanders*, many of the chiefeſt places in each of them, followed him and his fortune, not meeting with almoſt any oppoſition by the Kings men. And the people baited by the ſpetious titles of common good, run almoſt from all places to aſſiſt his cauſe as if it had been their own. The Count *de Berg*, one of the chiefeſt Lords of all the Low-Countries, had married a ſiſter of the Prince of *Orange*; who had great adherencies particularly in *Frieſland*, and the parts thereabouts. He was likewiſe apparently inclin'd to favour hereſie, and joyned with *Orange* no leſs in Councel then in Bloud. He therefore came into the aforeſaid Province beyond the *Rhine* at the ſame time that *Orange* paſt from them to the other more inward Provinces, and made divers places of importance riſe, and placed Garriſons in ſome of them which were moſt conſiderable either for their Situation or Inhabitants: amongſt others the City of *Zutfen* was fallen into his hands, which gives the name to that Province. and which being ſeated on the River *Iſel*, is held for one of the chiefeſt of all thoſe parts. He had taken and ſackt the Town of *Amersfort*, upon the Frontiers of *Holland*; and indeavoured thus to draw the people by force, where they would not of themſelves be wrought unto it, to joyn with him, *Orange*, and the other Flemiſh exiles. It is not to be believed how ill they obſerved their promiſe which *Orange* in the aforementioned Manifeſto made to the Catholicks in point of Religion: For the firſt thing the hereticks did when they were entred into any Town, was to violate this promiſe: nay growing more outragi ous then ordinarily againſt Eccleſiaſticks, and eſpecially againſt Votaries; not content to uſe ſcorn, they proceeded to rapine, to impriſonment, to torments, and with unheard of cruelties, even to death. The end, which to the praiſe of Martyrdom, ſome Franciſcan Votaries made in the Towns of *Alckmar* and *Gorcham*, was very memorable. The affairs of the aboveſaid Provinces were at this paſs when *Mons* was delivered into the Duke of *Alva's* hands. A little before this ſiege was ended, the Tumultuaries in the heat of the advantages they had gotten, and whilſt the Duke wa buſied about *Mons* with all the Kings forces, had reſolved to attempt the taking of *Tergoes* in *Zealand:* They deſpaired of getting *Middleburgh*, if they had not *Tergoes* firſt. Putting therefore 8000 Foot together, many whereof were *French*, *Germans*, and *Engliſh*; and being provided of Artillery to batter, they ſhipt the one and the other at *Fluſhing*, with all other things neceſſary for the enterpriſe: and from thence went to the Iſland of *Southbevolant*, and incamped themſelves underneath *Tergoes*. *Iſidore Pacceco* commanded ſuch of the Kings men as were there, conſiſting of little leſs then 400

Foot, part Spaniards, part Walloons. And becauſe one of the gallanteſt reſiſtance was there made that hath been ſeen in all this war, and the Town ſtill preſerv'd by one of the moſt memorable ſuccours that ever was read of either in antient or modern Hiſtory, methinks I may be permitted to be a little more diligent in the narration of the whole, then the brevity which we would willingly follow doth allow of.

Where the *Scheld* falls from the more inward parts of the Land, gliding for a good ſpace along the Confines of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, it comes at once out of both thoſe Provinces, and at the coming out divides it ſelf into two large branches: The one bends towards the North, and retains the name of *Scheld*, the other turns towards the Weſt, and is called *Honte*. Here both of them growing greater as they draw nearer the Ocean, before they fall thereinto, they joyn together in divers ſpacious Gulfs; amongſt which the Iſlands of *Zealand* are rather buried, then raiſed up, ſo low are they ſeated, and ſo oft doth the Sea do miſchief there. This low ſituation is notwithſtanding endeavoured to be remedied by the Inhabitants with exceeding high and firm banks. But this remedy doth not always avail: of which the Iſland of *Znitbevolant*, which now we ſpeak of, hath had ſad experience it having in former times been one of the greateſt and beſt populated of all the *Zealands* Iſlands. 'Tis ſaid that in the year 1532 the Sea roſe with one of the terribleſt tempeſts that was ever ſeen in thoſe parts; and that rending the banks aſunder, and bearing down whatſoever withſtood it, it overflowed from the one ſide to the other, and did actually drown a great part of the Iſland, to the utter and horrible deſtruction both of men and beaſts, and a great number of intire Villages, which were miſerably ſwallowed up by that deluge. This chance hapned on that ſide which lies neereſt *Brabant* and *Flanders*; this being the firſt Iſland which the *Scheld* in forming its aboveſaid branches, cuts off and divides from the Continent. Yet that Angle which lieth neereſt the firm land, remained ſtill unprejudiced, and is yet inhabited: So as by an eaſie paſſage which the *Scheld* gives there way unto, as many Souldiers as you pleaſe may be conveyed from each of the forenamed Provinces. On the Weſt the Iſland looks towards *Flanders*, on the North towards *Brabant* and on this ſide ſtands *Tergoes*, and might therefore eaſilieſt be relieved from thence. *Tergoes* is a ſmall Town, better munited by nature then by art, being fenced on the one ſide by the *Scheld*, upon whoſe banks it is ſituated; it is invironed on another part with certain mariſh grounds; and the defendants had fortified it on the weakeſt ſide which lies towards the firm land. When the Enemies were incamped about it, they were very diligent in their ſtrait beſieging it. Nor did the Kings men forbear making divers ſallies to hinder the out-works, ſo as at the firſt many were ſlain on both ſides, wherein thoſe within ſhewed notable valour and courage. But the Enemy advancing with Trenches and Batteries on divers ſides, they began to annoy the beſieged very much; and had already made ſo great a breach in one of the walls with their batteries, as they thought they might come to an aſſault. Wherefore ſelecting out their choiſe men, they ſet upon the Kings men: but they met with ſo ſtout reſiſtance, as they were forced to retreat with the loſs and wounding of many of them; amongſt which more then one of their chiefeſt Captains. They afterwards made the like trial in another of their batteries, and had the ſame ſucceſs. In fine, thoſe without could not labour more to offend, then thoſe within did to defend. Behind one Work they raiſed another; they wrought both night and day; women ran to the Works as well as men: And although the Souldiers were but few in number to what was requiſite, yet they ſupplied that want by their worth. Famine works oft-times more in Sieges then doth the Sword. The Enemy proceeding no longer by way of Aſſault, betook themſelves to a more ſlow oppoſition, hoping to reduce the beſieged to ſuch a ſcarcity of victuals, as that they ſhould be forced to yield the Town. This mean while the Duke of *Alva* having taken *Mons*, did not delay his reſolution of ſuccouring *Tergoes*: He conſidered the Souldiers worth, the honour of the enterpriſe, and the importancie of the place; ſince upon the loſs or preſervation thereof, the like of *Middleburgh* did conſiſt. But it was chiefly weighed, that by keeping poſſeſſion of both theſe places, the King ſhould keep good footing ſtill in *Zealand*, the chief

Maritime

Maritine Port of all those Countries: to the full obtaining whereof, all courage and industry was to be imployed. He therefore charged *Sancio d'Avila* and *Christopher Mandragone* to endeavour the relief of the besieged with all speed. *Avila* was Governour of the Castle of *Antwerp*: and from that City, which lies upon the *Scheld*, and not far from the Iland *Zuitbevolant*, necessary provisions for relief might be better had then from any other part. *Berghen ap Zoom* is yet neerer *Tergoes*; so as all things necessary for the business were appointed to be brought thither, as the place fittest to receive them from *Antwerp*. The resolution was, to enter the North branch of the *Scheld*, which keeps the name thereof, and upon which *Tergoes* stands, with armed Boats, and to endeavour to effect their enterprise by that way. *Mandragone*, though a *Spaniard*, was then the *Walloons* Camp-master; but past afterwards to the like, and other greater imployments in his own Nation, with such praise for his valour, as he after became one of the chief Commanders thereof. A good number of men being then mustered to this end, part *Spaniards*, part *Germans*, part *Walloons*, they divers times endeavoured at the flowing of the Sea to advance by the said branch of the River, and to convey in the relief: but they still found the passage so possest by the enemy, and with so much stronger forces by Sea then theirs, as they could not effect it. *Avila* resolved afterwards to bring some Peeces of Artillery to the banks of the *Scheld*, and to try whether he could thereby make the Enemy give way unto the passage, so as *Mandragone* might at the same time convey the succour into *Goes* by water. But this answered not their expectation: For the Artillery being almost sunk in the mire of those low places, they could not advance much; wherefore *Mandragone* despaired likewise of doing any thing on his part. Thus did all hope of succour fail: When Captain *Plumart*, a Native of that Country, and very well practis'd therein, a man of courage, and who had served the King faithfully, presented himself before *D' Avila* and *Mandragone*; and spake thus:

Desperate advice is requisite in desperate enterprises. Yet I hope that which I shall now propound will prove rather so in shew then in substance. Why shall not we endeavour the relief, hazarding to wade through the drown'd part of the Island? A passage of terrible length doubtlesly; but yet it may be happily effected, if we observe well to endeavour it at the Seas lowest ebb. I who so boldly give the advice, doe with the like boldness offer to be my self the first that will execute it.

The quality of the man, who was held experienced, and known to be faithfull, added some force to his proposition, though both *Avila* and *Mandragone* thought it bore with it important difficulties. They knew already by experience, that the Country which was drowned, and through which they were to wade, was neer upon seven miles over; that the bottom of those drowned grounds was very muddy; that before the inundation happened, there were other running waters which past through the Country: That in propositions of this nature, the difficulties proved always greatest in the practise; and how troublesome would so long a passage be? what breast, or what breath would be able to go through with it? and how could the ebbing and the flowing of the Sea be so justly measured, as that the Souldiers might not run danger of being lost? Nor would their dangers have here an end: for if the Enemy should either know of, or but suspect such a design, they might assault the Kings Souldiers upon great advantage as they should draw neer the dry land, and slaughtering them at their pleasure, hinder them from fixing their foot there: In which case what would it avail them to be well gotten out of the water, if they must at last be a prey unto the sword of the enemy? *Plumart* did not at all go less, for all these difficulties mentioned by *d' Avila* and *Mandragone*. But still making good his opinion, said, his minde gave him that the passage would be safe, and that he would be the first that would venture upon it. That the chiefest importance lay herein; and that the business was to be carryed on with all secresie, and done before it was known. *Avila* and *Mandragone* made then no longer delay. *Plumart*, together with two Spaniards, and another Country fellow well verst in those parts, went and found the passage for their purpose. It was about the end of *October*, and the season was yet very fair, seeming as if it did also applaud the designe. The tryal proving

ving ſo well, they reſolved forthwith to venture to ſuccour the Town by that way. To this purpoſe a great many ſacks were prepared to carry match and powder, and bisket, and the ſouldiers were carryed into a Village called *Aggier*, in that Angle of the Iſland which lies neareſt the firm land, moſt commodious for that paſſage. The people that were to make it were 3000 choſen out of the three aboveſaid Nations. *Avila* ſtayed in another neighbouring Village with Minheer *Seroſcherche*, Governour of *Berghen*, and the care of the ſuccour was left to *Mandragone*. They took their time to enter into the water at the firſt ebb; for the time of its being at the very loweſt would not ſerve the turn. He commanded the ſacks to be diſtributed according to the number of the ſouldiers, who were to carry them upon their backs, to the end that not being hurt by the water, the ſouldiers might at their coming out take ſome refreſhment after their ſo great labour, and uſe their muſquets againſt the enemy in caſe they ſhould meet with any unexpected oppoſition. In War, nothing is more requiſite then ſecrecy, as well to advantage the fight, as to overcome without fighting. The enterpriſe was therefore till then kept very ſecret, to the end that the enemy being taken at unawares, might not diſturb it. The time determined being come, and *Mandragone* being now to make the buſineſs known, he by way of incouragment ſpake thus unto the ſouldiers: *Fortune could not ſhew her ſelf unto us (my fellow ſouldiers) with a more favourable aſpect, then when ſhe ſeemed moſt to frown. You know we have oft-times in vain endeavoured to relieve* Tergous; *and now when we were in deſpair of doing it, Fortune hath pointed out a way unto us how to do it: Do you ſee this ſpacious water whereinto we are now to enter? This in former times was all drie land, which hath ſince been miſerably drowned by the ſea; yet ever ſince then the waters have been ſo ſhallow in ſome parts, as when the Sea ebs it may be waded thorough. And that there may be no doubt of this, the tryal hath been lately made. Which of you doth not know Captain* Plumart, *and his fidelity in the Kings ſervice? which of you knows not that he is better practiſed in theſe parts, then in his own houſe? he, accompanied with ſome others, hath paſt forwards and backwards over theſe waters, through which we are to bring in the relief. He will be my guide, I will be the like to the firſt file, and ſo one to another till we ſhall all come upon drie land: which being done, the buſineſs is effected. The enemy will dream of nothing leſs then of being aſſaulted by us on this ſide: ſo as aſtoniſhed at our boldneſſe, and overcome more by their own feare, then by our Forces, they will betake themſelves rather to flie then to fight: and ſay they ſhould fight, how can we doubt the victory? Theſe are the ſame Rebels as at firſt: Rebels no leſs to God then to the King. And altogether as cowardly as their Arms, as perfidious in their Cauſe. Theſe are the very ſame whom we but lately ſaw beſiege* Midleburg; *and in deſpight of them we relieved the Town by unexpected ways; and they running away before we were well got up unto them, yielded us the victory without any gainſaying. Then 'tis only the water that we are now to fight with, and to overcome; and ſome of you peradventure will fear this more then you would do the enemy. So many miles of drown'd land, blind ways, through ſo blind an Element; and chiefly the terror which the Tide brings with it. Theſe doubtleſs are all of them dreadfull objects, and I confeſs the enterpriſe is difficult; but glory is not won where there is no danger. Yet theſe are not ſuch as may not aſſuredly be overcome. The Ford (as I told you) is already found: the tryal thereof hath already been faithfully made: and the ebb will allow us time enough for our march before the flood come. For what remains, our patience will be more requiſite then our courage: and yet our courage will herein ſo clearly appear, as ſuch an action cannot be more apprehended by the enemy, nor more celebrated in the mouths of all others. We ſhall be famous throughout all the world, as contemners of dangers; as vanquiſhers even of Natures ſelf, and of her proudeſt Element. And what ſhall our deſerts be hereby from God? what from the King? moreover we may hope for great booty from their precipitate running away, as aſſuredly the enemy will do from the ſiege of* Tergoes. *But the work allows no longer time. I will be the firſt that ſhall enter the water: but every one afterwards undantedly follow me; and let each of us perform our parts ſo, as that by this glorious action the world may think me a gallant Commander, and you no leſs gallant Souldiers.*

Theſe words were followed with a great applauſe, each Nation ſeeming ambi-

tious

tions of the enterprise: and *Mandragone* ordered his people thus: The Spaniards went first, the Germans next them, and the Walloons last; all in very close files, to the end that the soldiers might wade the better, and if need should be, be the readier to help one another. Nor was there any delay made. *Mandragone* stept first into the water bare-footed and bare-leg'd, taking *Plumart* for his guide. Then all the rest did the like in the abovesaid order, and thus they continued to march, one file still incouraging the other. And the voyage was so well fitted to the sloud, as also their courage in enduring it, to the labour of doing it, as unless it were nine who perisht either through misfortune or weariness, all of them got safely to the banks of *Terfichen*, a Village on the contrary shore, after a long march by water. *Terfichen* is two leagues distant from *Tergoes*; when they were got thither, *Mandragone* gave notice thereof presently to *Avila* by fires: and resting himself and his souldiers that night, he resolved to proceed on to the succour the next morning. But it was not needfull to make use of their Arms; for when the enemy heard how that they had passed the water, and in what manner; they were so astonished, and so sorely frighted, as they immediately raised their Camp, and began to imbarque themselves. *Mandragone* being hereof advertised from *Tergoes*, and being desired to send some souldiers to the Town, to assault the other in their retreat, he forthwith sent them 400 Harquebusiers, who made such haste, as they met with those of the Town time enough to anoy the enemy on their rear, and slew many of them before they could imbarque themselves. *Mandragone* entred afterwards into *Tergoes*, and by mutual demonstration of military joy, the soldiers received each other on both sides, contending whether the one had shewed more valour in maintaining the siege, or the others in raising it. When *Mandragone* had furnished the Town with things necessary, he returned to *Avila*, and both of them with their men went to the Army where the Duke of *Alva* was. Some of the antientest Spaniards who were in *Flanders* during my being Nuntio in those Provinces were present at this memorable action; and amongst others, *John Rivas*, who was come into those parts with the Duke of *Alva*; and who from a private souldier, was by his worth arrived by degrees to the highest places of Military profession. In my time he was Governour of the City and Citadel of *Cambray*, which is one of the chiefest charges which is given to those of his Nation. A man of a venerable aspect, and in whom it might be disputed, whether his wisdom in Civil, or in Military affairs was the more eminent. He hath sundry times related this success to me, and I have in this place willingly commemorated so worthy and so grave an Author.

But to return to what the Duke of *Alva* did after the recovery of *Mons*: when he had provided for the safety of that City, and the rest of that Frontier, he turned his Army into *Brabant*, and marched towards the City of *Malines*. He went thither intending to use more severity then clemency: He thought that the Malineses had favoured *Orange* upon too easie terms, both in receiving a Garison from him, and in furnishing him with whatsoever he desired. He therefore made his son *Frederick* advance, to prepare all things requisite for storming the City. The rest of the Camp followed him, breathing forth threats and revenge. But not having received any pay for a long time, they were rather desirous of booty then of bloud, and therefore inclin'd to allay their anger more by pillage then by slaughter. The Citizens were not ignorant of their danger: so as after a short skirmish which happened between *Orange* his Germans, and the Kings men at their first arrival, they presently put that Garison out of the Town; and indeavoured by all means possible to appease the enemies anger. They used the greatest submission that might be to the Duke; and finally sent forth the Clergy in solemn procession, to induce them the more to clemency and commiseration. The Duke began to listen to conditions; when the Spaniards, laying aside all delay, forced the Walls, and being followed by the rest, they entred the City, and overrunning it on a sudden, put it wholly to the sack. Their fury extended to all sexes, and to all ages. The Churches did not escape their avarice nor did the Monasteries escape their lust. There was but little bloud shed; and the Duke not being much troubled to see the City punisht, as also being in great arrears unto the Army, he was contented rather to excuse the plunder, then to

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resent it. When he had reordered his affairs, he went from *Malines* to *Maſtricks* and from thence to *Nimmeghen* the chiefeſt City in *Ghelderland*. Here he ſtaid ſome dayes, thinking how he might recover the Towns of that Province which were loſt. *Ruremond* fell without any difficulty into his hands, together with whatſoever *Orange* had poſſeſt himſelf of thereabouts. He then reſolved to begirt *Zutfen*, where the Enemy had fortified themſelves, and ſeemed as if they would make it good. To this end he ſent his ſon *Frederick* thitherward with a good proportion of men, and Artillery.

Zutfen is ſituated upon the River *Iſel*, and on one ſide of the Town a leſſer River called *Berchel* fals into the ſaid *Iſel*: The other ſituations without the Town are very low and myerie. *Zutfen* was at this time walled about after the antient form, and was every where provided with good and deep ditches. But being many years after fallen into the abſolute power of the Hereticks, they have made it one of the ſtrongeſt places of all thoſe Countries. *Frederick* pitched his Camp about it about the latter end of *November*, at which time the weather grew very ſharp and cold; and there was great ſtore of Ice, which as it made for the advantage of the Kings men, ſo did it to the contrary for the enemy, who had placed their chiefeſt hopes of defence in their low and watery places, wherewith the Town was environed on all ſides. *Frederick* drew neer it without much difficulty; and having raiſed two Batteries where he thought it fitteſt in thoſe low ſituations, he began by them to make great breaches. Signior *Hierges*, a valiant Souldier, had the charge of the Artillery; and the Kings men were not likely long to forbear the aſſault: when the Garriſon which was within the Town growing apprehenſive, reſolved to ſteal privately away; wherefore the Townſmens fear growing greater, they fell preſently to treat of agreement. But the Kings men, ſcorning all accord forced the walls: and being more greedy here likewiſe of booty then of blood, fell forthwith to plunder the Town in hoſtile manner, and treated it altogether as ill as they had formerly done *Malines*. By the terror of theſe two ſackings, all thoſe Cities and Towns on the other ſide of *Rhein* in the aforeſaid Provinces of *Groninghen*, *Overiſel*, *Frieſland* and *Vtricht*, which had caſt off their obedience to the King, returned ſuddenly thereunto: And the Count *de Berg*, together with divers other perſonages of quality, withdrew themſelves preſently into the neereſt parts of *Germany*.

It was now the beginning of winter: Wherefore the Duke caſhier'd all the Germans which he had lately raiſed, and which were much leſſened in their numbers, and returned to his uſual abode at *Bruſſels*. But his ſon *Frederick*, when he had ſecured the moſt important places beyond the *Rhine*, turn'd his Army forthwith into *Holland*. To boot with his former victories, he was encouraged by the ſeaſon of the year; which being extaordinarily cold and icy, made him hope he might the more eaſily enter thoſe low and watry ſituations. He marched thitherward with great Forces, particularly with the flower of the *Spaniards*. But before he could get thereinto, he muſt entertain himſelf ſome dayes before *Naerden*, a little Town neer the Sea. *Naerden* is ſeated very low, and hath many ſtanding waters about it, occaſioned by the River *Wetcht*, which running through the midſt of the Town fals ſoon after into the *Zuiderzee*. Here had many Hereticks neſtled themſelves, by reaſon of the opportunity of the ſeat; and not only thoſe of the Country, but alſo of the neighbouring parts. And this was one of the moſt corrupted Sanctuaries which they had in all thoſe parts. *Frederick* did not think they would make any reſiſtance: yet becauſe there were many French *Hugonots* there, and becauſe they were encouraged by the other Rebels in *Holland* who had promiſed them aid, they would not return to the Kings obedience, as *Frederick* had fairly invited them to doe. Wherefore he was the more incenſed. He made the Artillery advance; and adding threats to the terror of Arms, he betook himſelf to ſtorm the Town. But thoſe within, failing in their courage, condeſcended to a parley, and agreed to ſurrender the Town to *Frederick*: wherewith the Souldiers being diſpleaſed, they obſerved no Articles, but fell preſently to fire the Town: Plunder was the leaſt of their evils: All the *French*, and other Hereticks who were in the Town, were put to the ſword: And to compleat their miſeries, to Plunder and blood Fire was added; ſo as except it were one Church

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and Monasteries, that was not any sign of a Town left. With these dreadfull [illegible] and Barranks called *Holland*, but the event with them, that though it [illegible] desperation. When the Spanish forces were brought into that Province, the people thereof grew into such horror of them, as despairing either to obtain forgiveness if they should demand it, or to have it made good unto them though they should have it promised, they resolved to maintain by all possible means their begun Revolt.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK VII.

The Contents.

The Cities of Holland *which are up in Arms, endeavour to get* Amſterdam *to joyn with them: Which not being able to doe, they imploy force againſt it.* Frederick *of* Toledo *goes thither himſelf in perſon, and ſecures it from all danger. He ſeeks to be received into* Harlem, *and to put a garriſon into it. Thoſe of the Town ſeem at firſt to incline thereunto, and afterwards refuſe to doe it.* Frederick *layes ſiege unto the City. The ſituation of* Harlem. *A Fort is planted by thoſe of* Harlem *without the Town: 'tis taken by the* Spaniards, *who alſo cut off a ſuccour. They aſſault the Town in an impetuous, but diſorderly manner, and are repulſed with great loſs. Freſh aid is brought into the City. Extraordinary Cold and Froſt. The* Hollanders *extraordinary dexterouſneſs and agility upon the Ice. Great ſufferings amongſt the Kings men: They fear to be neceſſitated to retreat, but the Duke of* Alva *will not conſent thereunto. The Beſiegers make therefore the greater oppoſition, and the Beſieged the greater reſiſtance. Valiant actions both by ſea and land by both parties. A Naval battel, wherein the Kings men have the better. A ſore famine in* Harlem. *Succour ſent by* Orange, *but routed by the* Spaniards. *The City is ſurrendred: Severe puniſhments inflicted. New things happen this mean while in* Zealand. *The* Spaniards *mutiny in* Holland. *Their unfortunate ſiege of* Alkmar: *And no leſs unfortunate ſucceſs by Sea. The Duke of* Alva *and Duke* Medina-Celi *depart from* Flanders. Recheſens *the Commendador General of* Caſtile, *is made Governour of* Flanders.

IN the almoſt general Inſurrection of *Holland*, it is not to be believed how conſtant the City of *Amſterdam* kept in their obedience to the Church, and King. And her conſtancie is ſo much the more to be praiſed, for that all the reſt of the Cities that were up in Arms endeavoured by all means poſſible to draw her over to ſide with them. They firſt uſed fair means; and then betook themſelves to force. They infeſted her territories with armed men; and indammaging her more by ſea then by land, they had burnt many of her ſhips in the Port, and did as it were beſiege her with theirs on that ſide. *Frederick* removed

removed suddenly therefore from *Naerden* to *Amsterdam*, and secured the City on the Land-side. He endeavoured to doe the like on that side which lay towards the Sea: he sent some men against the Enemies ships, hoping by means of the Ice to be able to assault them neer at hand, and to indammage them. But the Enemy breaking the Ice, and making as it were a Ditch about them for their defence, kept the Kings men aloof off, and preserved their ships free from any harm. So as *Frederick* highly commending those of *Amsterdam* for their loyalty, and satisfying the City by not putting any foreign Garrison into it, resolved to proceed in that Province as he had begun, by his Forces. He would notwithstanding first use fair means, accompanied with threats: And to this purpose perswaded the City of *Amsterdam* to mediate with the rest. The neerest and chiefest of them was *Harlem*: And so far did this City exceed all the other Cities of *Holland* in Prerogatives, as in the new erection of Bishopricks the Episcopal See of that Province should have been placed there. Those of *Harlem* seemed to take in good part the *Amsterdammist* intercession; and sent some of their Inhabitants who were best affected to the Church and to the King, to treat with *Frederick* in *Amsterdam*: And the Treaty was already believed to be as good as agreed on, wherein was contained, That they should receive a Spanish garrison. When the *Harlem* men suddenly changing their minds, would needs fall off and break the Treaty. The Sea is not so agitated with winds, as are the common people with passions: They are blind in their consultations, and more blind in their resolutions; and with incredible fickleness, on a sudden turn their love into hatred, and their hatred into love.

We told you before, that the Prince of *Orange* was come to settle himself in *Holland*, not only as in a Province whereof he had formerly been Governour, and wherein he was still acknowledged to be so, but as in the chief seat of his designs: And therefore he ceased not by all possible art to foment the troubles which were already begun there. Under him, Captain *Wibald Ripert* was Governor of *Harlem*, born in *Friesland*; and who depended upon *Orange* more by the subordination of his sense, then of his office. This man assembling the multitude together whilst they were hottest in concluding with the *Spaniards*, with a loud voice spake thus unto them.

Shall private Fraud be now thus falsly cloaked by publike Zeal? Shall the Tyranny exercised by the Duke of Alva *be thus adhered unto under pretence of Obedience due unto the King? And to shun the peril of a Siege, as is specionsly pretended, shall we with greater danger receive* Spaniards *into this City? Which if we doe, Who shall secure us of their truth? or rather why should not we by their usual customes assure our selves of their perfidiousness? The streets of* Malines, Zutfen, *and* Naerden *run yet with blood, their houses smoke yet with fire, and the groans occasioned by a thousand other hostile acts of theirs in those places, without regard either to articles agreed upon, or promises sworn unto, are yet every where heard? Why should not we of* Harlem *rather doe as they of* Amsterdam *have done? the Inhabitants whereof would not admit of a* Spanish *Garrison, but will maintain their Loyalty to the King by their own proper Militia. It is best for us to doe so likewise; and so thinks the Prince of* Orange, *who is Governour of this Province, and so well affected to this City. The Prince of* Orange, *who after having run such grievous dangers, and suffered so much hardness for the common service of his Country, is at last come to fix himself here amongst us, to make our cause more his then his own; and by which he desires the King may be obeyed rather then by any other; but by the mildness of our own Laws, and not by the violence of Strangers. For if then the* Spaniards *will try their power by a Siege, and we shall endeavour to withstand them, and doe it more by the walls of our breasts then of our City, our cause will doubtlesly be so just as we shall not doubt of the success. But come what will come, how much better will it be to die once in defence of our Liberty, then a thousand times every day in undergoing the miseries of an intolerable slavery?*

When *Ripert* had thus spoken, *Lancelot Brederode* stept forward, one of the most honorable men of the Province, and best esteemed of in that City; and seconded *Ripert* with equal efficacie. In kindling sedition, the forwardness of a few is sufficient against the lukewarmness of many: And thus it then fell out.

Some others who were openly of *Orange* his faction, followed these two Chieftains, and changing the resolution which was already almost agreed on, it was concluded that instead of a Spanish Garison, some Companies of a German Regiment, who by order from the Rebels in *Holland* were raised by Colonel *Muller*, should be received into the City. Hereticks were not wanting within the walls, who growing bold upon such an occasion, flew suddenly to some Churches, and turn'd them to their own use. Nor did the rage of the seditious stop here: They would have those to be imprisoned who were gone to treat with the Spaniards, and not long after they cruelly put them to death: whereat *Orange* was not displeased, for that the Harlemists being thereby the *deeper dipt in Guilt*, they despair the more of pardon from the King. At the hearing of so unexpected an alteration, *Frederick* of *Tolledo* was highly incenst, and his father more highly, who had heard news thereof at *Brussels*. They made no long delay. *Frederick* moved at the same instant with the Kings Army towards *Harlem*, and with great resolution prepared to besiege it. *Harlem* lies in a large plain, devided every where into lovely medows; the ground in *Holland* being usually fitter for pasture then for seed. On the one side it hath a wood nigh at hand, which is but very little, and serves rather for pleasure then for firing. On another side the River *Sparen* runs within the Walls; which washing the walls on the outside with another branch, that presently joyns with the former, makes that part of the City an Iland. Towards the South, this River communicates with a great Lake called *Harlem Meer*, and towards the West with a large Gulf called *Tie*, which entring into other greater Gulfs, fals not into, but is rather incloſed by the Ocean. The City is provided of a good Ditch, and good Walls, not flanked according to the modern fashion, but with great Towers after the antient wont. The circuit thereof is great; it is very well peopled: and to the number of the Inhabitants, as well in private as in publick, doth the condition of the Edifices answer. Near this City, almost at equal distance within half a days journey lie two of the chiefest Towns of *Holland*, *Amsterdam* on the East, and on the South *Leyden*. The later conspired with the others in the insurrection; and *Orange* was himself then in it, to the end that he might be nearer to assist the Harlemists, both with advice and forces. *Amsterdam* on the contrary, was wholly, as hath been said, for the King; as was likewise the contiguous Province of *Utricht*: and from that side therefore was the Spanish Camp to be furnished with all things necessary for the siege. *Frederick* endeavoured therefore first to secure the Passes on that side. One of which was of greater importance then the rest, and lay nearer *Harlem*, between two little Villages, betwixt which runs the river *Sparen*, and which by reason of the neighbourhood thereof, are called, the one *Sparendam*, the other *Sparenmonde*. In this place there was a Fort, built by the Rebels of *Holland*, which being lost, and again re-taken, was better munited by them then before. *Frederick* purposed to possess himself of this Fort; but as much as he desired to gain it, as much did the Harlemists strive to keep it from being lost. It was now about the beginning of *December*; and the cold falling out more early, and more bitter that year then usually; the waters were in all parts very hard frozen. This made much for the Spaniards in assaulting the Fort; for the water in the ditch being frozen over, and the earth hardened by the cold, which before was soft and spongy, they might therefore the easilyer draw near it. *Frederick* sought first notwithstanding to inform himself better of the Forts condition, and of the enemies intentions To this end he sent forth *Roderigo Zappata* with a party of Harquebusiers. Which when the Harlemists saw, they forthwith sallied out couragiously, and made the Spaniards retreat: and in this action *Zappata* lost an arm.

This did not slacken, but did more inflame the Spaniards. They therefore soon after assaulted the Fort on two sides at once, and the Harlemists came forth the second time to defend it: But the number of the latter was neither equal to the others, nor yet their valour: so as they did rather yield then fight. And the Spaniards ceased not, till passing over the ditch upon the ice, and still pressing harder upon the Harlemists, they entred the Fort joyntly with them; where they slew many, and easily drave out the rest. The Spaniards incouraged hereby,

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drew near the City, and begirt it on ſundry parts The Kings Army conſiſted not of above 12000 foot, but all of them choice ſouldiers, and mightily puft up by their ſo many proſperous ſucceſſes. There were about 6000 Spaniards, 3500 Germans, and the reſt Walloons. They brought but 400 horſe to the ſiege, part Lances, part Dragoons, which were as many as they needed, reſpect being had to the Country, and to the ſeaſon. As *Frederick* advanced, and as he divided his quarters, he underſtood that *Lumay* came from *Leydens* ſide to bring a good ſuccour to the City. He brought with him the remainder of the German Regiment which was raiſed by *Muller*, and ſome other Companies of French and Engliſh, which might make 3000 foot, with ſome pieces of Artillery, and ſome victuals. *Frederick* hearing this, haſted to meet the enemy: a thick cloud favoured both the parties, each of them thinking the better to conceal themſelves by the obſcurity thereof; and to fall upon the contrary party at unawares: But the event proved better for the Kings men. The encounter was near the Town of *Berchenrode*, where the buſineſs laſted not long; for the Kings men were ſo much the better both in numbers, valour and diligence, as the enemy were quickly routed. Many of them were ſlain, and the reſt diſperſt: they loſt their Artillery, many Colours, all their Baggage, and all the proviſion which they brought. *Frederick* returning to order the ſiege, choſe for his quarters a certain Hoſpital, with ſome few houſes of a Burrough, which anſwered upon one of the Gates of the City called *de la Croce*, and kept with him all the Spaniards. On this ſide a great battery was ſoon prepared. But this ſituation which was the moſt commodious for quarter, was not ſo for battery; for the Gate was fenced by a good Ravelin, and the Wall was there alſo more defenſable. On the ſide oppoſite to them, which looked towards *Leyden*, the reſt were quartered, with little or no commodity of covert. But the Wall being weaker on that ſide, and worſe flankt, therefore the oppugning on that ſide might be the eaſier. This error was rather deſpiſed then not known. The Spaniards could not perſwade themſelves but that the Harlemiſts would throw open their Gates at the very firſt thunder of their Canon, as they had done in other places which they had lately taken. And they were the more confirmed herein by their double good ſucceſs of taking the Fort, and keeping back the relief. So as not obſerving the Military proceedings in ſieges, and too ſcornfully neglecting to make their Trenches, ſo to draw near by degrees (as is uſual) under their Rampires; they reſolved to fall immediately to the battery of the ſaid gate *de la Croce*, and of its Ravelin. They placed ſixteen piece of great Canon againſt that ſide, and on the 18 of *December* began a very fierce Battery. So great was the firſt days rain, as they of *Harlem* could hardly work upon the Ravelin and the Gate. But the night following they did ſo well provide for all things neceſſary, as they manfully made good the defence; to the great praiſe in particular of Captain *Steinback*, *Mullers* Lieutenant, who had the cuſtody of the Ravelin. They continued therefore to play more fiercely with their Canon from without. *Il Segnor della Creſſoniera* commanded the Artillery, and Captain *Bartolomy Campi*, an Italian, was chief Ingenier of the Army; a man greatly eſteemed in that profeſſion. The ſouldiers ſeemed very deſirous to proceed to the aſſault. They were eg'd on by anger, hatred, and deſire of booty; but eſpecially by finding ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance in the Harlemiſts. The Ingenier *Campi* made a portable bridg, and the ruines being ſtill made greater by the Batteries, the *Tolledan* not contented with the commodity which the ice afforded him, commanded that the bridg ſhould be thrown over the Ditch. Yet for the better diſcovery, he made Captain *Franciſco Vargas* advance with 150 Harquebuſiers, all Spaniards. The reſt of the foot ſtaid not to expect orders, but ere it was time to fall on, they advanced. Three could hardly march abreſt upon the bridg, yet the ſouldiers ſtriving who ſhould enter firſt thereupon, and eagerneſs prevailing more with them then diſcipline, they came in ſuch diſorder, as one hindred another; and they could not advance, becauſe the breach was not ſo great as that the bridg could reach unto it. This mean while a furious tempeſt of muſquet-ſhot, of fire, and of Canon powred down upon them from the City, they lying open with their ſquadrons upon the ſide of the ditch, and making themſelves too near a mark for the wounds which they received. Yet were they ſo tranſported

with the fury of aſſaulting, as forgetting their obedience to their Commanders, they would not retreat. Inſomuch as the Camp-maſter *Romero*, who was both greatly beloved and feared by them, was forc'd to go to them, and bitterly chiding them, to ſay,

What raſhneſs, or rather what Frenſie is it that cauſeth you doe thus? Are theſe errors learnt in the Duke of Alva's *Military ſchool? Doe men go to aſſaults by the air? Will you ſuffer your ſelves thus to be ſlain, when you are not able to fight? being made a But, or rather a laughing-ſtock to theſe Rebels, who ſecure within their Rampiers, mock you whilſt they wound you? Shall you not have occaſions enough to puniſh their perfidiouſneſs? Lay aſide now then that violence wherewith you are blinded. I, who have ſo often ſhar'd with you in victory, will at this time ſhare willingly with you in loſs.*

Thus at laſt they retreated; but they left little leſs then 200 dead behind them, whereof one Captain and ſome Enſigns. The *Spaniards* by this ſucceſs found their error of their opinion touching the taking of *Harlem:* So as finding it now to be as hard, as they thought it eaſie before, they reſolved to forgo all manner of action, till they were largely provided of all things neceſſary to lead on the ſiege at leiſure. To this end ſuch orders as was requiſite were given in the neighbouring Cities of *Amſterdam* and *Utricht:* But it was not ſo eaſie to bring proviſions to the Camp, becauſe the Rebel *Hollanders* infeſting all the wayes, did all they could to hinder them. A moneths ſpace paſt over therefore, before the Kings men did any thing of conſideration concerning the ſiege. In which interim the *Harlemites* received a ſuccour of 800 French and Walloon Foot, who had been at the defence of *Mons*, led on by Signior *di Serras*, together with good ſtore of ammunition and victuals. The enemy grew ſo proud upon this ſucceſs, as becomeing rather inſolent then audacious, they appeared openly upon the walls, jeering and ſcoffing at the *Spaniards*. And joyning impiety to their inſolence, they cauſed themſelves to be ſeen in uſual places, as it were in Proceſſion, with Prieſts and Friars habits upon them, with Mitres and other Church-accoutrments, contending who could beſt expreſs their hatred to the Spaniſh Nation, or their deriſion to the Church and Catholick religion. And this their heretical frenſie grew to that height, as expoſing in that wicked Scene the ſacred Images, and chiefly ſuch as were moſt frequented in the Churches, they made them a mark to be ſhot at, and finally cut them all to peeces with their ſwords. This mean while the Kings men, when they had made neceſſary proviſions, deſirous to redeem the time they had loſt, they betook themſelves with all fervencie to the ſiege; intending notwithſtanding to purſue it, not with immature aſſaults, but with well ordered patience. Whereupon opening their Trenches, they diligently purſued them: The Battery followed; which they made not in the former place, but placed it againſt the Curtain which ran between the Gate *de la Croce*, and that of *Sil*, which lay neareſt the Camp on the right hand. They made a great breach therein; and yet thoſe within did ſo well repair it, as they without thought it not yet fit to fall to an aſſault. And becauſe the Curtain was too well fenced by the aforeſaid Ravelin, therefore 'twas thought abſolutely neceſſary to bereave the Defendants of ſo great an advantage. Leaving then the Battery for a while, they came in a ſhort time to the entrance of the Ditch: here their whole endeavour was againſt the Ravelin: For going the longeſt way about, but yet the moſt ſecure, they would advance by degrees with the pick-axe, ſpade, and mines, and thus drive the enemy from thence. At laſt they made themſelves maſters of it, but with no leſs expence of blood then of time; ſuch valour did they within ſhew, and plaid ſo often their parts rather of Aſſaulters then Aſſaulted. The *Harlemiſts* loſt not their courage, though they had loſt their Ravelin: But their diligence increaſing anſwerable to their danger, they ran ſuddenly from every place, women as well as men, to fortifie the gate *de la Croce*, which, the Ravelin being loſt, lay altogether open. They did the like to the Curtain which was already battered, and which ran as hath been ſaid toward the gate *Sill*. And fearing leſt the Kings men ſhould play likewiſe upon the other Curtain on the left hand, which joyned with the next gate called S. *Johns* gate, they fell induſtrionſly to repair that ſide alſo; not omitting any labour either in making of Ditches, Traverſes, Countermines, and other Inventions.

ventions, which are uſually found out by the moſt induſtrious Defendant, againſt the moſt cunning Oppoſers. But they without lay at too much diſadvantage in compariſon of thoſe that were within. The Kings men, by reaſon of the Enemies continual excurſions, came hardly by their victuals: Great ſtore of men were required to conduct them; the remainder were not able to maintain the ſiege well: And together with other hardſhips, being mightily tormented by the cold, their numbers leſſened every day, by ſickneſs, death, and running away. The *Harlemiſts*, on the contrary, did abound in warlike men; they were eaſily ſuccoured with men and victuals; their houſes ſaved them from the injuries of the weather; and the ice was not of greater uſe to the Kings Camp for ordering the Country, then it was to them by affording them means to bring all neceſſaries into the City. It is not to be ſaid how dexterous the *Hollanders* are upon the ice. Their Country (as we have often ſaid) is full of ſtanding waters; which are uſually frozen over every year, though they be not ſo exceſſive there as in other leſs humid and watry Countries. The waters doe therefore then loſe their nature; and the uſe of Boats being changed into the like of Chariots, thoſe Fields of ice, as if they were ſo much firm land, are travel'd on by men and horſes. Their Chariots are uſually little, and drawn but by one horſe; they are not born upon wheels, but upon little joyſts or rafters, according to thoſe ſledges which are uſed in *Lombardy*. Their men are likewiſe very ingenious in going a great pace, and yet very ſafe upon the ice: They harneſs the whole length of their feet with ſleek and narrow irons, bowing a little outward in the part before; they govern themſelves upon theſe, and upon theſe wings (if I may ſo call them) they rather flie then walk, their courſe being then ſo faſt as it can hardly be followed by the eye. Nor is the uſe hereof leſs practiſed by women then by men; nay, in contentions which have ſomtimes hapned herein between both ſexes, the women have often had the better: The women there find no trouble at all in running upon the ice; but at the ſame time when they go faſteſt, do ſome one or other of their womanly works. By means then of theſe Chariots or Sledges, the *Harlemiſts* received whatſoever they needed: they came in troops upon that great neighbouring Lake call'd *Harlem-meer*. All that ſide is call'd by that name, which looks moſt upon the City, whereinto the River *Sparen* enters on that ſide. And becauſe the ſame Lake comes almoſt as neer *Leyden* on another part, it is there called *Leyden-meer*. This communication between *Leyden* and *Harlem* by means of this Lake, furniſhed the beſieged with all things neceſſary; who with frequent excurſions received in their ſuccours, and oft-times made the Kings men repent the going about to hinder them Nor did *Orange* forbear to bring in ſuch aids into the City as he could by the uſual land-way. But to ſecure the ſuccours the better from thoſe parts, he made a Fort be erected almoſt half way between *Leyden* and *Harlem*, whither bringing the proviſions, he conveyed them the eaſilier from thence to the beſieged. But the Kings men, though upon ſuch diſadvantagious terms, ceaſed not to purſue what they had begun: They purſued to batter the broken walls and to endeavour the undermining them; hoping thereby to make the breach more commodious, and conſequently the aſſault more eaſie. On the contrary the Defendants were not leſs vigilant in uſing all poſſible means to obviate all the Enemies endeavours, and make them invalid. To Mines without they oppoſed Mines within, meeting thus with them, ſpoiling them and ſpringing them: They repaired the walls where they were amiſs. So as they no wayes feared the threats of being aſſaulted from without.

This mean while *December* ended, and the new year of 1573. began, which was remarkable in *Flanders* particularly for this Siege which we now deſcribe. It laſted above ſeven moneths; the accidents were as various, as the time was long; and they doubted oft-times moſt of the victory, who at laſt got it. We notwithſtanding will only ſet down the chief accidents which hapned there; the dignity of the ſtory it ſelf ſo requiring it, and the worthineſs of future things calling us with too much reaſon from obſerving every ſmaller accident. But to return to the Siege. As vigilant as the Kings men were in providing that victuals might be ſafely brought to the Camp, the Enemy were altogether as induſtrious in endeavouring to hinder them. To this purpoſe they ſent a good number of ſouldiers *An.* 1573

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to poſſeſs themſelves of one of the moſt important Paſſes towards *Naerden* and *Amſterdam*. And they were led on by one *Antonio Pittore*, who had the chief hand in the ſurpriſal of *Mons*, when Count *Lodovick* of *Naſſaw* entred it, as we then obſerved. But notice hereof being brought to *Amſterdam*, the Townſmen ſent forth ſouldiers enough to hinder the ſucceſs, who meeting with the enemy, routed them and ſlew many of them, in particular *Antonio Pittore* was there ſlain; and the Spaniards in ſcorn of his miſdeed, threw his head into the City, together with the head of another who was called the King, and who was much eſteemed of by the Harlemiſts. Who incenſt by this action, were not long in reſenting it. They choſe out twelve of thoſe priſoners which they had of the Kings Army, and cutting off their heads, they put them into a barrel, and rouling it down the walls, made it fall into the Spaniards Trenches, with this Inſcription upon it.

This Tribute of the tenth penny is ſent by the Harlemiſts to the Duke of Alva; *and for uſe-mony, they have ſent the twelfth.*

This cruel act was anſwered by another no leſs cruel from without; for ſome of their men were in their ſight hung up by the head and the heels, and they ſoon after ſerved ſome of the Kings men with the ſame ſauce. So much doth the fury of war inrage mens minds, eſpecially of ſuch war, where rebellion is puniſhed on one ſide, and maintained on the other. This mean while the number of ſouldiers within the City was mightily increaſed. Beſides the Townſmen, there were there 4000 foot, many of which were Germans, French and Engliſh. And *Orange* ceaſed not to labour hard in all the neighbouring Countries, the raiſing of ſo potent a ſuccour as by open force might make the Spaniards raiſe their ſiege. The beſieged growing therefore daily more jolly, made frequent excurſions: and made one ſo fierce againſt the German quarter of the Kings Camp, as they drove them from one houſe, wounded and ſlew many of them, and put all the reſt into great confuſion. They ſallied forth yet more furiouſly a few days after againſt the Spaniſh quarters, and indeavoured mainly to recover the Ravelin which they had loſt; and ſo far forward did their courage carry them, as they had almoſt nailed up the Canons mouths as they ſtood upon the battery. But being valiantly withſtood, they re-entred the City without reaping any advantage. The action was notwithſtanding very gallant, and coſt much bloud on both ſides. *Frederick* on the contrary ſtill incouraging his men the more, reſolved to raiſe the Ravelin which they had taken, ſo high as it might command, and hinder the Works within: and having cauſed much earth to be brought to that purpoſe, he planted two pieces of Artillery upon it. but the good did not anſwer expectation, ſo well did the beſieged behave themſelves on that behalf. The Kings men grew this mean while every day fewer by reaſon of their ſufferings. *Signor della Treſſoniera*, who had the charge of the Artillery was dead of ſickneſs. *Signor Norchermes* being wounded, could not have ſuch diligence uſed in his cure as was requiſite, many other Spaniſh Officers of quality were found miſſing, as alſo many of other Nations. And in fine, the affairs of the Army were reduced to ſuch terms, as the ſucceſs of the buſineſs began greatly to be feared. Yet the Duke of *Alva*'s inſtructions to his ſon were ſtill more peremptory: Though in caſe the ſiege ſhould draw out in length, he had written effectually to *Spain* to have two old Brigades of that Nation ſent him, who were then in *Italy*; and raiſed new men in the neighbouring County of *Burgundy*. *Frederick* delayed not then to make one tryal more before his men were conſumed. Reſolving therefore to give a fierce aſſault in divers places at once, againſt that ſide which ran from St *Johns* gate to that of *la Croce*, and to the other of *Sill*, on which ſide, as we have already ſaid, the Kings men had opened their Trenches, made Batteries, and wrought in the Ditches, the determination was thus put in execution. The three Spaniſh Camp-Maſters, *Roderigo de Tolledo*, *Julian Romero*, and *Conſalvo de Bracamonte* took upon them to aſſault with the ſouldiers of their Brigades, one of them the gate *de la Croce*, and the other two the two next ſides on the right hand, and on the left. *Signor de Bigli* with ſome Walloons of his Regiment, was appointed againſt a Work which fenced St *Johns* gate, and ſuch orders were given as were requiſite ſo to annoy thoſe within at once, both from the

the Ravelin, and the fitteſt places of the Ditch, as they ſhould not be able to hinder thoſe without, who were to get upon the Breach. All theſe directions were valiantly performed by the Kings men; but the beſieged ſhewed no leſs valour on their ſide, running with vigilancy and courage whether ſoever danger called them. So as it behoved the Kings men at laſt to fall off, with a conſiderable loſs, for above 300 of them were ſlain, and in particular many of *Bigli*'s men, who met with the greateſt difficulties, and moſt reſiſtance. In this aſſault *Roderigo de Tolledo* was ſorely wounded, and Captain *Lorenſo Pereawas* ſlain, with ſome other inferiour Officers. It cannot be ſaid how afflicted the Kings Camp was at this unfortunate ſucceſs. And the affair growing every day more doubtfull, *Frederick* thought good to hear the opinion of the chief Commanders herein. Many of them ſhewed very little hopes of any good ſucceſs.

That the difficulties of the ſiege were now greater without then within. That the cold was very extream; and the ſeaſon a greater enemy then the enemie's ſelf. That they ſuffered all other greater ſtraits in their lodgings and in their victuals: That their men were but few, being more conſumed by ſufferings then by action. That on the contrary, there was great plenty of all things in the City; that they were every day ſtrengthened with new aids, and appeared ſtill more obſtinate in their defence; whence it was to be concluded, that either the ſiege was never to have an end, or if it were to have any, the conquerer would at laſt be greater loſers then the conquered. That it was then better to withdraw the Army as ſoon as they could, and wiſely to prevent greater neceſſities, leſt they might unfortunately be prevented to their ſhame.

But it was again alleadged on the contrary. *That upon the ſucceſs of this ſiege, the conſequences of future ſieges did depend. That it was not to be believed that the obſtinacy of the Rebels in* Holland *was to be allay'd by this alone. How much would other Cities be encouraged, if they ſhould ſee the ſiege haſely raiſed from before this? That the injuries of the ſeaſon were not eternal: that the worſt weather was ſucceeded by better. And that from the natural humidity of that Climat, it might be hoped that ſome one night the ice would be quite diſperſed. That new men would quickly come from Spain, and new Levies might be ſooner made in* Flanders: *That then the ſiege might be laid cloſer, and care to be had for the advancement of proviſions for the Camp. That ſuccours being cut off, the town would ſoon fall into their hands; neither could the Kings loſſes be ſo great upon this occaſion, but that they might be largely recompenced in future atchievements.*

Frederick repreſented theſe different opinions to the Duke his father, deſirous to know his opinion, which he would fully obſerve. The Duke quickly anſwered in terms which might make it doubtfull whether his paternal, or Military Authority ſwai'd him moſt.

That he ſhould be ſure to purſue and finiſh the ſiege, unleſs he would ſhew himſelf unworthy of Spaniſh bloud, unworthy of his bloud; and of having the Command of theſe Forces which when they ſhould have reduced Holland, *would without any difficulty do the like to all the reſt of* Flanders. *That the hardeſt enterpriſes were always the moſt glorious. And that in great ſieges the number of days was not to be conſidered, but the advantagious conſequences. That he ſhould now endeavour that by Famine, which hitherto he could not effect by the ſword: and to this end he ſhould uſe all diligence to keep the town from being relieved from any part. That this might be done by new men who ſhould be ſuddenly ſent him. That all places muſt yield at laſt, if not ſuccoured; and that in ſuch a caſe the moſt obſtinate defendants become uſually the moſt abject. That the event of this ſiege would ſerve for an example to all the reſt of* Holland. *And that finally he ſhould ſet before him a victory, wherein it would be queſtionable, whether he could have done more ſervice to God and to his King, or won more glory to himſelf and to his Family.*

Frederick finding himſelf as well ſhent, as admoniſhed by his Father, grew more hot then ever in the enterpriſe: And when the Dukes anſwer was made known to the Army, it cannot be ſaid how all their minds were inlivened. *Frederick*, together with all the other Commanders, reſolved with redoubled diligence chiefly to ſtudy how to keep victuals from the City. And in the interim *Bernardino di Mendoſa* was diſpatched away into *Spain*, to procure Orders from the

the King to the Governour of *Milan*, to the end that the two old before mentioned Spaniſh Brigadoes which were in that State ſhould be ſent from thence, together with ſome Number of Horſe into *Flanders*, as ſoon as poſſibly might be This is that *Mendoſa* who did ſo nobly write the War of the *Low-Countries* in his own language, during all the time that he ſtaid there; and who paſſing from the managing of Arms to the like of Civil affairs, was imployed by the King in Ambaſſies to *England* and *France*. The affairs of the Siege went on thus; when on a ſudden about the midſt of *February* the ſeaſon grew more temperate, and the cold turning into moiſture, the waters returned to their former being: and with the change of the weather, the whole order of the war began to change. At firſt the ice would not ſuffer the water to be diſtinguiſht from the dry land; and therefore it might be ſaid that all that was done then, was done by land: But the ice being thaw'd, the chiefeſt future actions were to be done by water; by reaſon of the commodiouſneſs which the Enemy would receive of being relieved by the means of that great Lake before ſpoken of, and of the neceſſity the Kings men would be put to of hindring them by the ſame way. It was not long ere the events were ſeen on both ſides. Hardly was the ice gone, when many Veſſels might be ſeen to appear upon the *Leyden meer*, which fell into the *Harlem meer*; and entring from thence into the river of *Sparen*, brought good relief to the City. The River where it fals into the Lake, forms a little Iſland, wherein the *Harlemiſts* had wiſely built a Fort, which was called the Fort of *Fico*; foreſeeing how much it would avail them to be maſters of that place. Here then as in a ſafe Haven they received thoſe ſuccours which came uſually from *Leyden*, and from another Town not far from thence called *Saſſene*. But the Kings men did not defer oppoſing them. Count *Boſſu* prepared ſuddenly many Boats in *Amſteraam*, and quickly entred the Lake alſo with a good Naval ſtrength. His ſhips, as likewiſe thoſe of the Enemy were not very deep in the bottom, by reaſon the Lake was ſhallow: Each of them had likewiſe built ſome in the form of Gallies, which being the eaſelier guided by Oars, were more ſerviceable to the reſt which uſed only ſails. Thus the whole balk of the Siege was brought to conflicts by water, and to endeavour that way interchangeably to bring in, or to keep out ſuccour. At firſt they were but Parties; but at laſt when the Veſſels on both ſides were increaſed, they turn'd to Battels: fortune and valour making the ſucceſſes alternate; ſometimes the one ſide, ſometimes the other getting the better. The Kings party did notwithſtanding prevail for the moſt part; which being furniſht from *Amſterdam* with whatſoever *Boſſu* could deſire, and he performing his part gallantly, the *Harlemiſts* began to be in ſcarcity of victuals. *Boſſu* had placed ſome Forts on the Eaſt ſide of the Lake, under the ſhelter whereof his ſhips might lie; they were not far from the little Iſland where the aforeſaid Fort of *Fico* ſtood. Here did the skirmiſhes oftneſt happen. But the Kings men could not ſo much hinder the Enemy, but that ſome of their ſhips ſtealing from the conflicts might get in ſafety under that Fort, and from thence might fall into the River, and come afterwards very ſafely to the City; to which purpoſe the *Harlemiſts* had fortified that ſide of the River which was neareſt the Town, with other Works. The Kings men made then no longer delay; they likewiſe raiſed ſome works on the contrary ſide, the better to diſturb the paſſage of the Enemies.

Soon after a new Battel fell out upon the Lake; and it was the laſt, and greater then any other that had preceded. The *Harlemiſts* Fleet conſiſted of 150 Sail; the Kings were not ful out one hundred. but the quality of theſe out-did the others quantity. The conflict was bloody, and the victory for a while doubtfull; which at laſt lean'd towards the Catholicks, to the great praiſe of *Boſſu* in particular. The Rebels Naval forces were hereby ſo much weakned, as the Kings men met not afterwards with any reſiſtance in the Lake. The Fort *de Fico* fell preſently afterwards into the *Spaniards* hands; and thus the City was ſtreightly beſieged. But this mean while the other military actions by land ceaſed not. The *Harlemiſts* abounded in Souldiers, as hath been ſaid: And therefore often annoying the Kings Camp with bold Sallies, they fiercely aſſaulted now one, now another Quarter; and made one ſo furious aſſault upon the German quarter, as entring by violence into their Fortifications, they ſlew many, and wounded more; and bearing



Maximilian Hennin Count Bossu
Governour of Holland and
Utrecht

bearing away with them ſome Colours, and ſome Peeces of Artillery, they returned in triumph to the City. Nor ſhewed they leſs valour in reſiſting the *Spaniards* on the other ſide; who continued their former labour with ſecure ſlowneſs, leſt they might fall again into fruitleſs impetuoſity. They endeavoured to annoy them within, and to hinder the Works which the *Harlemiſts* continualy there made, from the Platform which (as hath been ſaid they had made upon the Ravelin. But on the contrary, the *Harlemiſts* having planted ſome of their Artillery againſt the Platform, they much indammaged it, and ſlew the Enginier *Campi*, which was a very conſiderable loſs to the Kings Army. In fine it appear'd that the *Spaniards* had but ſmall hopes to doe any good by oppugning, though *Frederick* ordered all things as if he meant to end the Siege by a general aſſault. His principal care therefore was, to keep out all relief; in which he was ſtill more encouraged. He had already received a good recruit of men; for the Baron of *Cleverav* had brought 1000 Foot unto the Camp, who were raiſed in *Burgony*; and ſome other *Walloons* were come thither out of *Bigly's* and *Mandragones* Regiments, and the two Spaniſh Brigadoes which were ſent for from *Italy* were already on their march for *Flanders*. But if the Kings men made more uſe of Famine then of the ſword to overcome, the *Harlemiſts* fought no leſs to famiſh them, and to overcome them with their own weapons. To this end they often tryed by reiterated endeavours to poſſeſs themſelves of one of the chief Paſſes by which victuals were brought to the Catholick Camp from *Utricht*; and one of their endeavours was likely to have ſucceeded, had not *John Baptiſta de Taſſis* made manly reſiſtance; who being caſually in *Utricht*, came forth againſt the Enemy, and forc'd them to retire. So as the Paſſes to the Catholick Camp continuing free as formerly, the Famine grew ſtill greater amongſt the *Harlemiſts*: who when they had well weighed their neceſſity, began to ſeek for remedy by deſperate reſolutions. They reſolved to cut the bank of the River which was towards the City in divers parts, and overflow all the ground even to the Lake, ſo as ſome relief of victuals might be brought into the Town, at leaſt by little Boats; and particularly ſome Gun-powder, which they very much wanted. At the firſt they received ſome aid by that way; but they were ſoon cut off from that. Afterwards they made two Camiſado's in the ſtilleſt hours of the night towards the *Germans* quarters, ſuch counterſigns being paſt as was requiſite between them and thoſe who were to conduct the victuals without. The bickerings were bloody, and the *Germans* recovered in theſe the honour which they had loſt in the former; for they behaved themſelves ſo valiantly to diſturb the ſuccour, fighting at once with the enemies without who came to introduce it, and with thoſe within who were come to receive it, as the enemy could get no good by theſe trials. The *Harlemiſts* being thus ſurrounded with unſupportable neceſſities on all ſides, their only hope lay in a ſuccour which the Prince of *Orange* was preparing to ſend with a great ſtrength of men. But they met herein with greater difficulties then the Rebels in *Holland* did imagine: For the Queen of *England* not willing to declare her ſelf an open Enemy to the King of *Spain*, did not what ſhe might have done in their behalf; and the Hereticks of *Germany* and of *France* finding themſelves buſied about their domeſtick neceſſities, they could not aſſiſt the troubles in *Flanders* as need required. This mean while the Famine was grown ſo great in *Harlem*, as they could brook no longer delay of remedy: Wanting all other ſort of nouriſhment, the Townſmen were reduced to feed on the baſeſt and uncleanneſt ſort of Animals, and at laſt upon Graſs, Leather, and on whatſoever deſpair in ſuch like caſes uſeth to ſuggeſt unto humane neceſſity. *Orange* was inform'd of this from the City; and the Town being now ſo ſtraightly beſieged, as no advertiſement could be given by the miniſtry of man, they uſed the way of Pidgeons. *Orange* made no delay. He had with him 2000 foreign Foot, conſiſting of French, Dutch, Walloons and Engliſh, and 3000 Hollanders, Zealanders and Flemings, and little leſs then 300 Horſe, mixt of all theſe ſeveral Nations. The Baron of *Battenburgh* marcht away with theſe men, who carried along with them great ſtore of Carts loaded with victuals; and the reſolution was, that as theſe ſhould appear without, thoſe within ſhould move at the ſame time, and ſo by a double fierce aſſault they ſhould either free the City from the Siege, or furniſh it

aboundantly with all things requisite to maintain it. But this last endeavour proved as unfortunate as the former: for those within, and those without, not having well adjusted their time of giving assault; and the Kings men having notice that the succour drew near, they fought them, and first routing their horse, which marched most of them in the front, and afterwards with the same force scattering the foot, they wholly discomfeited the enemy. The Spaniards who were already come from *Italy*, and were got but a little before to the siege, behaved themselves gallantly in this action: wherein 'twas said that about 2000 of the enemy were slain; amongst which *Battebiarg* who commanded them, and divers other personages of quality. The Kings men got moreover many Colours, some Artillery, and almost all their victuals. This success put a period to the pride of the Harlemists; in so much as they sent to *Frederick* to treat of surrendring the Town upon Articles. But *Frederick* declared that he would not receive them but upon mercy. When this answer was brought back, the City were strangely astonished. Men, women, and children, ran up and down every where, with tears and outcries, deploring their miserable condition; whereupon Captain *Rypart*, who foresaw himself lost in the common ruine, taking a fit occasion spoke thus unto the multitude.

With how much cruelty of mind (most worthy Citizens) the Spaniards have begun, continued, and now ended this siege, their actions. Have too clearly demonstrated in their undertaking it, they made use of false pretences, desiring only that obedience from us to the King, which was grounded upon the arbitrary will of their own Forces. In the continuace thereof, you all know what their losses have been, what their sufferings, and how oft they have been at the point of being rather besieged then besieging: to such great straits have they been brought, by snow, frost, rain, want of victuals, want of men, and chiefly by our so many and so valiant excurtions, wherewith we have sometime more indamaged them in their quarters, then they us within our walls. But at last their rage hath prevailed more over us in overcoming all difficulties so to finish their siege, then the rage of earth and heaven (as it may be said) hath prevailed over them. Behold them therefore thirsting after our bloud, and already panting at our gates, and ready to enter our City, thirsting after our goods. And shall we expect any mercy at their hands? any favourable dealing? from them I say, whose rape (as it is every day seen) is not to be satisfied by women, their firings by houses, their plunder by goods, nor their bloud-thirstiness by all the people: We must then believe, that as soon as they shall be entred they will put us all to the sword, or to some more ignominious death, without respect of age, sex, or condition. The welfare of the miserable consist in the despairing of welfare. Why shall not we therefore endeavour (placing the weakest sex and weakest age amidst us) to make our way through our enemies with our swords in our hands? whether we yield, or whether we be overcome we must die. But if we must perish (as there is little hopes of doing otherwise) death will come the more welcome, when sought by our selves with undauntless valour, then when with scorn and disdain received from the pride our enemies of.

These words were of such force, and found their minds so ready to entertain any whatsoever desperate resolution, as they already spake of following *Ripardo's* councel, which came to *Fredericks* ear. Who better considering the danger, what despair might make so many valiant men do, and that by overcoming them, he should find the whole City consumed, he forthwith sent a Trumpet to the Town, to let the Harlemists know, that they might hope for better then they deserved. In particular, he promised to secure them from Plunder, and from all other licentious Military violence. That there were so many amongst them who knew there was no saveguard for them, as between their despair, and the others hope, it was often doubted whether the more fiercer or more mild resolution should prevail amongst them: at last the last prevailed; and thus the City about the beginning of *July* was surrendred to the mercy of the enemy. A Brigade of the Spanish foot forthwith entred the Town, and unarmed every one therein. They then fell to inflicting punishment. Captain *Rypart*, as chief head of the sedition, had his head immediately struck off; and *Lancelot Brederode* not long after received the like punishment. All the rest of the Harlemists who were thought most guilty either of Heresie or Rebellion, ended their lives either by the

the rope or ſword. And the like was without remiſſion done to all thoſe foreign ſouldiers who had been in *Mons*, or in any other place which the Spaniards had taken, and who had promiſed never to bear arms any more againſt the Kings party. Above 2000 were put to death; and the very executioners were either ſo weary, or ſo glutted, or ſo affrighted with the work, as for ſpeedier diſpatch, they drowned a great many of them in the River which ran through the City. The Inhabitants freed themſelves from plunder by the payment of 24000 pound ſterling, the Kings men raging and ſtorming to ſee their hopes ſo far deluded. This was the end of the ſiege of *Harlem*; Noble, for being ſo valiantly and ſo long both ſuſtained and proſecuted: Remarkable, for the variety of ſucceſſes both by land and ſea: but at laſt ſo horrid by the ſevere puniſhments inflicted by the vanquiſhers upon the vanquiſhed, as it was doubted, whether the faults committed by the one, or the puniſhments inflicted by the other, were the greater.

Whilſt affairs went thus in *Holland*, they were not quiet in *Zealand*; the chief Iſland whereof (as hath oft been ſaid) is *Walcheren*, wherein ſtands *Midleburg*, a little within land. This Town which is the chief not only of that Iſland, but of the whole Province, was the Kings, together with the little Caſtle of *Ramichins*, and the Town of *Ramua*, both of them ſituated on the ſea-ſide. *Ramichins* was of great concernment for the keeping of *Midleburg*. The rebels ſeeing the Kings forces ſo imployed about the taking of *Harlem*, did not let the occaſion ſlip, but applyed themſelves apace to the making themſelves Maſters of the whole Iſland of *Walcherin*. It made much for the ſuccouring of thoſe places that *Tergoes* was in the Kings hands, and chiefly for the gaining the ſpeedier paſſage in that branch which the River *Scheld* thruſts forth there. But howſoever, it was requiſite to have maritine forces to overcome the enemy, who freely ſailing over all thoſe Gulfs were much to their advantage, Maſters of them. Thus they kept *Midleburg* beſieged at a diſtance, though they did not ſeem to beſiege it. But little victuals were brought to the City, and it was known that if care were not had in that point ſpeedily, the City would ſoon fall into the rebels hands. *Seigneur de Beavoir*, a man who had witneſſed his valour and loyalty in the Kings ſervice, was Governour of the Province, and Colonel of a Regiment of Walloons. He acqnainted the Duke of *Alva* with the danger that theſe three places were in, and eſpecially *Midleburg*. Whereupon the Duke reſolved to relieve it. He gave the care hereof to *Sancio d' Avila*, Governour of *Antwerp* Caſtle; who having made ready ſome ſhipping, betook himſelf to the buſineſs. But he was not well advanced when he returned back, hearing for certain that the enemy were ſo ſtrong, as he ſhould have run manifeſt danger of being loſt. Having then with very great diligence made better proviſion then before, he went again to attempt the ſuccour. The enemy, who did no ways fear him, expected him with much reſolution. So they came to a ſea-fight in the Channel of *Fluſhing*; which was rather ſharp then long. For many ſhips fighting at once, the battel was for one hours ſpace very fierce on both ſides. But *Avila*'s ſhips being more rent, and his people ill treated, he was forced at laſt to yield the Victory to the enemy, not without great loſs both of ſouldiers and ſhips. He notwithſtanding landed, and brought ſome ſmall ſtore of victuals iuto *Midleburgh*, made it ſafer then it was before, and ſo returned to *Antwerp*. With him *Beavoir* came along, who was ſent for by the Duke of *Alva*, meaning to make uſe of his ſervice, in providing a great Fleet for thoſe parts, whereof he made him Commander, and to that purpoſe, made him Admiral of *Zealand*. But the rebels this mean while, incouraged by one ſucceſs to undertake another, betook themſelves to the taking of *Tolen*, a Town between the confines of *Brabant* and *Zealand*, intending if they ſhould ſucceed therein, to fall upon *Berghen ap Zoom*. Theſe two places lie not far from one another, but *Berghen* is a Town of great concernment out of thoſe reaſons that have formerly been ſpoken of. All the Country thereabouts lies very low, and is made habitable only by the banks; one of which of greater moment then the reſt, runs between the two aboveſaid Towns. The enemies came preſently upon this bank, led on by Colonel *Rollet*, Governour of *Canſer*, and endeavoured to make themſelves Maſters of it, to keep ſuccour from being ſent from *Berghen*

to T*olen*. *Chriſtopher Mandragone* was in theſe parts, being detained there by the Duke together with *Sancio Avila*, out of the need the Kings affairs in thoſe parts had of them. *Mandragone* made no delay, but ran preſently with ſuch of the Kings men as were in the neighbouring Gariſons, to diſturb their deſigne. And after divers skirmiſhes, in one of which he was wounded, he drove the enemy from the bank; overthrew a Fort which they had begun to build there; and ſecured both the aforeſaid Towns. But the enemy was not diſcouraged for all this, nor did they cool in their undertakings. But uſing ſtratagems where they could not uſe force, they ſoon after perfected a practiſe of great importance. As the *Moſel* approaches near the Ocean, ſhe enlargeth her Chanel, and extends it into ſeveral large branches. Upon the left ſide of the firſt, lies the Town of St *Getringburg*, belonging unto *Holland*; but ſo cloſe upon the Confines of *Brabant*, as it may be queſtioned whether her ſituation makes her more commodious for expeditions by land, or for ſuch as may be deſigned from thence by water. The rebels held hidden correſpondency either with the hereticks, or with the Malecontents every where, and chiefly in theſe parts. The deſigne being then ſecretly laid; they were received into St *Getringburg* by way of *Scalado* in the ſecret hours of night. The chief Author of this Plot, and of the putting it in execution was Captain *Poyeto*, a man of good eſteem amongſt them. Neither did the miſchief on the Kings behalf ceaſe here. This loſs was ſoon followed by another very great likewiſe, and not without ſuſpition of fraud; which was that of the *Ramechins*, by the obtaining whereof the rebels placed all their confidence of making themſelves ſhortly Maſters of *Midleburg*. *Bevoir* notwithſtanding being better provided of Naval Forces, try'd to bring ſuccour into the City, and with him was *Mandragone*. But the enemies Fleet lying at watch in all the chief Avenues, the Kings men could not come where to relieve the City, and that but in a very ſmall meaſure neither, unleſs it were by great circumferences, and ways far about. *Bevoir* returned to *Antwerp*, and *Mandragone* ſtaid to guard *Midleburg*. This was the condition of the affairs in *Zealand* and the adjacent parts when *Harlem* was taken. The ſiege whereof was not well at an end, when one of the greateſt evils happened which could befall the Catholick Camp. The Spaniſh ſouldiers of the old Brigades were much in arrears for pay; who ſtorming every day more and more to ſee themſelves deprived of the ſacking of *Harlem*, and that they had ſo bad reward for ſo long labour, more tranſported with ſelf-Intereſt, then withheld by obedience, they reſolved to mutiny. *Frederick*, and the reſt of the Commanders endeavoured to appeaſe them in ſome ſort, ſo as they might not loſe the opportunity of the ſeaſon, which was then very fair, to make further proceeding in *Holland*. But the greater the Kings need appeared to be, the more did the Spaniards contumacy increaſe. They threatned that they would have their whole pay: and quartering themſelves in *Harlem*, as it were by force, they began to draw Contributions from the City, and under the fair pretence of need and aſſiſtance, to uſe many of the moſt hatefull actions which plunder and ſacking are wont to produce. So as after the preceding miſeries, the City became more deplorable by this new affliction. The Duke of *Alva* was hereat mightily diſpleaſed; for he ſaw on one ſide the fruits of the Victory ſo baſely abuſed; and on the other ſide, the ſtrength of Diſcipline to be weakened in the Army by this example. But not being able to conſtrain theſe by greater forces, nor make ſuch uſe of ſharp means, but that they might at laſt prove prejudicial, he reſolved to remedy this diſorder as ſoon as he might by fair means. The Marquis of *Vitelli's* love in the Army was equal with his Authority, particularly amongſt the Spaniards. So as by his means being ſomewhat appeaſed, the mutinyers were contented to receive a donative of four payes, and ſome moneys in part of their arrears; that cruel rigour being laid aſide which was always uſed in all the other inſuing mutinies, which would never be ended before the mutinyers received their full pay. But howſoever, what through the difficulties the Duke found in raiſing of moneys, and in thoſe *Vitelli* met withall in bringing his endeavours to an end, the whole ſummer was almoſt ſpent; and the beſt ſeaſon to work in low and watry Countries was loſt: ſo as *Holland* was incumbered on all ſides. Nor did the Rebels let ſlip this ſo favourable conjuncture. In the moſt Northern part of the

Province

Province of *Waterlant*, there are many good Towns, of which *Alkmar* is one of the chiefeſt. Here a Treaty which the hereticks within the Town held firſt ſecretly, and afterwards more manifeſtly, with the rebels who were without, the effect at laſt inſued. The one of them at unawares poſſeſt themſelves of one of the Gates, and the others ſent men preſently to make themſelves Maſters of the whole Town. On the other ſide, the Catholicks, taking up arms, ſaiſed likewiſe on another gate, which lay the fitteſt for the receiving of ſuccour, and diſpatcht away meſſengers to the Kings Camp with their earneſt deſires: but this availed but a little: For whilſt they were conſulting, whilſt things were defer'd, and that intreaties were rather to be uſed then commands with the yet obedient ſouldiers, who were notwithſtanding ill paid, the rebels ſent preſently to aid their confederates, and made themſelves Maſters of the Town. *Alkmar* being loſt, the Spaniards had not any thing at all in *Waterlant*, for all the reſt of the Towns there joyned in rebellion] with the reſt of the Province. Which made them reſolve to endeavour the regaining of it by all poſſible means. *Alkmar* is not ſtrong, ſave only by ſituation; lying, as do all other Towns in that Country, drowned amidſt water and mud. It is within five hours journey of *Harlem*. It may be ſaid to be the gate whereby to enter by land into *Waterlant*: For that ſide of the Province being ſhut up on one part by the Sea, on another by the Gulf of *Zuderſee*, and almoſt all the reſt by other waters and channels, and making the ſhape of a *Peninſula*, it leaves but a very narrow ſpace for entrance by land, and there a little within, ſtands *Alkmar*. That therefore they might be ſure to enter in that part, and becauſe without the poſſeſſion of that Town, they could not hope to get the reſt on that coaſt, the Spaniards reſolved, without more delay to beſiege it. Of the reſt, *Enchuſen* and *Horn* are the beſt, which are both of them ſeated upon the Sea. The firſt upon the very mouth of the Gulf of *Zuderſee*, and the ſecond within the Gulf, not far from the other, and upon the ſame ſide: both of them very famous for building of ſhips, and verſed in affairs of Merchandiſe. Neceſſary proviſions to maintain the ſiege were forthwith ſent to *Alkmar* from theſe two Towns, and from all the others of *Waterlant*. As ſoon as the Kings Army was encamped about it, their firſt action was to take a little Fort from the enemy which they had built upon a Channel, which not far from the Town enters into one of thoſe neighbouring Pools, and whereby ſuccour might eaſilyeſt be brought from without. The defendants made ſome reſiſtance at firſt: but upon ſecond aſſaults, they were driven from the Fort by the Spaniards. Here *Frederick* ordered batteries on two ſides, both which were effected with furious ſtorms of ſhot: and a no leſs furious aſſault was prepared from both thoſe ſides. The deſigne was to fall on, on both ſides at once, to the end that the Enemy being doubly aſſailed, might neither have courage nor force to ſuſtain it. But they met with many difficulties in the execution thereof: for the Town being invironed by a large and deep ditch, it was requiſite to have bridges in both parts to paſs it over, and when they ſhould have paſſed it, the enemy was well provided of inworks to hold the aſſaylants play. When they came to the aſſault, the event proved very unfortunante: They were to have a ſigne by fire, to adjuſt their motion at one and the ſame time; which was not accordingly executed. They had made two bridges to paſs over the ditch, and to mount the breach, and theſe likewiſe had various defects: ſo as the one of them moved ſome hours before the other, whereby the enemy might the more eaſily reſiſt them both. And the Kings men found afterwards ſuch difficulties in the bridges, and in the breach, as becoming for a good while a mark for their enemies to ſhoot at, they were forced at laſt to retreat, many of them being wounded, and leaving full out 150 of their men dead behind them. 'Twas ſaid in the Army that the two Camp-maſters, *Julian Romero*, and *Franciſco Valdes*, who were to lead on the reſt to the aſſault, on the two appointed ſides, having ſome private grudge between themſelves, to the publick prejudice of that action, did not correſpond in the execution according as it was agreed on between them. This ſo ſiniſter ſucceſs took from them all hopes of having any better in that enterpriſe. And the rain and uſual moiſture of the climat began to fall in great aboundance earlyer then they had wont to do: ſo as the Army began to ſuffer very much in that low ſituation, and were likely to

ſuffer

ſuffer every day more, if they ſhould not ſuddenly riſe from thence. They therefore reſolved to give over the ſiege for that time; and to ſee whether the froſt would invite them to return upon better terms. But another expedition by ſea, at the ſame time, had no leſs unhappy event. Count *Boſſu* could not make uſe of thoſe Naval Forces, which in the ſiege of *Harlem* had ſerved the Kings party upon that Lake, whereof we then ſpoke, in the other waters, which by reaſon of their depth required much greater Veſſels. And therefore the enemy having gotten a great Fleet of ſhips upon the Gulf of *Zuderſee*, they fell from thence into the Channel of *Amſterdam*, and did in a ſort beſiege it. The City was much prejudiced hereby, and conſequently the Kings party. Wherefore the Duke of *Alva* going thither in perſon, made divers ſhips be put in order, much greater then uſual, and paticularly one which was called the Admiral, and was of an exceſſive greatneſs. But the time being ſhort, and the expence very great, only twelve of them could be finiſhied With this Fleet, (the quantity whereof was thought ſufficient to ſupply the want in numbers) *Boſſu* came out of *Amſterdam*, and with him were ſome foot-companies imbarked, which were taken out of his own German Regiment, five other of the Spaniſh Companies, and one of the Walloons. This Fleet being come forth, the enemy left the Channel of *Amſterdam* free; and retreated towards their neareſt Havens of *Enchuſen* and *Horn*; and haſtened likewiſe greater proviſion of ſhips on their ſide, hoping to get the upper-hand by their ſuperiority in numbers. Thoſe of *Enchuſen* exceeded all the reſt of the Inhabitants in thoſe parts, not only in numbers of ſhips, but in Maritine skill; and therefore the enemies Fleet was ſoon increaſed by them, in ſo much as their number did very far exceed the number of the Spaniſh ſhips. *Boſſu* being this mean while entred with his into the Gulf of *Zuderſee*, he hovered thereupon, being much in doubt whether he ſhould provoke or ſhun the combate. His Orders from the Duke were to fight as ſoon as might be; for it greatly imported the King that the enemies Forces by ſea ſhould be abated, his affairs in *Flanders* ſuffering moſt thereby. And the ſecuring of ſo gallant an Arſenal as was *Amſterdam*, did too much import his ſervice. On the contrary, *Boſſu* conſidered the ſmall number of his veſſels; what preparation the enemy had made; and that inforced fights are ſeldom fortunate. He therefore kept in the deepeſt part of the Gulf, where his ſhips by reaſon of their greatneſs had the advantage over the enemy, and hoped to find it ſo in their fight. Some skirmiſhes had already been had between the two Fleets, and ſo there did dayly: but the adverſaries ſhips were afraid to come to any greater ingagement in that place. The Duke the meane while preſt the combate very much; wherefore *Boſſu* delayed no longer: but falling down nearer land where the Gulf was more ſhallow, he with much reſolution ſet upon the enemy, who kept there ſafe together, as in the beſt place for them. They did not refuſe the combate, but gladſomely accepted of it, and fell to work with the Kings ſhips. *Boſſu* did manfully incourage his, and ſo did all the Captains of the other ſhips: in ſo much as the battel was at the firſt very bloudy on both ſides. But ere long the day began to lean towards the enemy. The bickering was not between ſhip and ſhip, or between ſouldier and ſouldier, upon equal terms, ſo as it was not valour which was to give the victory. The enemies ſhips did too far exceed the Kings in number, who could not, as did the others, ſupply one ſhip when it was battered, with another, nor the wounded with freſh men; ſo as in a ſhort ſpace every one of the Kings ſhips were invironed by the enemy; and the conflict laſted not long. Except it were the Admiral, with which the Vice-Admiral kept always company, all the reſt of the Kings ſhips gave over fighting, and betook themſelves to ſundry parts, one of them being ſunk, and the reſt ſorely ſhattered. The Admiral ſtood like a ſtately Caſtle in the ſea; of ſuch a vaſtneſs was her body, having ſo many ſails, ſo many marriners, and ſuch a number of ſouldiers and guns. *Boſſu* could not indure to ſee himſelf thus loſt. He had with him, beſides his own Germans, a hundred choice Spaniards, together with their Captain *Corvera*. They were all of the ſame mind, and had already turned valour into deſpair: ſo as the battel growing more bloudy then ever, the ſucceſs hung long in doubt; till ſuch time as Fortune favouring the enemy likewiſe, and cauſing the wind to ceaſe, the Spaniſh ſhips ran on ground.



Lodovico Requesenes, Great Comendador
of Castile Governour of ye Lowcountreys
III

[illegible] *Alva* retired to *Bruſſels*, whether his ſon *Frederick* came ſoon after to find him out; having firſt diſtributed his men into thoſe parts of *Holland* which remained yet unto the the King, and which, except *Harlem*, were almoſt all of them open places. All ſuch places about *Leyden* as were thought fitteſt to beſiege it, were till then poſſeſt by the Spaniard; for the Duke was reſolved to do his utmoſt to take that Town. But the ſiege thereof, which was afterwards likewiſe very memorable, was referved for his ſucceſſour. For the Duke was not well gotten to *Bruſſels*, when Letters came from *Spain* with leave for him to quit the Government of *Flanders*. He had often earneſtly deſired it, as had the Duke of *Medina-Celi* done alſo, to the end that he might not be burthened with that Government. The King having granted both their requeſts choſe *Lodovico di Recheſens*, the Commendador, *di Cordova*, who was one of the chief Lords of *Spain*, and who was then Governour of *Milan*, to be Governour of the Low-Countries. The King among all his other ſubjects of *Spain*, pitcht upon him, for that ſeeing how the Flemiſh did abhor the Duke of *Alva*'s ſeverity, he would have him ſucceeded by one more mildly given, who in his Authority might, as much as might be, decline ſeverity. Such a one he took *Recheſens* to be, and ſuch were the directions which the King ſent him from *Spain*. He departed from *Milan* about the end of *October* 1573. and went through *Savoy*, *Burgundy* and *Lorain*, taking no other Militia with him ſave only two Companies of horſe, one of them launces, other Harquebuliers. Being come to *Bruſſels*, the Duke of *Alva* ſoon delivered up the Government unto him; and together with his ſon *Frederick*, took the ſame way by land, becauſe he would return by *Italy*, and go by ſea from *Genua* to *Spain*. The Duke of *Medina-Celi* took ſhipping upon the coaſt of *Flanders*, and went back the ſame way as he came, by ſea.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK VIII.

The Contents.

The Commendador-Major reſolves to ſuccour Midleburg, *to this purpoſe he diſpoſes of two Fleets in ſeveral parts: but had ill ſucceſs therein; the one being routed by the enemy whilſt he himſelf looked on, and the others indeavours proving vain.* Midleburg *is therefore ſurrendred.* Count Lodovick *in* Germany *moves to enter with an Army again into* Flanders. Orange *makes great preparations, and conſpires with him to that purpoſe. Incitements uſed by him to this end. The Commendadors perplexities and dangers.* Lodovick *comes into* Flanders. *Draws near* Maſtrick, *and hopes to win it: but the Royaliſts ſecure the Town. Their forces oppoſe the enemy; various ſucceſſes and incounters between the two Armies. A battel inſues. The Royaliſts get the victory. The Spaniards preſently mutiny. Things beſt worth knowledg in matter of mutinies. The mutiners go to* Antwerp. *The City is in great dread of them. They are at laſt pacified, and joyn with the reſt of the Camp-Royal. A great loſs of many of the Kings ſhips.* Orange *his proceedings: againſt whom* Vitelli *is ſent by the Commendador. A new general pardon publiſht in* Antwerp *in the Kings name. An indeavour of accommodation with the Rebels; but in vain. The ſiege and deſcription of* Leyden. *Divers difficulties in the proſecution, and in the maintaining thereof. Actions which ſucceed thereupon. Thoſe of* Leyden *are in a deſperate condition. More deſperate reſolutions taken by the Rebels to relieve the Town. Which is at laſt ſuccoured, with great ſlaughter and prejudice of the Spaniards.*

WHen the Government was in the Commendador, he applyed himſelf with all his might to relieve *Midleburg*. *Mandragone* was (as hath been ſaid) at the defence of that City, and had continually preſt very much for ſpeedy ſuccour: and turning his deſires into proteſtations, he declared that unleſs he were reliev'd within very few days, he ſhould be conſtrained to put the City into the Rebels hands. He wanted all ſort of victuals, not only of the better ſort, but even of the moſt vile. The Commendador gave order then, that two Fleets ſhould with all diligence be prepared, the eaſilyer to relieve the Town by

by two wayes upon the *Scheld*. The one Fleet were of leſſer Barks, to be ſent by that narrower and lower branch, which parts not far from *Berghen ap Zome*, and which (as we have ſaid) retains the name of the River: The other conſiſted of greater Veſſels, which were to paſs through the *Honte*, the *Scheld* being ſo called in her other larger and deeper branch.

The Commendador added his own diligence to that of others. Going therefore himſelf in perſon to *Antwerp*, he did ſo haſten the preparation of both the Fleets, as about the end of *January* both of them put to Sea, to effect the intended ſuccour. *Bevoir*, the Admiral of *Zealand*, was then fallen ſick, who was to have had the chief charge thereof: So as Signior *de Glimes* was appointed to be his Vice-admiral. *Sancio d'Avila* commanded the greater ſhips, and *Glimes* the leſſer with whom the Camp-maſter *Romero* went, as chief Commander of all the Souldiers that were aboard; who in both the Fleets were either *Spaniards* or *Walloons*, but the greateſt part were *Spaniards*. *Avila* put from *Antwerp*, and ſail'd before upon the *Honte*. The other Fleet put from *Berghen ap Zome*, in ſight of the Commendador himſelf, who followed it upon the *Schelds* bank, till he came to a Village called *Schacherlo*, which is over againſt *Romerſwal*, a Town ſeated on the other ſide. Here *Glimes* and *Romero* ſtaid, expecting a more favourable Tide, that they might the eaſelyer free themſelves, and get rid of thoſe Sands which occaſion many Shelfs in that branch. The Enemies were very well acquainted with the deſign, preparations, and proceedings of the Royaliſts, by reaſon of the intelligence held between the Flemiſh, and eſpecially in that maritime part, where the people did exceedingly favour *Orange*. Nay, it was held for certain, that many of the chief Pylots who ſerved the *Spaniards*, were wrought upon by him; and that this Fleet of the leſſer ſhips was unluckily loſt (as we ſhall relate) rather by fraud then fortune. A much greater proviſion of ſhipping being made by the contrary part, the Enemies Fleet which was commanded by *Lewis de Boiſot* Admiral of *Holland*, made ſtraight towards *Romerſwal* to hinder the Kings ſhips from going any further. The Vice-admiral would not have fought, knowing the great diſadvantage which was on his ſide: The enemies ſhips were much bigger built, and very much more in number. But *Romero*, were it either that his courage did tranſport him, or for his want of ſkill in maritime affairs, or rather that he was neceſſitated to adventure, becauſe ſuccour could ſuffer no longer delay, and that this Fleet carried much the greateſt part of the victuals, was of a contrary opinion, and would by all means fight. Hereupon the Vice-admiral together with all the reſt made towards the Enemy: but whether it were chance, or fraud (as it was doubted) the Vice-admiral ran on ground, as did likewiſe ſome other ſhips which were neareſt her. The Enemies were not ſlack in ſetting upon them on all ſides: A ſhowre of Muſket-ſhot poured down upon them from their taller ſhips, and the great Guns thundred apace. But a tempeſt of artificial fires proved moſt prejudicial, which the Enemies ſhips hurl'd into thoſe of the Kings: the Viceadmiral ſuffered moſt of all hereby; for the fire burſting forth in her in ſundry places, and continuing pertinaciouſly to do ſo, ſhe ſunk at laſt; it being queſtionable whether the fire or water wrought moſt in ſwallowing her up. *Romero* made ſpeedily towards them with his Admiral, and ſome other ſhips; but his courage was greater then the help he gave; for he partook ſo deeply of the others danger, as he threw himſelf into the water, and ſo ſaved himſelf by ſwimming. Divers others of the Kings ſhips ran the ſame fortune of being either conſumed by fire, or ſunk in the river; and all the reſt fell into the enemies hands, who triumphed very much in the victory. And that their joy might be the greater, the Commendador himſelf was upon the aboveſaid bank of *Schacherlo*, and ſaw with his own eyes this ſo unhappy misfortune; which made him foreſee others of no leſs conſequence, which were of neceſſity to be ſhortly expected. *Glimes* was ſlain, together with many Spaniſh and Walloon Officers, and about 800 common ſouldiers. This defeat being given, *Avila* thought only how to retreat, and ſave his ſhips: but being purſued by thoſe which the Enemy had ſevered from the others, which *Boiſot* commanded, he had much adoe to get into *Tergoes*, and at laſt brought his Fleet ſafe to *Antwerp*. This was the end of the relief. So as *Mandragone* having neither time to expect ſuccour, nor hope to get any; and having firſt made good

Conditions to march himſelf with all his men ſafe and freely out of *Middleburgh*, he preſently ſurrendred the Town to the Enemy. *Ramua* fell likewiſe into their hands, which till then had kept its obedience to the King. And thus they were poſſeſt of the whole intire Iſland of *Walcherin*, which they had ſo much deſired; and were puft up with hopes, that they ſhould ſhortly be maſters of the whole Province.

The new year of 1574. was now begun: when the Commendador had not well received this blow by Sea, but that other novelties were heard of, and of greater danger to the Kings affairs, more within land. We told you before how that Count *Lodovick*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, after the loſs of *Mons*, leaving his brother in *Holland*, was gone to *Germany*: where he was not idle; but being eg'd on by his own courage, and more by that of the Prince his brother, he had there occaſioned divers practiſes, that he might again enter *Flanders* with the Forces of that Nation. The unhappy ſucceſs of the two Brothers taking np Arms againſt the Duke of *Alva*, had made them be rather commiſerated then ſcorned by the *Germans*. And the Spaniſh Forces in *Flanders* being by ſuch ſucceſs become more formidable to all their neighbonrs, the ſuſpition thereof grew daily every where greater. *Orange* in all thoſe parts made alternate uſe of the inſtigations of Fear and Hope: repreſenting ſometimes what danger *Holland* & *Zealand* were in; ſometimes what advantages he had there, and the hopes of their daily increaſe, not only in thoſe two Provinces, but in all the reſt, if ſome Foreign aid might be added to the Domeſtick forces of the Country. The *Spaniards* mutiny falling out afterwards; and the Kings expeditions by land at *Alckmar*, and by Sea under *Boſſu*, proving ſo very bad; and finally the Duke of *Alva* being gone from *Flanders*, he had ſo much the more ſet on fire the minds of his partakers both within and without *Flanders*, to favour the new preparation which his brother was contriving.

That at laſt the Duke of Alva *was gone: but that* Recheſens *was choſen by the King in his place,* Medina-Celi *having refuſed to accept it. That the one and the other of them were* Spaniards; *and that both of them, as likewiſe the Duke of* Alva, *were reduced to ſuch a condition of fortune, as the* Flemiſh *had reaſon to be ſcandalized at ſuch a choice. That the Kings neglect of the affairs of* Flanders *did clearly appear, and that he did intend to introduce by violence the Government of* Spain *into thoſe Provinces. That then the perſon rather then the intention was chang'd in the new Governour. That this man had a more pleaſing aſpect and more benigne appearance; but in his ſoul the like pride, and the ſame reſolutions in his thoughts. That the allurement of words were to be eſteemed treacherous, while the force of Arms continued: Nor could the* Flemiſh *ever confide, till they ſaw their Country free of Foreigners, their Cities free of Citadels, their goods of paying Tributes, their Conſciences of oppreſſion, and the Laws of their Country free from that violation which had been occaſioned in them by Forein Laws. That to compaſs ſo juſt an end,* Holland *and* Zealand *had at laſt taken up Arms: That their ſucceſs had been alternately various; but that yet the greateſt part of both theſe Provinces were in the hands of their own inhabitants. That the new Governour was not acquainted with his Souldiers, nor his Souldiers with him: That his experience in war was not great: That he found the* Spaniards *in mutiny, the others but ill ſatisfied, and that monies were very ſcarce to give them ſatisfaction. That the Empire of* Spain, *by reaſon of the too great diviſion and largeneſs of its bulk, was ſo incumbred within it ſelf, as it could not furniſh* Flanders *with ſufficient Forces to maintain war long. Then let the Flemiſh once reſolve to joyn in one, and thoſe their neighbours with them, who were moſt intereſſed in their cauſe. That thus the Country would be ſoon reſtor'd to her antient form of Government, and her preſent miſeries be turn'd into her formerly enjoy'd Felicity. Otherwiſe, how could it be hoped for, but that the Flemiſh divided at home within themſelves, and forſaken by their friends abroad, were ſhortly to receive all hardeſt and proudeſt Laws from the* Spaniards

Orange gave abroad theſe conceits, as well to incenſe the *Flemiſh* ſtill more againſt the Government of *Spain*, as alſo to make the neighbours the more ready to joyn with his brother in his aforeſaid endeavours. But theſe practiſes were chiefly had in *Germany*, and were, as uſually, fomented by the Heretick party of

England

England and *France*. The deſign of the *Naſſaw* Brethren was, That *Lodovick* ſhould enter *Flanders* from the ſide of *Germany* with all the Forces he could aſſemble together; and that *Orange* at the ſame time coming out of *Holland* ſhould endeavour to joyn thoſe which he had muſtered in the Country, with the Foreiners. To this end very cloſe intelligence was held by both of them in ſundry parts of *Flanders*, and by *Lodovick* particularly in ſome Cities which were moſt commodious for him for his paſſage over the Rivers: but of all others he coveted to be maſter of *Maſtrick*, a very fitting place towards the Frontiers of *Germany*, there being a bridge there over the *Mauſe*, as hath been formerly ſhewn. When *Lodovick* had got all things neceſſary for the body of an Army, he marched from thoſe parts about the beginning of *February*, not valuing the threats of the ſeaſon, that ſo he might not loſe the opportunity of the Criſis. He knew in what ſtraits the new Governour was, by reaſon of the difficulties which were raiſed againſt him by *Orange* and his partakers. Having therefore paſt the *Rhine* and *Moſel*, he drew near *Ghelderland*; intending, as might be conjectured, to paſs over the *Mauſ*, and get into *Brabant*, where his brother was to joyn with him. 'Twas ſaid that he had in his Army 7000 Foot & 30 o Horſe, gathered out of the neighbouring Nations; and that his greateſt ſtrength lay, as it had done formerly, in *German* Souldiers. Theſe, and all the reſt came with great opinion of good ſucceſs, which would prove ſo advantagious to them, as might make abundant ſatisfaction, yea with uſe, for their laſt unfortunate loſſes. *Lodovick* had with all induſtry ſtrove to nurſe them up in this belief ſhewing all which made for his advantage and his Brothers in the affairs of *Flanders*, which might moſt confirm hope in them both of making large Conqueſts, and of getting the Victory with eaſe. This expedition of *Lodovicks* was ſo ſpeedy, as the Commendador heard of the effects thereof, before he heard of the preparation. So as very much troubled at the news, and meeting with difficulties on all ſides, he knew not what reſolution to take. He ſaw the Kings men were mightily decreaſed in their numbers; that to muſter them together, and march towards *Lodovick* to defend the Land frontiers, was to leave all the Sea-ſide in prey to *Orange*; that to divide his Forces, were not to have ſufficient to break their deſigns as it behoved on both ſides; that to draw them out of the garriſons was not without danger, becauſe peradventure they would not be drawn out without receiving their pay, at leaſt in ſome proportion; that howſoever it was requiſite to make other great Levies ſhortly, which would coſt great ſums of money; that the proviſions from *Spain* were not ſufficient to furniſh requiſite monies for ſo many affairs, and that *Flanders* was every day more backward then other in contributing thereunto. When *Rhecheſens* had adviſed upon all theſe difficulties, with all the chief of the Army, the reſolution which was taken, was, That he and the Marquis *Vitelli* ſhould not go far from *Antwerp*, where *Orange*'s ſecret practiſes did threaten moſt: That leaving a ſufficient number of Souldiers in *Holland* to keep what they had gotten, they ſhould only ſtand upon their defence on that Frontier; and that all the reſt of the Army being aſſembled together, *Sancio d'Avila* ſhould lead them towards the *Mauſe* to ſecure the Kings Towns thereabouts, and to hinder *Lodovick* from paſſing over that River. This being reſolved upon, it was ſuddenly put in execution: Neceſſary orders were ſpeedily given forth for the making of great Levies of new men in the neighbouring Catholick parts of *Germany*, *Burgony*, and the *Walloon* Provinces of *Flanders*. But becauſe they were ſtraitned in time, they betook themſelves to draw the old Souldiers out of the garriſons, uſing all the means they could to ſatisfie them with hopes, ſince they could not doe in effect. This mean while *Lodovick* ſtill advanced; and halting with his Camp near *Maſtrick*, he ſtaid expecting whether he might, according to his hopes, ſteal into the City by way of Intelligencer. The Commendador fearing this, diſpatcht away *Bernardino di Mendoza* ſuddenly thither with ſome Troops of horſe, to which he afterwards added ſome Foot-companies. And the Royaliſts flocking thither from all parts to make it their rendezvous, *Sancio d'Avila* came thither likewiſe about the beginning of *March*, who was to be the chief Commander there. Thus that City was ſecured in its obedience to the King; and *Lodovick* was likewiſe kept from paſſing over the River on that part. He took up his quarters near the Caſtle

of *Walchemburg*, little more then two leagues from *Maſtrick*, in divers Villages thereabouts. *Avila* had likewiſe diſpoſed of the Kings men, towards that ſide, accordingly as they came to the rendezvous. And in the interim, the more to encourage his men, and to diſcover the Enemies courage the better, he ſent forth Skirmiſhes almoſt every day; in one of which, which proved more bloody then the reſt, *Franciſco de Medina* who was Commiſſary-General of the Kings horſe, was ſlain, the remainder of the loſs being equal on both ſides. But *Avila*, taking his advantage another time, took a number of ſelected *Spaniards* and *Walloons*, and ſet upon the village of *Bemelen*, wherein divers Companies of the Enemies German Foot lay, and ſlew above 400 of them; the reſt ſorely confuſed flying for ſafety into their neighbours quarters. *Lodovick* being out of all hope of getting into *Maſtrick* by fraud, or of being able to paſs the *Moſel* there, he reſolved to follow the courſe of the river, and to go towards *Ruremond*; hoping likewiſe to get into that City by the way of Treaty: wherein if he ſhould fail, his determination was to continue his march ſtill on, and between the *Mauſe* and *Vahal* to joyn with *Orange*, who to that purpoſe was to march that wayes and joyn with him. When he was come near *Ruremond*, he loſt all hopes of being received in there by way of underhand dealing; either for that the Kings men had diſcovered his plot, or for that his partakers had not courage enough to perform covenants. He therefore marched ſuddenly from thence; and keeping along the River ſide, he marched towards *Nimmighen*, the chief City of all *Ghelderland*, ſituated upon the *Vahalle*: where he and *Orange* had many adherents, who gave them hopes of making them be received in by ſurpriſe: which would have been much for their advantage, as well by reaſon of the wealth of the Town, as by its ſituation. But *Avila*, who had already either ſuſpected or diſcovered theſe deſigns, followed him apace on this ſide the River, to keep him from paſſing over, and from joyning with his brother. The Kings Army was this mean while more recruited both with Horſe & Foot: the Campmaſter *Bracamont* was in particular come from *Holland* with 2000 old Spaniſh Foot; and almoſt all the other Spaniſh Campmaſters, and thoſe of other Nations were with *Avila*: the Army till then not being above 4000 Foot and 800 Horſe. *Avila* being aſcertained of *Lodovicks* laſt intent, after his vain attempt upon *Ruremond*, which was, not to paſs over on this ſide, but to joyn with *Orange* on the other ſide; he likewiſe increaſed his diligence and made his men mend their march. And all the Towns upon the *Mauſe* which were convenient for paſſage being in the Kings hands, *Avila* ſent therefore ſuch Scouts forth as were requiſite, to ſcour the contrary ſhore, and to learn continual news of the Enemy, that he might the better know how to govern his affairs on this ſide. It appeared at laſt, that the greateſt advantage lay in making haſte, and in the preventing of one another: So as the Kings men paſſing the *Mauſe*, might hinder the Enemies Camp from advancing further; or the other haſtning his march, might prevent the paſſing over of the Kings men, and ſo joyn as he intended with *Orange*. But the difference was too great between the Souldiers of the two Armies: The Kings men being trained up under accompliſht Commanders, might be ſaid to know their orders before they received them; and obedience being as readily given as was Command, all things were quickly underſtood, and readily executed; whereas on the contrary, the Enemies Souldiers being tumultuouſly gathered together, all of them almoſt new men, divers Princes ſubjects, and who were not incited either by puniſhment or by reward in the ſervice of their own Prince, they had no other ſenſe of military affairs ſave only Prey and Plunder; and what by difficulty of victuals, and incumbrance of baggage depending oftentimes more upon neceſſity then choice, they could not advance ſo faſt as occaſion required; and ſome diſorders were already grown amongſt them. Therefore thoſe hopes failing which *Lodovick* had very confidently built upon; and finding the Towns upon that Frontier ready to keep him out, which he thought would have willingly received him; and the ſcarcity of victuals and difficulty of lodging being hereunto added: Out of theſe reaſons a great many of the Enemies Horſe were already disbanded, and their Foot leſſened every day; and the Captains authority availed very little, the Souldiers not caring much to obey them to whom they had no natural obligation. The Kings Army

advancing

advancing then with ſpeedy march, it came to *Graves*, before *Lodovick* could get over againſt it with his men. The Town of *Graves* is ſeated upon the *Mauſe* on the left ſide; and *Avila* having given formerly order for the throwing a bridge of Boats over it, his Army without loſs of time paſt over to the other ſide and quartered there. Monſieur *de Hierges* came ſoon thither from *Nimínghen*, having firſt made that Town ſure for the King, and brought with him 300 *Spaniards*: And ſoon after came two other Spaniſh Companies, and one of Burgonians, which were a good recruit for the Army. The Enemy marched likewiſe a great pace; when being come to the village of *Mouch*, they underſtood by their Scouts that the Kings men were on that ſide the River, and not above a league off. Hereupon they muſt either retreat, or fight. To retreat, was dangerous: For to boot that retreating bears always fears with it, the enemy had neither proviſion of victuals, nor any place of ſafety to ſtay in on that ſide: And to hazard a battel againſt old Souldiers, though fewer in number, appear'd to be too doubtful a buſineſs. But at laſt they muſt go on, though they cut the way through with their ſwords. Wherefore ſtaying in *Mouch*, they preſently raiſed a Trench on the ſide where they feared moſt to be ſet upon by the Kings men, the better to fence their Foot: Their greateſt hopes lay in their Horſe, though they were not above 2000 in number, yet were they more then the Kings Horſe; who were notwithſtanding more favour'd by the ſituation, which was ſomwhat narrow, by reaſon of certain hils which ſtood not far from the river, and allowed but a ſmall ſpace for the Horſe to exerciſe in. The Kings men having the Enemy on the Front, prepared with much reſolution for combat. And becauſe either the preſervation or the loſs of the Low-Countries in the Kings behalf lay almoſt wholly on the ſucceſs of this Battel, it is not to believ'd how the Royaliſts encouraged each other: And *Avila*, before he gave out his orders, did rather by reaſon, then by words, in a military manner exhort them thus to fight. *Our reward is to be meaſured by the ſervice which we ſhal this day do our King: Who doubts but that if we overcome, theſe countries will by our ſwords be preſerved unto his crown? He hath not many other forces in theſe parts, then what are now with us; then conſequently the merit of ſo important an action will be wholly ours: And as the King is to acknowledge it from us alone, ſo is it not to be doubted but that he will royally reward it. And what greater ſecurity can we have of obtaining the victory now, then the ſo many which we have already won. This very* Lodovick *had not the better before in* Friesland: *'twas we who through too much eagerneſs of fighting did force him to overcom. How ſoon were we afterwards quit with him at* Gimingen? *where that river ſaved him peradventure that he might periſh the more unworthily upon this: all the ingagements in fine, which either he or his brother through their perfidiouſneſs have undertaken againſt theſe countries, have always had the ſame end; they have not ſo ſoon been entred, but they have been beaten out, to their ſlaughter and ſhame, and to our everlaſting glory and honour. And upon all theſe occaſions experience hath ſufficiently ſhewn how much valour exceeds numbers, order before confuſion; and what advantage th y have who fight out of the zeal of honour, over thoſe who bear arms only for r apines ſake. The ſame will certainly be ſeen in this preſent conflict, ſince our conditions, and the conditions of our enemies are not the ſame: Ours, by being bred ſo many years in the wars, and the knowledg how to defend a good cauſe, being added to the favour of the cauſe which we defend; and that of the Enemy, in bringing new men to all military actions, and in baſely maintaining wicked cauſes under rebellious Captains. The narrowneſs of the place makes much for our advantage, which will not ſuffer their Horſe which are more then ours, to have too much the better of us; and yet ours ſhalbe ſo well fenced by Foot, as that advantage ſhall ſupply the other defauls. And that weak Trench which the Enemy have raiſed for defence of their Foot, what doth it argue but an abject fear in them, & an evident deſire rather of flight then of fight? We on the contrary ſhall aſſault them with our wonted reſolution and undauntedneſs; & ſhall aſſuredly have the like ſucceſs as formerly in overcoming, and they in ruining away.*

This Speech of *Avila*'s was received with great acclamations by the ſouldiers, Whereupon he with the other field-Officers diſpoſed their orders thus: For the more ſafety-ſake he placed the foot towards the River, on the right hand, and divided them into proportionable ſquadrons, lining the Pikes with ſhot where it was moſt convenient. He divided the horſe likewiſe on the left ſide into divers ſquadrons, and munited them toward the field-ſide, with a good wing of Spaniſh and Walloon musketiers, the better to break the enemies greateſt force, which was to be expected on that part. The Camp-maſters, *Conſalvo di Bracamonte*, *Fernando*

Fernando di Tolledo, and *Chriſtopher Mandragone*, who had brought with him his Walloon Regiment, which did remarkable ſervice that day, had the chief command of the foot. And the chief places in the Cavalry were ſupplyed by *Bernardino di Mendoza*, and *John Baptiſta de Marcheſi del Monte*, with whom were other Captains of try'd valour. The German Harquebuſiers under *Schinck*, were placed in the front, together with thoſe of other Nations: and after them the Lanciers, which made up the greateſt body of the horſe, and this was ſo executed as if the enemies Rutters ſhould charge upon the Harquebuſiers, the Lanciers might charge them. To boot that the wing of Musketiers which flankt the Kings horſe on the outſide, might be of great uſe to break their firſt violence, as hath been ſaid. The enemy this mean while had not omitted any thing which might make for their advantage in the battel. *Lodovick* had his brother *Henry* with him, who had likewiſe a warlike ſpirit. But *Chriſtopher*, one of the ſons of the Prince Elector Palatine, was of great preeminence in their Army. He commanded all the horſe, and the whole Government of the Camp was almoſt equally had between him and *Lodovick*. They left ſome foot-companies to defend the Trench which hath been ſpoken of, and which lay nearer the river on the left hand. On the right hand they compoſed a great ſquadron of the other foot in good order, and extended their horſe towards the hill, as far as the narrowneſs of the place would permit them; and made thereof one choice ſquadron apart, wherein were the two Generals, and Count *Henry*. Which made it be doubted whether they did this, to be in that part of the battel where victory was moſt to be hoped for; or in caſe they ſhould be worſted, ſo to make their way ſooner through the enemy, and joyn with *Orange*, who was already come with great forces to *Nimmighen*. The two Generals, as they ordered their ſquadrons, were not wanting in encouraging their ſouldiers.

They affirmed that this was the day which muſt free the Flemiſh from ſlavery, the Germans from jealouſies, and which would throw a thouſand rewards upon them the ſouldiers for obtaining the victory, of which no doubt was to be made. That the new Spaniſh Governour truſting little in himſelf, and peradventure leſs in his men would not be in perſon where the greateſt danger was. That he was conſtrained to draw his people out of their Gariſons almoſt by force: who howſoever came rather with a mind to mutiny then to fight; ; and were ſo leſſened in their numbers, as they were able to make but a very weak body of an Army. How much did they exceed the enemy, eſpecially in horſe? And how great would their ſtorm be? That when the victory ſhould be got on this ſide, it would the more ſafely be had on the other ſide: where the foot would notwithſtanding ſo ſignalize themſelves, as they needed no other to aſſiſt them in overcoming. That the enemy being routed, and made to fly, Flanders *was to be wholly at their diſpoſal: And what Laws would not ſhe be ready to receive having the Prince of* Orange *with his forces on one ſide, theirs on the other; or when they ſhould be all joyned together?* Holland *and* Zealand, *invincible Provinces in the defence of their Country, would certainly ſhare in the fruits of ſo happy a ſucceſs; as alſo every other Province which would cordially joyn with them in the ſame Cauſe. That in ſuch Provinces as would prove refractory, the ſword ſhould do, what fair means could not effect: and as they ſhould be joyfully received by thoſe, ſo ſhould they find rich pillage in theſe. That every ſouldier ſhould therefore enter the combate with firm reſolution of being victorious. And that adding one incitement to another, every one of them ſhould think they were looked upon by the eyes of both the* Germanies; *which expected by means of their valour that day, the one to recover what ſhe had loſt; the other to keep what ſhe had feared to loſe.*

When both Armies were ordered in manner aforeſaid, they began to skirmiſh. *Avila* advanced 300 foot, part Spaniards, part Walloons, againſt thoſe who guarded the Trenches on the other ſide: who coming forth with a proportionable number, received the Kings men with much ſtoutneſs. but theſe, as being more experienced, began to get advantage over the others, driving them back into their Trenches, and endeavouring to fall in with them. Here the fray grew hotter; and each ſide received new courage accordingly as they received new ſuccours. But the Kings men ſtill prevailing they at laſt got upon the Trenches, and of them Captain *Diego di Monteſdock* was one of the firſt that was ſlain. Then the chief

ſquadron

ſquadron of the enemies foot began to move. Whereupon the others making a ſtand, who before began to give back, they fell all again a fighting, and for a while did manfully withſtand the Kings men; whoſe ſquadrons being likewiſe come up, had brought the whole burthen of the war on that part hither; but the hereticks ſtill giving ground, they at laſt began to run. The buſineſs was better diſputed between the horſe of both ſides, the Kings horſe Harquebuſiers were ſo furiouſly aſſaulted by *Lodovicks* Rutters, and eſpecially the Germans led on by *Schinck* who ſtood forwardeſt, as being firſt broken, and then totally diſordered, they did not only forſake the place, but running away to the next neighbouring Towns, they gave out every where that the enemy had won the day. The Rutters having diſcharged their firſt Volly of ſhot, wheeled about to charge again, and make a ſecond more furious aſſault; but the Kings Lanciers afforded them not time, who fell on with ſuch violence, and did ſo vigorouſly charge them on divers ſides, as breaking their orders, they forced them back, and opened them. In this the foot-wing played their part miraculouſly; by whom the Rutters being gauled on their flank, were put yet into greater diſorder. *Lodovick* and the Palatine couragiouſly endeavoured to re-order them, and incouraged them by their own examples acting the parts rather of common ſouldiers then of Commanders in chief. But the Kings horſe ſtill more inheartned, both by the apparent victory of the foot, and by the advantage which they themſelves continually got; did ſo cloſely purſue the Rutters, as not being able longer to be withheld, and fear getting the upper hand of ſhame, they turned their backs, and at laſt ran directly away. Fortune would likewiſe have her ſhare in this battel, as uſually ſhe hath in all. For juſt as the Rutters began to give back, three Company of Lanciers came up to the Catholicks, led on by *Nicholas Baſti*, by *George Macuca*, and by *Peter Taſſis*, all of them Captains, and this new inforcement finiſht the buſineſs, ſo as inſtead of fighting they fell to execution. The Kings men being maſters of the field, ſlaughtered the enemy horribly in all places; and it was commonly believed that above 4000 of them periſht. About 200 of the Kings men were miſſing. This ſucceſs was particularly innobled by the death of the two brothers of *Naſſaw*, and of the Palatine, which being all of them joyntly reſolved either to make their way by their ſwords, or by indeavouring to do ſo, to loſe their lives, were ſlain fighting valiantly. The Kings forces got great advantage and reputation by this victory. For though the battel was not between numerous Armies, yet the chief conſequences of *Flanders* lay at ſtake on both ſides. And thoſe which concerned the King being particularly conſidered, 'tis no doubt but if the enemy had got the better of the day, their Forces being joyned with thoſe of the Prince of *Orange*, would have overrun the Country every where, and would have made the Stantheſt raiſe new rebellions.

But this ſo important victory was not well gotten, when they who had been the chief Authors of it, ſpoyled the effect thereof. Inſtead of expecting their reward from the King the Spaniards to the great diſſervice of his Majeſty, would be their own pay-maſters. The very night after the day of battel and upon the very place where the battel was fought, they reſolved to mutiny. And the effect thereof was ſeen, before the thing it ſelf could be imagined. It began at firſt to be whiſpered by a few, afterwards it was put in practiſe by many, and at laſt it was fully conſented unto by all. They complained, and ſeemed much incenſed to ſee their labours ſo ill rewarded.

'Twas their hands and their bodies by which Towns were taken, Battels won, and all other actions of greateſt danger done. The honour and advantage redounded to the Commanders; their reward was only wounds and poverty. That their bare pay was given them rather as a reward, then as of due. Which yet being ſo far in arrear, they could not fully receive. How could ſo miſerable a condition be longer tollerated? that it was in their own power to ſatisfie themſelves for the monies which were every day promiſed them, and never paid. And that therefore they were now rather to have it at their command, then to wait for it any longer, and that perhaps in vain.

They made no long delay; they in a great hurly-burly flew to their arms; and violently laying aſide their former Officers, they choſe new ones. This being done, they went immediately from *Mouch*, and marched towards *Antwerp*, intending

tending to enter the City, and there with all ſafety and commodiouſneſs to cauſe their whole pay to be given them. *Sancio d'Avila*, and all the Camp-maſters uſed all poſſible diligence to remedy ſo great and ſo unexpected a diſorder: but they could do nothing that would prevail. And becauſe after this mutiny, ſo many others of the like nature inſued in the progreſs of this war, whereby the Kings affairs in *Flanders* were more prejudiced by the arms of his own ſouldiers, then by thoſe of his enemies. It will not be amiſs to relate here anticipately, with as much brevity as may be, what is beſt worthy knowledg in a buſineſs which we ſhall ſo often have occaſion to treat of. An Army in the field is a great moveable City, governed by Military Laws, within walls of Iron: this City is diſtinguiſhed into perſonages of divers qualities. The chiefeſt place is poſſeſt by the Captain-General, who hath ſupream Authority in the Government thereof. The other chiefeſt Commanders follow after him, and after them the leſſer. And in the laſt place remains the inferior order of common Souldiers, who having no ſhare in Command, are only to obey. In this popular order of the Army (if I may term it ſo) do mutinies fall out: the uſual cauſe whereof is the want of pay. In the meaner ſort of ſouldiers, Intereſt prevails more then Honour; wherefore being unpayed, firſt they complain, then they grow angry, and at laſt mutiny. In long Wars this is oftner ſeen, by reaſon of the exceſſive expences which they occaſion. This length of time makes ſouldiers marry, whereby they have children: and in that reſpect grow ſtill more neceſſitous: and this neceſſity at laſt turning into corruption, they mutiny many times rather becauſe they will do ſo, then that they have any juſt occaſion to do it. The Laws of obedience being then broken, this popular order riſeth up againſt their Superiors, and out of their body, do tumultuarily chuſe new Officers. This happens uſually when the Armys are in the field, becauſe it would be almoſt impoſſible to compaſs it with ſecurity in Gariſons. In the change of Government, 'tis commonly ſeen that we degenerate from the better to the worſe. And thus it happens upon this occaſion. The ſupreme Command of one only, paſſeth then into the whole multitude, which being compoſed of horſe and foot, makes a body of each of them, which they call the Squadron of the incenſed, ſo to ſhun the always ignominious title of mutiners. The Authority conſiſts then in the Squadron, and all the command in the united body thereof. This tumultuous Commonwealth will notwithſtanding have a head, who is called the Elect. Next him it will alſo have ſome others of greater imployment, and theſe they call Councellors. The foot and horſe are likewiſe diſtributed under two chiefer Heads. They call the head of the horſe Governour, and him of the foot Sergeant Major. The Captains and uſual Officers follow in either ſort of theſe men; and divers other places are diſtributed according to occaſion. The Offices are diſtributed by votes allowed, and in the like ſort all other reſolutions are taken. The Squadrons firſt intention is to poſſeſs it ſelf of ſome good Town or City, and here to fortifie it ſelf ſo as it cannot be forced. From thence it takes in all the Country thereabouts, which to ſhun greater damage, is brought to pay equal Contributions. The Office of the Elect is barely to propound what upon all occaſions is to be reſolved on, the buſineſſes being firſt well weighed in the Councel. He therefore dwels in the beſt *Piazza*, or Market-place of the Town poſſeſt; and out of a window makes his Propoſitions to the ſquadron which meets there to that purpoſe. The multitude grumble often at thoſe which they like not; and being born away by rage, inſtead of ſhewing their negative by the uſual way of votes, they many time witneſs their gainſaying by a peal of musket-ſhot. They are hereunto chiefly induced through the jealouſies which reigne amongſt them. One ſouldier fears to be betrayed by another; and they eaſily grow to diſtruſt their heads wherein they did at firſt impoſe their chiefeſt truſt. The Elect is therefore never left without one particular ſentinel; he can neither receive nor write any Letters without the knowledg of the ſquadron: and thus in all things elſe, his voice is as well bound up as his hands, unleſs the impediment be firſt taken away by the ſquadron. The Miniſtry of his Councellors is bounded in like manner. Amongſt the other ſouldiers all ſeparate commerce is abſolutely forbidden; it being their pleaſure that by irretractable rigour as the ſquadron makes but one body, ſo it have but one will.

Their

Their diſcipline in all other things is very ſevere: ſo as it may be doubted whether it were introduced with ſtraiter laws, or executed with more ſevere: And no fault in point of execution is pardoned. Never did diſobedience beget better obedience. The Squadron in withdrawing it ſelf from the command of its firſt Commanders, doth with ſo much rigor bereave it ſelf of all liberty in ſubmi ting to ſecond heads; though (as hath been ſaid) it keeps the ſupreme authority in it ſelf, and will ever and anon make it appear by horrid examples. It therefore often puniſheth great faults with its own hands; making thoſe who according to their laws have deſerved it, ſometimes paſs the pikes, and ſometimes be ſhot to death. Their laws offend for the moſt part on the more ſevere ſide; but many of them are ſo well regulated, as better cannot be deſired in whatſoever compleat Commonwealth. Theft, play, blaſpheming, drunkenneſs, diſhoneſt women, all brawls, running in debt further then men are able to pay, and many other ſuch like exceſſes are forbidden upon heavy penalties; which in the form of all good Governments are born withall, ſince they can never be fully irrradicated. In this their chief reſpect is, to avoid all occaſion of contention or diſcord, which may diſunite the Squadron. Of ſo much greater force with men is ſervice done to themſelves, then when to others. And ſo much prevails the uniform conſent of many, though of differing births, cuſtoms, and language. For, in the war of *Flanders* divers Nations have been ſeen to mutiny together, and all of them to make but one body, and lead to one end, as if they were but one onely people. Generals and other Warriors have ſometimes endeavoured to break and puniſh Mutinies; but they have ſeldom hit in their deſigns: For the better ſort are oft-times won over to ſide with the worſt, and the remedy is turn'd into a greater malady. It is therefore beſt to agree the divided Souldiery; which is done by delivering up ſome principal Perſonage into their hands for a Pledge, till full ſatisfaction be given: And we in our time have ſeen the Duke of *Oſſuna*, a Grandee of *Spain*, given up for an Hoſtage. This in brief is the form of Government obſerved by Mutiniers. When they have received their Pay, they ſoon return to their former obedience, and there is no ſign left of any ſuch peſtilence: For ſo may all Mutinies which happen in Armies be called, ſince ſo great a part of their body is infected thereby, the union thereof is broken, the government diſturbed; their forces then rendred weakeſt, when they ſhould be ſtrongeſt; and thoſe advantages are either loſt, or thoſe evils cauſed by their own Forces, which the Enemy could never have effected.

Now to reaſſume the thread of our diſcourſe. The *Spaniards* when they had formed this Mutinie, took their way ſuddenly towards *Antwerp*, paſſing over the *Mauſe* at *Grave*. *Sancio d'Avila* gave ſpeedy advertiſement of this to the Commendador: who forthwith went himſelf in perſon to that City, to keep the Mutiniers from entring thereinto; which if he could not doe, then at leaſt to keep them from ſacking it. Of one ſide of the City the wall met not by a good ſpace with the Ditch of the Citadel, and that open place was only ſhut up with certain Paliſadoes. Towards this part did the Mutiniers march in ſuch diligence, and preſented themſelves before it with ſuch reſolution, as neither the Inhabitants of the Town, nor yet the Garriſon, which were ſome German Companies, durſt withſtand them. They might have been beſt reſiſted by the Spaniſh Garriſon which was in the Citadel: but theſe, not being very well pleaſed neither, did rather incline to joyn with them; nor had the Governour thereof *Sancio d'Avila* little to doe in keeping them from ſo doing. At their entrance into the *Piazza*, the Mutiniers put themſelves in order, and made the Citizens ſorely afraid that they would have plundred the City. Here the Commendador came before them on horſe-back, and with fair words endeavoured to reduce them to their obedience, aſſuring them that they ſhould very ſhortly receive full ſatisfaction with advantage. But neither were his intreaties of validity, nor did his Authority prevail: yet they aſſured him, that ſet their preſent maintenance aſide, the City ſhould not ſuffer any prejudice, provided always that they did receive ſpeedy ſatisfaction. They then took up their quarters in houſes in the Town, having firſt made the German garriſon which was in *Antwerp*, under *Frederick Perenotto* Lord of *Champigni*, and brother to Cardinal *Granville*, withdraw out of the City. But

were it either for ſome particular diſtaſte which they had taken againſt him, or that they could not well moderate their own heat, they could not forbear plundring his houſe, together with ſome other houſes, where either their jollity or hatred did moſt tranſport them. After this, all poſſible diligence was taken to give them ſatisfaction: Neither did they let ſlip any occaſion of haſtening the effects thereof by way of terror, and eſpecially of Plunder. So as threatening it every day, and the *Antwerpians* every day fearing it, they were ſo much affected therewithall, as they were reſolved to contribute whatſoever monies were requiſite to free themſelves as ſoon as might be from ſo dreadful a danger. The Mutiniers were notwithſtanding contented to receive ſix payes in Cloth and other Draperies which the City furniſht them withall; they were paid the reſt in mony. And having obtained a large Pardon from the Commendador in the Kings name, upon ſolemn oath in the greateſt Church, they at laſt went out of *Antwerp*, and return'd to joyn with the reſt of the Army, which had already re-entred *Holland*, and had begun to beſiege *Leyden*. Amongſt other prejudices which the Kings affairs received by this mutiny, one of the greateſt was, the loſs of many ſhips which the Commendador had prepared upon the ſhore of *Antwerp*, for new deſigns upon *Zealand*. In *Glimes* his place, who was ſlain in the former related Sea-fight, was *Adolphus Hanſteede* put: Who fearing leſt the Mutiniers might fall upon the Navy which he had the charge of, and would have it in their power, for their better ſecurity of getting their pretended ſatisfaction; reſolved to launch forth with it into the deepeſt part of the *Scheld*, and there ſecure himſelf from that fear. But by ſhunning this danger, he ran into a greater. The *Zealanders* had quickly notice hereof, and would not loſe the opportunity. They came unexpectedly with many armed Veſſels, and without much adoe took moſt of the Kings ſhips, which what great, what little, were about forty, and almoſt all of them well provided of Artillery and all Naval preparations; and the reſt they either burnt, or ſunk, or ſhatter'd them ſo, as they were for no more ſervice. The deſign was to aſſault *Zealand* with this the Kings Fleet, by the Rivers and Gulfs which inviron it within, and which cannot receive great Veſſels; and at the ſame time to doe the ſame with another Fleet of greater ſhips on the outſide, which ſhips were with all ſpeed preparing in *Spain*: intending chiefly to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome good Haven, and ſtil to ſtreighten that maritine Tract the more, and to endeavour by all means poſſible to poſſeſs themſelves of that Province, without which the King could never hope to keep *Flanders* firm in his obedience. And although the ſame deſign was continued in *Spain*, after the unfortunate ſucceſs of the Navy in *Flanders*; yet ſo many difficulties aroſe on all ſides, as it was impoſſible afterwards to effect it.

The Prince of *Orange* was this mean with many Forces about *Nimínghen*, whither he was come to joyn with his brother *Lodovick*, as we have ſaid: whoſe defeat, and death enſuing, and inſtantly thereupon the *Spaniards* Mutiny, he ſtaid ſtill in thoſe parts; and failed not to make his advantage of the diſorders hapned in the Kings Camp. But ſeeing the Enemies forces hindred by the ſaid mutiny within themſelves, he made many incurſions into thoſe parts, hoping to make ſome conſiderable progreſs. He was poſſeſt of the Town of *Bomel*, a ſtrong place, and which gives the name to a large Iſland, made by the *Mauſe* and *Wahale*. Here *Orange* ſtaid, as in a place naturally very advantagious; and annoy'd the neighbouring parts which were ſtill in obedience to the King. And becauſe *Balduke*, which is one of the chiefeſt Cities of all *Brabant*, was in greateſt danger, the Commendador ſent men ſuddenly to ſecure it, and fortified the chiefeſt Paſſes thereabouts. The Mutiny being afterwards accommodated, he diſpatched away the Marquis *Vitelli* with a good ſtrength, to diſturb *Orange* in all his deſigns. With him went *John Baptiſta*, and *Camillo*, brothers to the Marquis *del Monte*, and *Vitelli* his Nephews by the ſiſters ſide: Each of them commanded a Company of Lances, but came to much greater preferment afterwards in the continuation of the war, and won therein a great eſteem of valour. The greateſt weight of the military affairs in *Flanders* lay then upon *Vitelli*; as well in regard of his place of Campmaſter-General, which was the chiefeſt charge in the whole Army next to the ſupreme command of Governour; as for his long experience in war,

which

which appeared yet more after the Duke of *Alva*'s departure, ſo cry'd up a Commander, and of ſo great reputation: of the Italian Nobility which were then in the Army of *Flanders*, *Rafell Barberino* was in great eſteem, and was much imployed in many weighty actions. He was very well skill'd in particular in matter of Fortification; and therefore his advice was asked, and his opinion followed upon all occaſions of that nature. He was as well eſteemed in treating of buſineſſes as in Military imployments, and therefore having been formerly ſent into *England* by the Duke of *Alva*, the Commendador continued to make good uſe of him in divers negotiations which were then in hand, to breed, if it were poſſible, a better intelligence and correſpondency between that Queen and the King of *Spain* in the occurrences of *Flanders*. This *Rafell* was Uncle by the Fathers ſide to *Maffeo Barberino*, which our age hath ſeen paſs through all the chiefeſt degrees of Prelatſhip with much applauſe in the Apoſtolick See, and who by his worth becoming afterward Cardinal, and laſtly Pope, precedes now in the univerſal Government of Chriſts flock, by the name of *Urban* the eight: A Prince, who amidſt his ſo many ſublime vertues, leaves it in doubt which of them merits more praiſe; and in whom it is no leſs queſtionable which of his Principalities becomes him beſt, or that which the Church gives him over men, or that which he by his learning hath acquired over knowledge.

Vitelli being then gone towards the Iſland of *Bomell*, he reduced many Towns thereabouts to the Kings devotion, and built two Forts there the better to curb the enemies in thoſe parts. The chief Towns which he took were, *Leerdam*, *Aſperen*, and *Huechelen*, all of them ſeated upon the River *Linga*, which runs through *Holland*. He hoped likewiſe to ſurpriſe the Town of *Bomell*: but were it that his practiſes were diſcovered, or not well managed, he could not effect his hopes. From hence *Vitelli* returned to *Antwerp*, and of the people which he had with him, a Regiment of Swiſſers were diſmiſt, which the Commendador had lately raiſed, and the reſt marched more inwards into *Holland*, to joyn with thoſe of the Kings men who were in that Province. A new general pardon was at this time publiſht by the Commendador-general in the Kings name, like that which was formerly in the Duke of *Alva*'s time came forth with ſuch ſolemnity. And becauſe the other had begot more fear then truſt, by reaſon of the ſo many exceptive clauſes which were in it; therefore in this the King inlarged his clemency goodneſſe and to all ſuch as would enjoy the fruit thereof, except ſuch as were guilty of the moſt heynous offences; and he thereunto added alſo the Eccleſiaſtical Authority touching ſuch faults as were committed in matter of Religion. But neither did the one or the other Indulgence avail any thing; nay this latter met with leſs of faith in the Flemiſh then the former had done; by how much they were more alienated from the Church and King, ſince the coming forth of the former. The Commendador had at this time ſome little hopes of reducing the Rebels to ſome pacification. *Philip Marnice*, Lord of *Aldegonda* was made the Inſtrument herein: who in ſome Military action had formerly been taken, and was then priſoner in *Utricht*. This was one of *Orange* his chief Councellors, a man of great courage and abilities in whatſoever imployment. And to him were attributed chiefly many of thoſe actions which had occaſioned the firſt tumults in *Flanders*, particularly the drawing up of that Covenant of which we have formerly ſpoken. He gave ſome hopes, that he would bring *Orange* to ſuch conditions as the King ſhould be ſatisfied withall. Whereupon by the Commendadors order, *il Signior de Champigni*, who was Governor of *Antwerp*, and *Gunio di Jongen*, entred into Treaty with him for certain days; but it quickly appeared that the Treaty was commenc'd either out of fraud or vain glory. For the propoſals on *Marnice*'s behalf, bore conditions which were impoſſible to effect. He firſt propoſed, That all foreigners ſhould be made to quit the Country, indeavouring by ſundry wayes to honeſt the motion. And for what concerned Religion, he repreſented what had ſo often been propoſed by *Orange*: to wit, That the States General might be called, and that they ſhould maturely conſider, what means were beſt to be uſed, as a remedy therein: ſo this Treaty of agreement was quickly broken off, for the Commendador would not have it to continue any longer: judging that Religion and the King ſhould ſuffer too much prejudice by only liſtening to ſuch Propoſitions.

Now follows the ſiege of *Leyden*, which was particularly memorable, for the condition of the ſuccour, which ſo altered the order of affairs, as the beſiegers became beſieged; and look what unhappy ſucceſs the aſſailed expected, the Aſſailant made trial of the very ſame. *Leyden* is one of the chief Towns of *Holland*; it is ſeated low, amongſt, as may be ſaid, a labyrinth of channels, part of which are running, part ſtanding waters, and which cut through the Territories thereof on al ſides. The *Rhine* runs through it with one of its branches, which now is the weakeſt, but hath formerly been the moſt frequented; though this retain its antient name, whereas the reſt, as they draw near the ſea, change it into that of other Rivers. So many other channels are derived from this branch within the Town it ſelf in ſeveral parts, as the ſpace which is there broken off by the Iſlands, is in a ſort larger then what is united to the Continent. But if it be divided by ſo many channels, it is re-joyned by many more bridges. Of which there are about 150. where they may ſerve either for uſe or ornament; and the moſt of them are of ſtone. The Town is well peopled, her ſtreets are large, buildings well poliſhed; it is well flankt round about; her ditch is every where deep; and in fine, ſhe is in all circumſtances of ſuch condition, as the Kings men had good reaſon to uſe all endeavour to gain her, as alſo the Rebels to keep poſſeſſion of her. The Towns of *Delf*, *Roterdam* and *Gouda*, are much about half a days journey diſtant from *Leyden*, the Nobleſt and beſt peopled Towns in all *Holland*. The *Hague* is likewiſe within two leagues of it, an open Village; but which for beautious ſituation, for number of Inhabitants, and gallant buildings, may compare with many of the beſt walled Towns of that Province. Yet is not this Village watred, or cut through by any river. The Town of *Delf* lies upon a river which joynes upon the *Mauſe*; *Roterdam* upon the *Roter*, from whence it hath its name: and *Gouda* upon the *Gowe*, from whence it hath alſo its nomination, where it joynes with the *Iſell*, and together therewith falls afterwards into the *Mauſe*. To theſe rivers many other channels cut by hand, are annext; ſo as there is no Village thereabouts near which there is not either running or ſtanding waters in divers places. The *Holland* Rebels knew long before, that the Spaniards intended to beſiege *Leyden*: and that the Duke of *Alva* after the taking of *Harlem*, had declared his intention therein, by poſſeſſing himſelf of al thoſe places aloof off, which in the winter ſeaſon were moſt opportune to effect it. The Duke being gone *Rechefens* had continued the ſame reſolution. Wherefore the Rebels to prevent the danger, intended to fortifie thoſe Paſſes which were of greateſt importance, either to impede the Rebels, or to bring ſuccour to the Town. Two Villages amongſt the reſt, were moſt conſiderable for this purpoſe; the one toward *Gouda*, called *Alfen*, which is ſeated upon a channel over which there is a bridge, which according to the Cuſtom of that Country, opens and ſhuts in the paſſage of the water with ſluces, or ſloudgates. The other towards *Delf*, which is called *Maſen*-ſluce, and which commands one of the chiefeſt paſſes upon the way to *Leyden*. In theſe two places the enemies had fortified themſelves, and eſpecially in that of *Alfen*, in reſpect of the bridg which they guarded by a particular Fort. When then the Kings ſide had reſolved to beſiege *Leyden*, it was thought neceſſary before all other things to poſſeſs themſelves of both theſe paſſes. The Commendador had given the chief care of the ſiege to the Camp-maſter *Valdes*; who to this purpoſe having aſſembled together a good many Spaniards, and joyned ſome Germans and Walloons with them, was gone towards *Leyden*. His firſt deſigne in approaching it, was to aſſault the Village of *Alfen*, and to bereave the enemy of the aboveſaid bridg. Wherefore picking out ſome of the ſtouteſt ſouldiers, they aſſaulted the enemy ſo furiouſly, as after a bloudy fight they won the fort which was built to defend the bridg. And following thoſe with the ſame violence who retreated, they entred together with them into their fortifications, wherewith the Town was munited, and ſlew many of them rather in their flight, then in their making reſiſtance; ſo made themſelves Maſters of that place, and quartered there. As much as the Kings men were hereby incouraged, the Rebels were as much diſcouraged; which made the taking of the other fort of *Maſen*-ſluce more eaſie to the Royaliſt: and thus theſe two places fell within a few days into their hands, who by ſo favourable a beginning, hoped very much in a no leſs

proſperous

proſperons end of the Siege. They then betook themſelves with diligence to be maſters of all other Avenues whereby ſuccour might be kept from the Town. The parts thereabouts (as hath been ſaid) are full of Channels and Rivers: wherefore 'twas thought neceſſary to block up all paſſages with ſundry Forts, by which the City might be come to, either by land or water; ſo as ere long there were little leſs then 60 Forts built round about it, whereby almoſt all poſſibility of relieving it was taken away. The *Leydeniſts* this mean while were not wanting on their parts in preparing for defence. And judging that the Royaliſts intended rather to take the Town by Famine then by the ſword, they thought it not convenient to receive many foregin Souldiers into the City; as well the longer to preſerve their victuals, as for that they hoped they had men enough of their own to maintain and defend it.

There hapned therefore but few skirmiſhes on either ſide; though thoſe within ſallied out ſometimes to keep the Kings men as far off the City as they might, and eſpecially on thoſe ſides where they found greater diſturbance or danger by the Aſſailants approach; who amongſt the reſt had raiſed one Fort which they called *Lamsfort*, and which was neareſt *Leyden*. The *Leydeniſts* found themſelves much incommodiated by this Fort; for it troubled divers of their paſture grounds wherein they fed much Cattel, and put the City into other great ſtraits. Provoked therefore by anger, and inforced by neceſſity, they ſallied out one day againſt thoſe that kept it, and aſſaulted it with ſuch reſolution, as it was long doubtful which ſide had the better: But at laſt the Royaliſts prevailed, and the Fort continued ſtill in their poſſeſſion, which they fortified better then before, that they might not any more fear the loſs thereof, nor thoſe within hope to get it. The *Leydeniſts* cooled not notwithſtanding in their making reſiſtance: But fearing by reaſon of the Royaliſts ſtill nearer approach unto the City, that they would haſten the end of the Siege alſo by an Aſſault, they omitted not to provide for all things neceſſary upon ſuch an occaſion. They wrought upon the walls night and day, the women wrought as well as the men; every one leſſened their own victuals, to furniſh the publike longer therewithall: And they encouraged each other on all ſides to maintain the defence; concluding that it was better to ſuffer any how hard conditions ſoever, and even death it ſelf, then to undergoe ſuch puniſhments as they had not long before ſeen inflicted upon the *Harlemiſts*. *John Douza*, a famous Latine Poet in thoſe dayes, very nobly born, and of other high deſerts, had the chief government of the affairs of the City. He failed not in acting his part well; he ſtill encouraged the *Leydeniſts*, and fed them with hopes that the other Cities would ſpeedily joyn with them, and relieve them. In confirmation of this, ſometimes Letters, ſometimes Meſſages came from without, and ſome News was cunningly raiſed within the Town it ſelf: Though it were very true, that *Orange* and the reſt of the Rebels in that Province labour'd nothing more, then how to keep a place of ſuch conſequence ſtill at their devotion. 'Twas now the month of *Auguſt*: and the *Leydeniſts* began already to ſuffer want of victuals. Therefore the States of the Country met to treat of ſo weighty a buſineſs, and to find out ſome way whereby the City might be relieved: And this affair began to be mightily canveſt. The Deputies differ'd in their opinions. Some thought that the Town might be eaſelieſt got into by making a gallant aſſault by Land; others held, it might better be relieved by ſome River or Channel; but the greateſt part concluded that there was ſmall hopes of doing it either one way or other, the Kings men having ſo ſtrongly fortified themſelves every where. *Lewis Boiſot*, Admiral of *Holland*, chanced to be at this meeting; A man very expert in maritime affairs, of a manlike ſpirit, and good at execution; and one who was very well eſteemed of over all the Province. He, whilſt they were hotteſt in the variety of their opinion s, ſtept forth to propound his, and began to ſpeak thus:

I wiſh that our own misfortunes did not too deplorably teach us, how perverſe the fury of the Sea proves ſometimes to our Countries. Who ſees not how we are daily inforſt to oppoſe our induſtry to the threats thereof? Nor hath our mountainous banks been ſufficient ſo to curb the tempeſt of her waves, but that ſome time ſhe hath ſwallowed up whole Iſlands on ſome ſides, and cauſed miſerable and unheard of ruines in

other

other parts. Wee are now to ſeeke for remedy in this our preſent neceſſitie, from theſe evills which doe ſo often afflict us. Let Nature worke the ſame effect to day for our good, which ſhe uſeth upon ſo many other occaſions to doe for our hurt. And by thoſe weapons wherewith ſhe makes War againſt us, let us by her example make War upon our enemies. Every one knows that at the two Equinoxials of the year, the Ocean ſwels extraordinary high upon our Coaſts; and by the ſeaſon of the year, we are ſhortly to expect the effects thereof. My Councel ſhall therefore be, that we may immediately at the high tides begin to let the waters looſe into the neighbouring grounds of Leyden: *greater tides will hereafter follow. And thus, turning the ſiege upon the Beſiegers, we may hope to deſtroy our enemies within their own works, and at the ſame time to free the City from all danger. It may be thought impoſſible to relieve it by land, or by the ordinary way of channels and rivers; whereas by the way which I have preſcribed, we may believe that our enterpriſe will be ſmiled on by ſucceſs. It will be in our power to let in the Inundation where we pleaſe. We ſhall ſee the enemy ſtrangely aſtoniſhed and confuſed, between the ſhame of abandoning the ſiege, and the horror of continuing it. But being forced at laſt to fly, we ſhall ſee our own weapons, and thoſe of nature conſpire together in ſlaughtering them on all ſides; and ſhall ſee that puniſhment juſtly transfer'd on them, which they with open violence prepared for the innocent. The Country which ſhall be drowned will doubtleſly be ſomewhat indamaged thereby; but who would not bear with ſuch an inconvenience, whereby their Country ſhall receive ſo great a benefit? On the contrary, whoſe hair will not ſtand on end to think that after the loſs of* Harlem, *and of* Leyden, *all the whole Province will ſhortly remain at the cruel will of the Spaniards? we muſt ſometimes be wicked to be good. How oft do we cut off ſome one member for the welfare and ſafeguard of the reſt of the body? yet this evil will not prove finally ſo great, but that it will in time be paid with great uſury. Some worldly actions prove ſo memorable, as they ſtrike envy dumb, and add new tongues to fame. This of ours will certainly be ſuch, and will be every where highly celebrated. I who ſo boldly give the advice, do as confidently pronounce the augury; and hope that the event will crown both of them with fortunate ſucceſs.*

At the hearing of ſo ſtrange a propoſition, the Deputies were much confuſed whether they ſhould accept of it, or reject it. But it is oft-times ſeen that need paſſing into neceſſity, neceſſity paſſeth luckily into deſparation. And thus it proved in what we ſhall now relate. For all of them joyning at laſt in opinion that *Leyden* was not to be freed by any other way, then by what *Boiſot* had propounded, 'twas reſolved that at all adventures they would follow his advice. The chief banks or ditches of the *Mauſe* and *Iſel*, between *Roterdam* and *Tergowe* were preſently cut in divers places. And at the high-tide the waters began to break in every where, and overflow all the grounds which lie between *Tergowe*, *Roterdam*, *Delf* and *Leyden*. At the ſight of this unlooked for inundation, the Spaniards were at firſt much aſtoniſhed, but they were ſoon aware of the enemies deſigne. The Kings Forts were very many, as we have ſaid; and divers of them were ſeated in the loweſt places. Theſe the inundation did quickly reach, and therefore they were quickly forſaken, and thoſe who kept them, went to joyn with thoſe who kept the chiefeſt Forts, which were ſo placed as they might be more eaſily maintained. This mean while, when once the enemy had pitched upon the aforeſaid reſolution, they applyed themſelves apace to get together great ſtore of veſſels, which ſhould be fitting to relieve *Leyden*. They were very careful to build them with ſhallow bottoms, to the end that they might paſs over ſuch grounds where the waters were ſhalloweſt: the greateſt part of them were built in *Roterdam* by reaſon of the nearneſs and oportunity of its ſituation. Whole *Holland* was in great expectation what the ſucceſs would prove, and therefore people flockt from all parts to help to build boats: many of which were to be in the form of Gallies with oars, to the end that they might the eaſilyer get by the paſſes, and aſſault the Forts which were yet in the Royaliſts poſſeſſion. Theſe boats were therefore furniſhed with many peeces of Artillery, and ſuch people as were judged fit to fight. Whilſt they were making this preparation, the Admiral of *Holland* indeavoured with ſome ſhips prepared for that purpoſe, to force certain paſſes, and to bring ſome ſuccour into *Leyden*; for the beſieged ſuffered very much for want of

of victuals, and did very earneſtly ſollicite ſuccour. But his deſign did not at that time take effect: For the waters were not yet ſo far increaſed, as that his Veſſels could come near *Leyden*. All *Holland* joyned therefore in their prayers, That the Sea might ſuddenly ſwell higher; and that the Province, by raiſing the Siege of *Leyden*, might receive ſo deſired a misfortune. On the other ſide, the Kings men were not wanting in ſecuring their Forts, and repairing them with earth, hay, and whatſoever elſe they could come by of moſt commodious. And hoping that the waters would ſwell no higher, they perſwaded themſelves that they ſhould within a few dayes finiſh their buſineſs. They very well knew the Townſmens neceſſities; and that all their victuals being already ſpent, the affairs within were drawing to great extremity. Whilſt both ſides were in theſe fears and hopes, the time came wherein Nature by way of her hidden cauſes was likewiſe to work her effects. About the end of *September* the Sea began to ſwell exceedingly, according as ſhe uſeth to doe in that ſeaſon of the year: And pouring in at the high Tides no longer waves but even mountains of waters into the moſt inward channels and rivers made ſo great an inundation, as all the Country about *Leyden* ſeemed to be turned into a Sea. It cannot be ſaid how much the Rebels were hereby incouraged, and the Kings men diſcouraged. The former came preſently forth with their Fleet, which conſiſted of about 150 Bottoms, a great part whereof were made like Gallies; and to theſe were added many other Boats, which ſerved only to carry victuals. The whole Fleet was thus aſſembled together about the beginning of *October*, and put to water in good order to execute ther deſigned relief: the Gallies went on the outſides; the other greater Veſſels, which if need ſhould be were to play upon the Forts, in the midſt; and thoſe which bore the victuals, in the rear. But there was no occaſion of any great contention: For the Kings men having valiantly defended themſelves in ſundry places, conſidering that they were not now to fight with men, but with the Elements, thought rather how to withdraw themſelves into places of ſafety, then raſhly to oppoſe the enemy. Yet they could not forgoe their Fortifications neither ſo ſoon, nor in ſo good order, but that many of them remained a prey either to the ſword or to the water. And truly it was a miſerable ſpectacle to behold from all parts, one ſlain, another drowned; and many endeavour to ſave themſelves in the higheſt places, where when they were freed from the waters, they were inexorably ſlain by the Enemy. 'Tis ſaid that above 1500 of the Kings men periſht thus, and moſt of them *Spaniards*, as thoſe who were chiefly imployed in ordering the Siege, and who deſirous to bear away the greateſt glory, fell into the greateſt misfortune. Thus was *Leyden* at laſt relieved, after five moneths ſiege, to the exceeding great joy of the Rebels, and all that favoured them. But howſoever the memory of this ſiege remained a long time very ſorrowfull in the City: for about 10000 dyed within the town of hunger, & other ſufferings; and all the moſt unclean & vileſt nouriſhment was already ſo conſumed when the relief was brought in, and the beſieged reſolving rather to die then to yield, nothing was expected but that the City ſhould give up her laſt breath, and remaining a miſerable carkaſs ſhould be buried within her own wals and houſes.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK IX.

The Contents.

The Emperour endeavours to procure the Peace of Flanders, *and ſends an Ambaſſador to this purpoſe. The Commiſſioners for the King and for the Rebels meet, and confer at* Breda. *Difficulties met with in the Treaty, not to be overcome. The Treaty is ſoon diſſolved, and all hopes of Agreement vaniſh. Arms are reaſſumed on all ſides. The Catholicks progreſs in* Holland, *and in* Zealand, *and with what deſign. Deſcription of the Iſlands which lie on the Eaſt-ſide of* Zealand. *To take them, it is propounded to wade through a large Channel, the difficulties whereof are held very great. The Commendador reſolves to make tryal, and hath happy ſucceſs therein. The Kings men take divers Forts.* Quickſea *is beſieged: the Town begirt, and great reſiſtance made, but at laſt thoſe within yield. The Commendador this mean while dyes, and the Government paſſeth into the hands of the Councel of State. The* Spaniards *mutiny again; who are therefore declared Rebels, and are ſet on on all ſides by the* Flemiſh. *Divers hoſtilities between them. The States cauſe the Caſtles of* Antwerp *and of* Gaunt *to be beſieged. The mutinous* Spaniards *run to relieve that of* Antwerp; *and having ſecured it, ſack the City in revenge. A General Aſſembly of the Deputies of the Catholick Provinces, and of thoſe of* Holland *and* Zealand *which are infected with Hereſie. Peace and Union inſues thereupon; and the thing chiefly reſolved on, is, that all Foreiners ſhall be expelled the Country.*

Anno 1575.

FLANDERS was thus conſumed with the flames of war, when the Emperor imployed his authority to reduce thoſe Provinces to peace. *Maximilian* the 2. was then Emperor: To boot with the common *Auſtrian* tye, he and the King of *Spain* could not be more nearly joyned in their own perſons; for the Emperors wife was Siſter to the King, and the King had taken to wife a Daughter of the Emperors. Wherefore *Ceſar* valued the Kings affairs in *Flanders* as his own. And on the other ſide, that fire ſo near *Germany*, to foment the which the Heretical Faction of the Empire had been ſo ready, kept his thoughts greatly agitated; fearing leſt the fire being redoubled by paſſing likewiſe

likewise into the German Provinces; his house might thereby be set on fire, as was the King of *Spains* in the Low-Countries. He therefore well weighing in his Counsel what (the condition of the affair considered) was best to be done; and having adjusted what was most necessary for the Catholick Kings interest and honour, sent an Ambassador to procure a Treaty concerning it in *Flanders*. This Ambassador was Count *Suarzemburg*, one of the ancientest Counts of *Germany*; and who was no less esteemed of in those parts for his wisdom, then for his bloud. He came into *Holland* about the beginning of the year 1575. he staid some days in *Dort*, whether *Orange* and some of the Deputies of *Holland* and of *Zealand* came to meet him. The Ambassador negotiated with him in particular in the name of *Cæsar*, and gave unto him a Letter from his Imperial Majesty, wherein mingling authority with intreaties, he exhorted him to be a means of facilitating the Ambassadors negotiation. After this private Treaty, they came to the publick management in *Breda*, a Town situated upon the uttermost bounds of *Brabant* towards *Holland*; and therefore very fit for the intervening of the people on both sides. *Orange* was master of that Town before the troubles began in *Flanders*; but being afterwards forfeited to the King, 'twas kept as one of the Kings *Garisons*, as we shewed in the beginning. Here then met the Deputies on both sides in *March* following for the King, there was Monsieur *de Rassenghien*, the Conat *Della Roeta*, *Arnold Sasbout*, *Charis Suys*, and *Albertus Leonino*; and for the Rebels, *James Vanderdoes*, *Philip Bernice*, *Bharls Boisot*, *Arnold Dorp*, and *Junius de Ginga*. And for their security whilst they were to stay in a Town garded by the Kings Forces, the Camp-master *Julius Romero*, and *Christopher Mandragon*, together with *Mihell Cruiglias*, and *Mihell Allentor*, all four Spaniards, were committed into particular custody in *Dort*, as Hostages. In the opening of the Treaty, the Ambassador in a very grave and gracious manner, exhorted the Deputies on both sides, that they would set their whole minds and endeavours to procure a happy issue of this Treaty: and he laboured the Rebels Deputies apart, giving them a Letter which the Emperour had writ to the States of their Provinces. They then fell to Treat.

We told you in the former book, that in that Treaty of peace which was then indeavoured to be introduced, the Rebels Proposals were chiefly reduced to two heads: The first, That all the Spaniards, together with all other foreign Souldiers should be made to leave the Country; and that then, the General States being assembled, Religion, and the peace of the Provinces should be established as they should think best.

The Rebels Commissioners made the same Proposals at *Breda*. As for the first Head, the Kings Deputies answered,

That the Vassals of the same Prince were not to account one another strangers; That indeed the Germans, French, and English were such, of which the Rebels made use; and that notwithstanding as soon as Flanders *should be reduced to peace, the King would forthwith cause the Spaniards, and all those others that they called forreigners, leave the Country. As for the convocation of the States General, they answered, That the whole body of the Provinces, which by the troubles of War were now so divided, was likewise first to be re-united by peace. Which being done, the King would willingly and suddenly call such an Assembly, would hear their opinions, and would agree unto whatsoever they should think fitting. After this, the Kings Deputies fell to propound such conditions, as they thought fittest to effect the desired accord. Which were these, That in the first place, all past offences should for ever be forgotten; That the revolted Cities and Towns should be restored to their Privildges, and every other person to their former Honours and possessions. That all the Towns, Cities, strong Holds, Artillery, Warlike Ammunition, and Arms which were now in the Rebels possession, should return into the Kings hands. That the Catholick Religion should be restored in all places, without the permitting of any other Sect. That notwithstanding the King would out of his clemency and goodness, permit all those that had followed Heresie, to go freely out of the Country, and would allow them time to sell such goods as they could not carry with them.*

All business between the Commissioners, was transacted in writing: The Rebels Commissioners having seen the Propositions proposed by the Kings side; answered

swered fully on their behalfs; but in so bitter words, and in so contrary a sense, as it was easie to be seen, how little hope there was of bringing the begun negotiation to a happy issue. The Papers which were propounded were very prolix; and therefore to avoid tediousness, we will give you here only a breviat of them. The Rebels Deputies, in their answers, made first rather a long Invective, then any complaint against the Spaniards; exagerating that they had been the chief cause of all the evils that had befaln those Provinces. Then reassuming the head concerning foreigners, they repeated the same things over again more at large. They said,

That the Spaniards, and all the rest which were not native Flemish, were not (as strangers) any ways to participate of that Government. That those foreigners which they on their sides were forced to make use of, were meer mercenaries. But that the Spaniards contrary to the immunities and priviledges of the Provinces, were by violence brought thither, and there by violence established. That the Government of Cities, keeping of Forts, chief Commands in the Army, were in their hands: And that it was they who according to their arbitrary will, gave now the Laws. That if the King when he went from Flanders *was pleased to take away those who were then there, he ought much more be induced to do the like now, when it was seen by evident proofs, how prejudicial their stay there was.*

Touching the Convocation of the States General, they stood stiff to their first principles. Saying,

That in making such a peace as might be best for Flanders, *the King could not be better advised then by those who were best acquainted with her malladies, and who knew best what were the fittest remedies for her cure: Wherefore recourse must needs be had to that Assembly. For what remained, they said, That they would never relinquish those Cities strong Holds, Munitions, and Arms, wherein their safety did consist, till they saw a setled peace in the form by them proposed. That they held their reformed Religion to be good; and that they would not for such an occasion abandon their Goods, Parents, and Country, nor leave the two Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand *made desolate by the excluding from thence so many who profest the same Religion, which would redound very much to the Kings disservice, by his losing so many Subjects, and by the too much impoverishing of both the Provinces in the lessning of their Commerce and Merchandise.*

The Kings Commissioners saw very well by this opiniatracy of the adverse party, that no reply which they could make would be to any purpose. Yet more to justifie the King in his proceedings, then out of any hope of good success, they resolved to present another paper, whereby to confute the oppositions made by the contrary party. They said,

That to speak in that manner against the Spaniards, and the rest of the Kings subjects, shewed they had no mind to a reconciliation, but that they were still more radicated in their enmity. And yet the end of this Treaty was only to take away all misunderstandings, and to establish peace and concord. That they again replyed, when peace should be once made, the King would not stick at removing the Spaniards, and all those that they termed strangers, out of those Countries. That to do this before, were for the King to lay down his arms before his time, contrary to his dignity, contrary to all reason of War, and contrary to all right of justice. That as the King did not pretend this at first in respect of those men who did serve the Rebels, and who were indeed all of them strangers; so when peace should be made, he would on his part agree that all that sort of Souldiery should depart the Country. As for the assembling of the States General, they shewed how that it would require too long time, and that the Treaty being to pass through their hands, would cause a much longer expence of time. That such Treaties were never known to be handled by the States General. That this would be to make the Subjects authority greater then the Kings, and so make them the Law-givers, whereas they were with all moderation to receive them. That therefore when the peace should be established, the King would suddenly call the States: And in the re-ordering the affairs of Flanders, *would follow whatsoever was convenient, and which had been formerly practised by his predecessors, those Councels and Records which upon like occasion, should be given him by them. Concerning the restitution of Towns, Munitions and Arms, they said that no more reasonable*

demand

demand could be made: That in all reaſon, when the alienated Provinces ſhould return to the Kings obedience, the Towns and Arms thereof ſhould likewiſe return into his hands as formerly: That this was practiſed in the making of every Peace between Prince and Prince; then much more ought it to be ſo between Princes and Subjects. Touching the point of Religion, they replied again, That the King would not in any the leaſt degree alter his reſolution taken therein, and which they had declared: That to change Religion was not in the power of Princes, much leſs of Subjects: That the Apoſtolick Roman Religion had for ſo many Ages, and with ſo much piety been the onely Faith profeſt in Flanders: *That at the Kings taking poſſeſſion of thoſe Provinces, the King and People had reciprocally ſworn to defend and preſerve that alone: That by the departure of thoſe that were infected with Hereſie,* Holland *and* Zealand *would not ſuffer any conſiderable diminution of people, much leſs would they be left deſolate, for they were not ſo many; nay, if the Heretick Preachers were driven from thence, who had brought with them, and upheld that infection, the Catholick Religion would ſoon return to flouriſh there again: That notwithſtanding the King would ſuffer ſuch as would continue pertinacionſly in their Sects, to tranſport their goods in form aforeſaid. And to be ſure that whatſoever was promiſed ſhould be performed, the King would to that purpoſe pledg his Royal Faith in the moſt ample manner, and would thereunto adde (if the adverſe party ſhould ſo require) the like of the Emperor, by whoſe authority, through his expreſs Ambaſſador, this Treaty which was now in hand was introduced.*

When this Paper, which was very long, and ſpoke home, was preſented by the Kings ſide, the adverſe part took time to anſwer, ſhewing that they muſt fully communicate the whole to the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and therefore they their Commiſſioners were inforced to goe themſelves in perſon into thoſe parts. Count *Zuarſemburgh* endeavoured very much to keep them from going from the Conference, fearing (as indeed it fell out) that the Treaty, if once interrupted, would hardly ever be reaſſumed. But they would by no means be perſwaded, and therefore at the ſame time the Hoſtages were ſet at liberty. It was a good while ere the Anſwer came: which was at laſt ſent in a long paper; and repeating the ſame things yet more bitterly againſt the *Spaniards*, and againſt the Kings demands, did conclude,

That they ſtood firm to the Conditions propounded by them concerning Peace: that they thought them altogether neceſſary, and that they would never accept of any other Accommodation.

When this Anſwer was made known to the Ambaſſador and the Kings Commiſſioners, the Treaty forthwith broke, and the Ambaſſador ſoon after returned for *Germany*. In fine, the buſineſs between the King and the Rebels was grown to too great a diffidence. The Publike Faith is ſufficient between King and King; and to this Tribunal it is that recourſe is had for Juſtice in differences which ariſe betwixt them: But the Rebels more conſidered the Kings Forces then his Faith; for the Treaty being betwixt Prince and Subjects, they were ſtill afraid, and therefore demanded ſuch terms for their ſecurity, which they neither ought to ask, nor the King to give. The Prince of *Orange* was ſole Arbitror and Moderator of whatſoever was treated of by the Rebels; and 'twas he who fill'd them with ſo continual ſuſpitions. It was every day more clearly ſeen, that amidſt the revolutions of the Country, he hoped to reap good advantage for himſelf; and therefore he choſe rather to hazard the Common intereſt in Wars, then to ſee his own deſigns quite overthrown by Peace and quiet. Nor did the Heretical Faction in *Germany*, *France* and *England*, for the conformity of their ends, deſire the continuance of the troubles in the Low-Countries leſs then he. 'Tis therefore not to be imagined with how much induſtry all thoſe of that party did ſtrive to hinder the proceedings of that accommodation which was introduced by *Ceſars* means; and how much afterwards they laboured to make the Ambaſſadors endeavours ſubject to ſuſpition, and much more the like of the Kings Commiſſioners, to overcome the difficulties which aroſe.

The Treaty of Peace being thus vaniſht, all ſides fell eagerly again to the reaſſuming of war. The Commendador having miſcarried in his deſign upon *Leyden*, made all the Kings men that were at the Siege tarry in *Holland*. It was clear-

ly ſeen, that his intentions were totally to ſubdue that Province, and to ſet himſelf with all his might againſt the other of *Zealand*, that he might get that opportunity of reception which was neceſſary for the ſhips of *Spain*; towards which the Sea of *Zealand* opens, and affords the beſt Havens that are to be deſired in all the maritime coaſt of the Low-Countries. *Egidius di Barlemonte*, Lord of *Hierges*, was Governour of *Holland*; a man of known zeal to the Kings ſervice, and of approved skill in military profeſſion. The Commendador commanded him to gather together as many of the Kings men as were in that Province, and to execute thoſe Orders he ſhould receive. The firſt was, to take the Town of *Buren* from the Rebels. *Hierges* prepared therefore for this deſign: And that he might the ſooner ſucceed therein, he ſeemed as if he marched elſwhere, and afterwards bent ſuddenly thitherward. The Town belonged to *Orange*, and he poſſeſt it in right of his firſt wifes portion, who was daughter and heir to *Maximilian Agemont* Count of *Buren*. This place lies very opportunely to moleſt *Brabant* and *Ghelderland*; and to this end *Orange* had furniſht it with men, who making incurſions into all thoſe Confines, hindred much proviſion which was brought from thoſe two Provinces to the Kings Camp in *Holland*. For what remains, the Town is ſeated upon a mean River, built about with an ancient Wall, and without any Bulwark; it hath an ancient Caſtle; the greateſt ſtrength which they within had, was a large and deep Ditch. *Hierges* coming thither unexpectedly, threatned the Townſmen with all ſevere hoſtility, if they did not immediately ſurrender the Town. He had with him about 6000 Foot and 400 Horſe, all choiſe men, and long trained up in diſcipline. They within ſeemed little to fear the threats from without; but their actions did not correſpond: For *Hierges* having made a great Battery, and in deſpight of them thrown a bridge over the Ditch, did with his men aſſault the Town ſo furiouſly, as the Defendants thinking rather how to ſave themſelves, then how to fight, retreated into the Caſtle, where neither did they make any greater reſiſtance. *Hierges* encouraged by his firſt ſucceſs, redoubled his former threats: whereupon the Defendants courage failing them, they quickly articled to ſurrender, contenting themſelves baſely with the bare ſafeguard of their lives, and came forth without either Arms or Colours. The Caſtle and Town were both of them ſackt; and *Hierges* preſently went from thence, having firſt ſecured the Town. He from this Angle re-entred the Province; and receiving a new recruit of *Germans* and *Walloons*, beſieged the Town of *Oudwater*: A place conſiderable in it ſelf, and much more for the way it made for the taking of others of greater importance. The *Iſel* runs on the one ſide, and it is incompaſſed every where elſe with a great Ditch; and the ground all about it is ſo low and ſpongie, as there is no coming to the Town but upon Banks, nor any getting in but by Channels. This kind of ſituation made the Siege more difficult; for the place was of it ſelf weak, and had no ſtrong works. The Kings Army lay chiefly upon the banks, and their greateſt battery was placed upon one of the greateſt of them, which for want of earth was inlarged by a great maſs of old Nets, with flax and hemp, with which the Country thereabouts doth infinitely abound, and with the ſame materials they provided to paſs over the Ditch. Thoſe of the Town ſeemed very reſolute to defend themſelves; and making neceſſity yield to induſtry, they likewiſe inſtead of Rampiers had fortified their wals where it was moſt needful with ſuch like materials as the beſiegers had made uſe of. The Townſmen had received a recruit of a good many *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, and *Orange* promiſed them to ſend another ſuccour ſpeedily. Here began the oppugning and the defence, which continued not long: Thoſe within having at firſt made ſome reſiſtance againſt the batteries, the Kings men return'd with ſuch fury again to the aſſault, as mixing themſelves with the defendants in the breach, they entred together with them into the Town, and putting all to fire and ſword, they in a ſhort time did quite deſtroy it, and laid it deſolate; nor did *Hierges* any wayes hinder his Souldiers heat. He went immediately from this Siege to another, and ſate down before *Sconoven*, a little Town, but conſiderable, and not above a league from *Oudwater*. Theſe two Towns are ſituated much alike. *Schonoven* ſtands upon the *Lech*, and is ſurrounded on every ſide with mire and water; it hath a large Ditch about it; and ſome Companies of *Dutch* and *French* were entred

entred thereinto. But the Townſmen, deſirous rather to return to the Kings obedience, then to remain under that of the Rebels, inſtead of incouraging, diſcouraged thoſe that were come from without. *Orange* therefore laboured to ſend a good ſuccour thither by the river, it being then a very high tide. Which danger *Hierges* being willing to prevent, he croſſed the river over where he thought the greateſt danger lay, with a bridg of great boats, and munited them on the ſame ſide with pieces of maſts, ſo faſtned together as they might be an obſtacle to the enemies ſhips if they ſhould ſet upon the bridg on that ſide. This being done, he placed his Battery on the higheſt part, and began to play upon the Town. The Townſmen murmured againſt the Gariſon, fearing their Town would fare like *Oudwater*: which *Orange* being advertiſed of, he reſolved to ſend three ſhips laden with men, Artillery, and other proviſions to relieve and ſuccour the beſieged. They were led on by the Maſter of the French Guard, who was mightily favoured by the flowing tide. The Kings men diſcovering the deſigne, ran from all parts to the banks to fruſtrate the effect. Here began a fierce bickering; for the guns playing from all ſides, and each ſide endeavouring to overcome the other, many fell on both parts, and the victory was a good while doubtfull. But Fortune ſeemed at laſt as if ſhe would make the ſucceſſes equal. The enemies ſhips broke the bridg, and the Maſter of the Guard paſſed over it with his ſhip, fighting ſtill couragiouſly; but the other two were loſt, and the bridg ſuddenly made up again: ſo the Town was more narrowly beſieged then before, Here *Hierges* renewed his Batteries, and threw down above three hundred yards of wall; whereat thoſe within being ſtil more terrified; and the gariſon fearing more the Townſmen threats then thoſe of the Kings men, a Parly was ſoon had, and the Town was ſurrendred with good conditions to the Inhabitants, and with ſafety of perſons and goods to the ſouldiers. *Oudwater* and *Scown* being taken, *Hierges* quickly took two Forts upon a point of land called *Crimpen*: which being ſurrendred, and the parts thereabouts munited, *Hierges* returned to *Utricht*, expecting new Commiſſions from *Recheſens*. At this ſame time *Chriſtopher Mandragone* made another conſiderable atchievement in *Holland*, on another ſide towards *Brabant*, where the *Mauſe* doth moſt inlarge it ſelf, and joyns with many other rivers, all of them falling ſoon after into the ſea. Amongſt divers little Iſlands which lie on the Weſt ſide, there is one of a very narrow compaſs, but conſiderable for its ſituation, called *Finaert*: here the enemy had fortified themſelves, and had there ſome ſhips for their ſafety and guard. This Iſland is parted from *Brabant*, by a Channel not above three quarters of a mile over. *Mandragone* cauſed diligent ſearch be made for a Ford over it, at a low ſea; and found that with ſome hazard it might be paſt over. He was not troubled, but rather incouraged at the danger, which was no new thing to him, who had overome a much greater in his ſo famous relieving of *Tergoes*. He choſe a thouſand Walloons out of his Regiment, and 300 Spaniards; and furniſhing every ſouldier juſt as he had done at the aforeſaid relief, they marched very ſecretly to the Channel, that they might take the enemy at unawares, and effect the paſſage the more eaſily. Nor was he deceived in his deſigne. Steping himſelf firſt into the water, he met with no difficulty ſave in paſſing through it: for the enemies being of themſelves very weak, and greatly diſheartned by this ſudden ſucceſs, withdrew their ſhips, and not making any reſiſtance, abandoned the place, ſtudying only how to ſave themſelves. Theſe were the proceedings of the Kings Forces then in *Holland*: but there was no leſs need of them in *Zealand*. The King, amongſt other reſolutions, intended to ſend a great Fleet ſuddenly into *Flanders*, which was to this end preparing in *Spain*: knowing too well what advantage the Rebels had over him in their Flemiſh ſhips. And conſidering likewiſe very well, that as their Rebellion was chiefly begun, and continued by ſea, ſo muſt it likewiſe by the ſame way be allay'd and extinguiſhed. He had therefore ſtraitly commanded the Commendador, that he ſhould by all means indeavour to get footing in *Zealand*, as the place fitteſt for receiving aid by ſea from *Spain* Wherefore *Recheſens* without any delay apply'd himſelf thereunto. He ſent word to *Hyerges* that he ſhould forbear indeavouring any thing more in *Holland*; and that detaining only ſo many ſouldiers as were requiſite for thoſe parts, he

ſhould

ſhould ſend the reſt into *Brabant*. He himſelf was this mean while gon, together with the Marquis *Vitelli* and other Spaniſh Commanders to *Antwerp*, and had there with all diligence prepared a Fleet of divers ſhips, which might ſerve for the ſeveral Channels and Gulfs, which do on ſo many parts divide, and ſurround *Zealand*. Many were likewiſe prepared to ſerve with Oars, and in the ſhape of ſmall Gallies, to the end that the ſpeed of the fleeteſt, might ſupply the ſlowneſs of the more ſluggiſh. Hereupon they began better to conſider upon what was to be done. The two aboveſaid places which *Mandragone* had ſo luckily taken, made them believe that they might have the ſame ſucceſs in the other channels and Gulfs of *Zealand*. To this purpoſe ſome places were obſerved by experienced perſonages, which were herein moſt hopefull. In the Eaſt ſide of *Zealand*, many Iſlands lie upon the ſea, one in purſuit of another, which are diſtinguiſhed by divers channels, and lie at ſeveral diſtances one from another. But three of theſe are the chiefeſt: that of *Tolen*, which is the firſt that is ſevered from the Continent; that of *Dwellant*, which lies next it; and the laſt called *Scown*. Other little Iſlands lie near to theſe, which are almoſt nameleſs, as being almoſt unhusbanded. The leaſt of theſe is called *Filiſlant*, which ſtands on the left ſide of *Tolen*, towards *Scown*. The Iſland of *Tolen*, as likewiſe that of *Zuitbeveland*, by the ſuccour which was given to *Tergoes*, were yet in the Kings poſſeſſion; and therefore the Spaniards deſired to get the other two, *Scown* and *Dwellant*, out of hopes that they might afterwards eaſilyer come by that of *Walcherin*, which is the greateſt Iſland of all *Zealand*, and wherein ſtands *Midleburg* and *Flaſhing*, the moſt important places of the Province, and which lie neareſt *Spain*. By theſe ſucceſſes the whole Province would fall into the Kings hands; and he would likewiſe the ſooner have got all that maritine Tract; eſpecially by thoſe aids which were the mean time to be ſent from *Spain* to *Flanders*. The fleet which the Commendador had got together, was not thought ſufficient to take the two aforeſaid Eaſtern Iſlands, becauſe the enemies forces in that part were much greater. There was then no hope left but to wade over ſome of thoſe waters at the low ebb, and by that way to get footing on land: and it was affirmed by divers well experienced people, that from the Iſland of *Filiſlant*, the channel which runs from thence to *Dwellant*, being about four miles over, might be waded through, The Commendador and all the reſt of his Councel of War, were greatly perplext what to reſolve upon in this point. They doubted leſt the enemy might already have dived into this deſigne; for their Navy was mightily increaſed, and eſpecially in little barks, that they might the better (as it was gueſt) approach the Kings men, and offend them if they ſhould at any time venture to wade over any of the aforeſaid channels. The Councel differed therefore in their opinions touching this. The Propoſal by one ſide was withſtood; alleadging,

'That the Enterpriſe was now to be eſteemed quite another thing from what 'thoſe other two were which *Mandragone* had been ſo fortunate in. That in that 'which was the chiefeſt, the relief of *Tergoes*, the waters were principally to be 'fought with, and the victory lay in every ſouldiers overcoming himſelf by bea-'ring the trouble of ſo large a paſſage. But that in doing it they had not been 'withſtood by any adverſe Fleet, by any Artillery which might thunder upon 'them from afar off; by any muskets, nor other weapons which might wound 'them near hand. That the beſiegers being taken at unawares, fled ſuddenly of 'their own accord: And in brief, that that buſineſs being well weighed, very 'much of it was certainly to be aſcribed to valour, but no leſs alſo to Fortune. 'That now they were to meet with a channel of almoſt the ſame breadth, where-'in the way was alike blind, and the dangers of the voyage no leſs uncertain; to 'which if you will add the oppoſite Fleet as our men ſhall be on their paſſage, 'and armed enemies to entertain them at their coming to land, how could ſuch 'an undertaking be thought feaſable? That unfortunate events follow unfortu-'nate advices. That then 'twere better to take ſome other courſe; and that the 'beſt would be, to expect till the maritine forces which were preparing in *Spain*, 'were come. The which when they ſhould be joyned to thoſe of *Flanders*, the 'buſineſſe though it might be ſomewhat ſlower, would certainly be more 'ſecure.

But

But on the other ſide, many of the chief Commanders were altogether for trying the new paſſage, ſaying,

'That give the ſafety of the paſſage for granted, there was little elſe to be 'doubted. That the more to facilitate the ſucceſs, they were to chuſe the quieteſt 'hours of night, under a faithful Guide well practiſed therein. What damage 'was to be feared in the dark from raſh and blind ſhooting? That the difficulty 'would reſt in coming to land, wherein the Kings mens greateſt danger lay, and 'the Enemies greateſt advantage. That notwithſtanding when they ſhould be 'brought face to face, why ſhould not the like ſucceſs be looked for from them 'both? The Kings men, according to their wonted reſolution, would aſſuredly 'either overcome or dye, eſpecially when they ſhould know they had no third 'choice to make, having the Enemy on their face, and upon their backs ſo great a 'water. But on the contrary, the Enemies, who were for the moſt part merce-'nary, cowardly-minded, and greater cowards of their hands, thinking rather 'how to flie then how to fight, would long for nothing more then to forſake the 'firm land, and to retire into their cloſe holes, when they ſhould have fearfu ly 'abandoned the open fields. That this mean while the Fleet would play her 'part, and landing the men by another way who were deſtin'd to the enterpriſe, 'they could meet with no other diſturbance. That when they ſhould have got 'good footing thus in *Zealand*, the maritime Forces which were to be ſent from '*Spain* would have the eaſier entrance; that this muſt needs precede that, and 'the one be guided by the other. That fortune did for the moſt part rather fa-'vour bold reſolutions, then ſuch as were too cautelous. And ſo it was to be hoped for now: The rather, for that her favour would be accompanied with the juſtice 'of the Kings forces tending to ſo good an end, and by the Souldiers valour in 'making uſe of them upon ſo worthy an occaſion.

'Twas evidently ſeen, that to make this paſſage would prove very dangerous; yet the Commendador, after having been again well aſſured of the ford, reſolved to try it; being very deſirous, and alſo full of hopes to get the aforeſaid Eaſtern Iſlands, and eſpecially that of *Scown* which lay neareſt the Sea; which was very conſiderable in it ſelf, and very proper to ſecure thoſe ſhips the better which were ſhortly expected from *Spain*. Within it is the Town of *Ziricſee*, the greateſt Town in all thoſe Eaſtern Iſlands, and where the Commendador chiefly intended to eſtabliſh the Kings Forces on that ſide. He then without delay put 3000 Souldiers into the Iſland of *Tolen*, which lies neareſt *Brabant*, as hath been ſaid, and compoſed them of Spaniards, Dutch, and Walloons in equal numbers; and went himſelf thither afterwards, the more to encourage the expedition by his preſence. He made *Sancio d' Avila*, Admiral of the Navy which was aſſembled thereabouts, and reſolved to imbarque half his men in it, which when they ſhould be landed were to be commanded by *Chriſtopher Mandragone*. The other half, compoſed likewiſe equally of the aboveſaid three Nations, were deſtin'd for the paſſage which was to be taken from the furthermoſt point of *Fuliſlant*, where the Channel was broadeſt; For there at the low ebb the ground was higheſt; ſo as though the paſſage were the longer, it was the more eaſie. With the 1500 Foot were 200 Pioniers, to the end that thoſe together with theſe might the ſooner fortifie themſelves when they ſhould be come to land. They imbarked all of them firſt in the Iſland of *Tolen*, that afterwards they might divide themſelves in *Filiſlant* in ſuch order as hath been ſaid. At their imbarking the Commendador preſented himſelf before the Souldiers, and eſpecially before thoſe who were to wade over the Channel; and in a grave manner did thus encourage them. He ſaid,

That the hardeſt enterpriſes were moſt familiar to them: that many of theſe very men had been in the two precedent actions; that therefore they went to dangers which they had formerly experienced: that they ſhould remember this was the ſame cauſe, that they ſerved the ſame King, and that they were to meet with the ſame enemies: that therefore they could not doubt but that they were to be ſeconded by Divine favor, by Princely reward, and by that advantage which they had alwayes had over thoſe who were Rebels to the Church and King. That they were ſuch againſt whom they now were to fight: that the Foreiners who were joyned with them, were of more mercenary

ſouls

ſouls then hands; ſo as all inſtigation to fight ceaſing in them, they would ſtrive who ſhould run faſteſt away.

At theſe words they all chearfully imbarked themſelves, that were to tarry in the ſhips, and the reſt went in little Boats to the Iſland of *Filiſtan*. Here the Fleet ſtaid, till the reſt had paſſed over the Channel. *John Oſſorio d'Olon*, a Spaniard, one of the valianteſt Captains of that Nation, and one who of all the reſt did moſt counſel that enterpriſe, led on the men, and would himſelf make the paſſage. They waited the coming of the night, which was *Michaelmas*-Eve: and upon the beginning of the ebb, *Oſorio* entred the water the very next after the Guides, and was followed firſt by the *Spaniards*, next by the *Dutch*, and then the *Walloons*; after them came the Pioners; and Captain *Paxulta*, a Spaniard, cloſed up the Files with a Company of the ſame Nation. The Files conſiſted not of above two or three Souldiers at the moſt a-breaſt; to the end that being ſo ſtrait or narrow, and walking upon the higheſt ſhelves, the Adverſaries might have the greater difficulty in encountring them, and hindring their paſſage. The Enemy ſtood this mean while upon their watch, having already clearly pry'd into the *Spaniards* deſign. Wherefore when they knew they had begun to wade, they ordered their Boats likewiſe in long Files, eſpecially the leaſt, both on the one and the other part againſt the *Spaniards* Flank: they then began to play upon them a good diſtance off with their Artillery, and nearer hand with their Muskets, but did them but little hurt, by reaſon of the obſcurity of the night. The ſucceſs altered with the change of the Tide: the Enemies Boats were not able to come near the Spaniards whilſt the Ebb was low; but when the Flood began, and that as the Tide roſe, the Enemies Boats drew nearer, the Kings men were then divers times in great ſtraits; for they were at one and the ſame time to haſten their paſſage, to keep their Files in order, to contend againſt and to overcome the waters, and chiefly to reſiſt the Enemies aſſaults, who were not content to gaul them with their Muskets and Harquebuſes, but they annoyed them nearer hand with Iron-hooks, and ſtruck and moleſted them with other inſtruments which they had provided for that purpoſe; endeavouring by all means poſſible to hinder, at leaſt to diſorder their paſſage. Yet the Kings mens courage increaſing as did their danger, they marched on in good order, and made reſiſtance at the ſame time, turning their Pikes upon the aſſailants, and ſhewing moſt courage where moſt danger lay. Indeed the Night made very much for them; for the Enemy could go but blindly to work, and with great diſorder in the dark; which made them guide all their actions more by chance then by advice. The Kings men then, having ſtill kept their order, and made manfull reſiſtance where it was needfull, paſt over the Channel in ſuch a ſpace of time, as they were not to receive any other diſturbance neither from the increaſing of the Tide, nor from the Enemies Barks. Having eſcaped this danger, they thought to have met with a much greater in getting to land: For the Enemies, who were all of them almoſt Mercenaries, and of the aforeſaid Nations ſtood upon the ſhore ready to oppoſe them. But ſcarcely ſtaying the firſt aſſault made by the Royaliſts, they baſely ran away, and ſhamefully forſaking the ſhore retreated to ſome parts more inward in the Iſland, where ſome of them had fortified themſelves. Yet this action of the Royaliſts was accompanied with ſome misfortune; for the Pioners being overtaken with the Tide, not being able to go further on, nor yet to go back time enough, were almoſt all of them drowned. And for the ſame reaſon Captain *Peralta* with his Spaniſh Company could not enjoy the commodity of the paſſage, but was forced to return to the Navy. Of the reſt who made the paſſage, Captain *Iſador Paceco* was ſlain, together with ſome Souldiers of leſſer account; and ſome other that were wounded periſht in the water. For what remains, the Enterpriſe, all the circumſtances conſidered, was certainly one of the moſt memorable that ever the war of *Flanders* produced; and ſuch a one as deſerved indeed rather to have been beheld by day-light, then to have the luſtre thereof loſt by the obſcurity of the night. *John Rivus*, a Spaniard, who in the time of our being in *Flanders* was Governour of the Caſtle and Citadel of *Cambray*, was in this action of *Ziricſee*, as alſo in that other of *Tergoes*, as we touched upon in that place. He hath not only often related both theſe paſſages to me, but comparing them together, he con-

concluded, that in his opinion that of *Tergoes* was in one consideration more to be preferr'd, as being a novelty never before tryed; and this last in another respect, as having met with much greater difficulties. When the Kings men were past over, they forthwith gave the appointed signe to their ships, which without any considerable opposition put also to shore; and the men being landed went presently to joyn with the rest, and without any difficulty drive the Enemy out of the whole Island of *Dwellant*. The Channel which divides this from the other Island of *Scown*, was yet to be waded over, where their chief intention of getting footing was, that they might come by *Zurrichsee*. That Channel is almost a league over, and therefore required new resolutions and courage for the passing through it, especially for that the Enemy stood on the contrary bank in a posture of opposition. *Mandragone* would needs make one here, as also *Sancio d' Avila*, who was with him. Whereupon the Royalists being encouraged by the example of two such Commanders, with their wonted daring overcame all the difficulties of the passage; and the Enemy in their endeavouring to withstand them, shewed likewise their accustomed cowardliness. Running basely away, they retired to *Zurickzee*, and there joyned with the Townsmen to sustain the Siege which they expected. The town of *Zurickzee* stands not far from the aforesaid Channel which divides the Island of *Scown* from the other of *Dwellant*. On that side, a lesser Channel cut by hand enters into the greater, and so the Town enjoyes the Sea as it were within its own bosom. The ground about it is very low; and by the cutting of some banks, it may easily be overflown on all sides: the walls thereof are but weak, and the Ditch very ordinary. The Inhabitants hoped much in the relief which *Orange* had promised them, as also in that which they expected from the season of the year; which drawing towards winter, made them believe that the Royalists would not be wel able to bear with the bitterness thereof. The enemy had fortified themselves in three other places upon the shore-side; and on the North, in the Villages of *Brouwersaven* and *Bommene*, in each of which there was a commodious Haven; and on the South, upon a certain point of land which lies between the Village of *Borendam* and the Town of *Zuricsee*. The Kings men would first make themselves masters of these Forts They found no resistance in that of *Brouwersaven*; from whence they went to the other upon the aforesaid point of land: and falling to the Assault more out of eagerness then good advice, they lost 60. *Spaniards*, amongst which Captain *Peralta* was slain; and some other Dutch and Walloons. Irritated therefore by Anger, and no less by shame, they prepared to make a more orderly assault. But the Defendants not staying for it, forsook the Fort; and setting it on fire, went to *Zirickzee*. *Bommene* yet remained, which was the best munited, and according to appearance ought to have been the best guarded. Captain *Lye*, a French-man, a stout souldier, commanded within: He had with him the Flower of all the Foreigners, who all of them shewed equal resolution with him to defend themselves, and to recover the honour lost in the last actions. The Fort was inexpugnable at high Sea, because the Sea-water came then into the Ditch, and likewise into a Channel which cut through a good part of the Fort on the other side: so as at that time the Enemies ships might both greatly assist those within, and molest as much those without. When the Kings men came near it, they advanced with their Trenches, and set up a great Battery near unto it, from whence they plaid for two whole dayes against the Fort: Then at the next Ebb they made a fierce assault, which the besieged did as couragiously withstand, and made the oppugners retreat at last with much loss; for above 150 of them were slain, and twice as many hurt. The Kings men, angry to be beaten back with so great a loss, resolved to fall upon the Fort the next day on sundry parts at once: but the like resolution was found in the assailed as was in the assailants, both of them resolving either to die or to overcome. The Kings men at the Ebb set upon the Fort in divers parts; and those within, running to all places, and shewing much undauntedness, were not wanting in defending themselves manfully on all side. Equal fear and hope did both encourage and discourage both of them, but with contrary effects: the Royalists feared the coming of the new tide, and hoped to force the Fort first; the Defendants on the contrary hoped to defend themselves till

the tide ſhould come, and feared to be firſt forced by the Royaliſts. Wherefore the conflict proved exceeding bloody, great numbers falling on both ſides, and worth and fortune varying the ſucceſs a long time. They fought thus for ſix hours together; when the Kings men perceived that the Tide began to come, which brought them to their laſt endeavours; which was ſuch, as thoſe within not being able longer to hold out, were forced to give back, whilſt they ſtill defended themſelvs valiantly, til they were in ſo doing all cut in pieces: there were ſlain about 200 of the Kings men, and the number of the wounded was much greater. The chief of each Nation wan much renown in this conflict: and amongſt other *Italians*, the two Brothers of *Monte*, Nephews to the Marquis of *Vitelli*, *Raphael Barberino* and *Curtio Martinengo*; each of which playing the part of a Common-Souldier, expoſed themſelves to each common danger. After the reducing of the Forts, the whole body of the Kings forces betook themſelves to doe the like to the Town of *Zuricſee*: the greateſt difficulty lay in bereaving them of the ſuccour which might be brought by the aboveſaid greater Channel, and by the leſſer which comes (as we have ſaid) into the Town. *Signor di Dorp* was the Governour thereof; a vigilant and ſtout man. For the better ſecuring of the concourſe of the leſſer Channel with the greater, he had fortified the banks thereof on both ſides to where it joyned with the other; he likewiſe from the very firſt cauſed all the fields round about to be overflown. So as the Kings men had no hopes of taking the Town by the wonted way of Trenches, Batteries, and Aſſaults. Succour was eaſily conveyed thereinto; nor was the Kings Fleet, though diſpoſed of in the moſt convenient places, and aſſiſted by the Boats made like Gallies, able to hinder them. Wherefore the Siege drew on in length, and the cold weather was already come; yet was it ſo favourable this year, as it did never hinder the paſſage of the Boats upon thoſe Channels. The chief care of the Siege lay upon *Mandragone*, who was not wanting in uſing all means poſſible to ſhut up all paſſages whereby relief might be brought to the town. He planted a great Paliſado at the mouth of the leſſer Channel, and placed ſome big Barks there to hinder the entrance. But to work in that place, coſt both time and blood: for Musket ſhot hail'd down continually from the fortified banks, and much harm was done likewiſe by the Artillery. Two little Iſlands of very ſmall circuit lay on that ſide at the entry of the greater Channel, the one near the other. Towards that which lay moſt inward, and where the Channel grew narrower, *Mandragone* cauſed alſo another Paliſado to be planted on both ſides, and ſought to block up the paſſage on that ſide alſo by great chains of iron. He likewiſe raiſed a Fort upon the Bank neer *Doveland*, the more to hinder that ſuccour. And laſtly he reſolved to incloſe the two fortified Banks of the Channel which leads to the Town, planting a Fort upon both ſides of the chief Bank, the better to impede all entrance on that ſide. *Raphael Barberino* was author of this laſt advice, which proved to very good purpoſe. The Marquis *Vitelli* held particular correſpondencie with him; who not being able to be himſelf in perſon at that enterpriſe, he repoſed very much upon *Raphael* in all the moſt weighty affairs both by ſea and land.

The enemy were brought thus every day into greater ſtreight; yet their vigilancie ſtill increaſing, they provided for ſuccour one way or other, ſo as the Kings forces were not able to diſturb them. Count *Hollac* brought in a very conſiderable ſuccour in the beginning of *February*. But *Mandragone* did ſo ſecure the Traverſe which lay at the mouth of the Channel which leads to the City, and did ſo well ſhut up that paſſage on all ſides, as the Enemy could come to the Town no more by that way. They had cut many gaps in the chief Bank, as hath been ſaid, to overflow the ground about the town, the largeſt part whereof was towards the village *Dreiſcher*, lying in the midſt of the Channel. The Enemy endeavoured to enter into the little Iſland by this gap, and ſo into the Town; from whence divers little Boats were to be ſent out, the better to receive ſuch proviſions as ſhould be brought, which could not be brought in by greater Barks at a low Ebb. Count *Hollac* endeavoured to relieve the Town by this way: but the Kings men who for want of high ſituations elſwhere had placed themſelves chiefly upon the ſaid greateſt bank, and did very well guard it in all parts, did ſo behave themſelves, as the enemy failed in their deſign. This bad ſucceſs moved *Orange* the more to try a greater by the ſame way again; for it was thought impoſſible to bring relief by any other way. To this purpoſe the Rebels aſſembled together as great a ſtrength of Boats, men, and victuals as poſſibly they could. *Orange* would be preſent himſelf at this ſuccour, and *Lewis Boiſot* Admiral of *Holland* had the chief care thereof. But the preparation was not anſwerable to the need, nor did the ſucceſs anſwer the hopes. *Orange*, by the advantage of the high tide, came about the end of *March* to the above-

abovesaid Gap of *Dreiſcher*, he aſſaulted the Kings men, and at firſt put them into ſome diſorder; ſlew ſome of them, and took ſome of their Canon from off the banks. But their courage increaſing together with their danger, and the ebb being by this time come, they drove the enemy away from all parts; many of which were ſlain, many drowned, and amongſt the reſt, the Admiral *Boiſots* ſelf; for his ſhip running upon the ſands which were very deep, neither the ſhip, nor any of the ſouldiers that were in it could be ſaved. This laſt indeavour of the rebels proving vain, they diſpaired of ever relieving the Town; which notwithſtanding under the ſufferings of a lingring ſiege, which laſted almoſt eight months, did ſtill hold out, till it was at laſt ſurrendred about the latter end of *June*, which we have thought good to relate here, ſo not to break off the thread of this ſucceſs, with other narrations.

This mean while many other important affairs hapned, which we ſhall now ſet down. For the better incouragement of the ſiege, Marquis *Vitelli* was come in the midſt of Winter into the Iſland of *Scown*; great were the moyſtures in theſe low ſeats, eſpecially this year the cold not being ſo very bitter as uſual. Here he who was already well ſtrucken in years, were it either by reaſon of the air, or other diſaccommodations, fell dangerouſly ſick; and taking a boat that he might be carried to *Antwerp* to be cured, his mallady ſo increaſed as he died by the way before he could get thither. His loſs proved very prejudicial to the King affairs: for upon him at that time lay (as we have often ſaid) the greateſt weight of the military adminiſtration. And indeed he was a Commander of very great renown; who to his honour won firſt in the Wars in *Italy*, had made the like correſpond which he did purchaſe in the wars of *Flanders*. But this loſs was added unto by another of much greater importance, which inſued within a few days after; to wit, the death of *Recheſens*, the Commendador; who about the beginning of *March*, falling ſuddenly into a violent feaver, died within five days at *Bruſſels*. His bodily ſickneſs was preceded by a great malady of mind: for being brought into a very great ſtreight for want of mony, he was not furniſht with any from *Spain*; neither was *Flanders* any ways able to ſupply him therewithall. In ſo much as a little before his death, a part of the Spaniſh horſe mutinyed, to the Countries great indignation: for which he was forced to ſuffer the people to reaſſume their arms, which were formerly taken from them by the Duke of *Alva*: knowing that they would have done ſo of themſelves, though he had not given them leave. Four ordinary ſhips were at this time only come from *Spain* with ſome few ſouldiers: the maritine preparation from thence not any ways anſwering expectation. By reaſon of all which obſtructions the Commendador had reaſon to fear that the ſiege of *Zurickzee* would end unfortunately, and that other ſiniſter events would befall the Kings affairs in *Flanders*. Whilſt thus agitated in mind: he fell ſick, and died, with a reputation rather of great goodneſs, then of great valour; and of being fitter for peacefull imployments then for thoſe of War: in the manageing whereof, ſo great a Paragon as was the Duke of *Alva*, proved (to ſay the truth) too diſadvantagious to him. Many, and eſpecially the wiſer ſort of Spaniards, thought that a mixture of them both might have done well; if joyned together, the one had been wholly imployed in Military, the other in Civil affairs. Here inſued one of the greateſt and moſt tempeſtuous agitations that ever *Flanders* felt in the whole purſuit of the war which we will now deſcribe.

You ſhall ſee a Government without Government; the whole Country about to revolt: the Kings Forces at enmity within themſelves; and his cauſe more oppugned then defended by them: More Governours then one bear his name at once in *Flanders*, and uſe his Authority: the Provinces of various ſences, and no leſs differing Councels: Neighbouring Princes manifeſtly aſpiring to the Government thereof. A new introduction of foreign Forces: No publick, nor no private faith obſerved. Cruel ſacking on one ſide, fatal ſieges on the other: More then hoſtile violence and fury every where: and in fine, the ſucceſſes in theſe revolutions of affairs will prove ſuch and ſo ſtrange, as will doubtleſly move great curioſity here in the expectation of them, but much greater compaſſion towards *Flanders* hereafter, when they ſhall be come and ſeen. One of the greateſt miſ-

chiefs which the affairs of *Flanders* ſuffered by the death of *Recheſens* was, that he died without declaring who ſhould ſucceed him in his Government: He had a Patent from the King to that purpoſe, with a blank left for the name. But he was ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed with the violence of his ſickneſs, as he could not do it. It was notwithſtanding diſcovered by ſome appearances, that he would have left the Military Government to Count *Peter Erneſtus Mansfield*, and the Civil Government to Count *Barlemonte*, which two, of all the Lords in the Country, were thoſe the King did moſt confide in, and from whoſe valour and wiſdom moſt might be expected. The Commendador failing thus, the Councel of State took upon them the Government, who preſently diſpatched away an expreſs to *Spain*, to give the King an account of what had happened, and to repreſent unto him at full the preſent condition of the affairs of *Flanders*.

The King approved of the Proviſional reſolution taken by the Councel, and declared therewithall that he would forthwith ſend a new Governor, and ſuch a one as ſhould be fully to the mind of thoſe Provinces. The adminiſtration this mean while began by the hands of the Flemiſh themſelves. But nothing is more to be deſpiſed in Government, then wavering and divided Authority. Nor doth any thing hurt more then intereſſed and diſagreeing Councels. And it is ſeen in the Government of Kingdoms, that State-Miniſters by their private paſſions do uſually ruine the common Cauſe. The Councel of State had no ſooner taken upon them the Government, but great troubles began to be ſeen in all things; for their orders were not obſerved as they ought to have been; and the orders themſelves were given with apparent diſcord, which appeared much more in their minds then in their Votes. *Philip de Croy*, Duke of *Ariſcot*, Governor of the Province of *Flanders*, did for his Nobility, riches and adherence, hold the chief place amongſt thoſe of the Councel. And with him the greateſt part of the Councel did go along in their Votes. All theſe leaned towards the Liberty of the Country; as well out of their own nature, as out of a particular alienation which they had to the Spaniards. *Orange* was not this mean while idle neither; but ſeconding by his lively wit the favourable conjuncture, from the very day that the Commendador died, he incited all his followers in all the parts of the Country, to imprint ſuch opinions in the people as might draw them moſt to be of his mind. Alleadging,

That this was the time to reunite all Flanders *in one Will. That by fortune, and more by juſtice, the Government was now in the hands of the native Flemiſh, and therefore it was not to be ſuffered to paſs any more into the Spaniards hands. That the yoke of ſo ſore a ſervitude had laſted too long already; impriſonments, confiſcations, deaths, ſackings, firings, and ſo many other deplorable calamities, too long. That Liberty would notwithſtanding be ſo much the more welcome, by how much it was formerly more deſired. Then let the Flemiſh reſolve unanimouſly to recover it, and ſo to enjoy it with the greater contentment. That the Cauſe could not be juſter in it ſelf, nor of greater applauſe both within the Provinces, and in all other places. Finally, to what worſer end could affairs be brought? ſince though the deſigne ſhould not ſucceed, the preſent miſeries were ſo great, as greater were not at any time to be expected.*

Theſe paſſions of the Prince of *Orange* were eaſily kindled in the minds of others, nor was it long ere immence troubles burſt forth every where. And to make them ariſe the ſooner, the Spaniards themſelves gave ſuch an occaſion by a new mutiny of theirs, as thoſe very Flemiſh who till then had ſhewed themſelves better addicted to the Kings ſervice, did at laſt concur thereunto. Part of the Cavalry, as we told you before, were mutinyed during the life of the Commendador, but they were quickly quieted; as well for that horſe cannot eſtabliſh a mutiny without foot; as for that the Commendador had quickly procured them ſatisfaction. The Town of *Zirickzee* being afterwards taken, and having compounded for 20000 *l.* to ſave it ſelf from being ſackt, it is not to be believed how much the Spaniards were moved hereat; who for default of their pay, and in recompence of their pains, had in their hopes ſwallowed up the plunder of that place: or at leaſt expected that the whole compoſition ſhould be theirs. Nor were they long in ſhewing their reſentment. Without any regard either to their own



Philip Croy Duke of Areschot
Kt. of the Golden Fleece
Governour of Flanders.

own danger, or to the peril they occaſioned to the Kings affairs in ſuch a conjuncture of time, all delay laid aſide, they preſently ran to their arms, and in manner as we have before fully deſcribed, mutinyed: and depoſing their former Commanders, choſe new ones, and an Elect above them all. They forthwith forſook *Zealand*, and re-entred into *Brabant*, intending to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome good Town or City, and there to fortifie themſelves; that they might afterwards with large conſideration receive ſatisfaction for their pretended labours. They firſt endeavoured to enter *Bruſſels*, but could not get thereinto, as neither into *Malines*. Count *Mansfield* ſpake and treated with them as they were upon their march, in the Councel of States name, to bring them to ſome agreement. And to this purpoſe he offered them 10000 pound of that 20000 which the town of *Zirricksee* was to pay, and three paies of the firſt monies that were to be ſent from *Spain*; but this did no good, nor any other future Treaty. Still more incenſed with anger and rage, not being able to prevail in *Brabant*, they turned to the very Province of *Flanders*, and on the ſudden took the Town of *Alſt*, one of the beſt in all that Province. The place is rather convenient then ſtrong; it lies in the midſt as it were between *Bruſſels* and *Gaunt*, and much at the ſame diſtance from *Antwerp*. No ſooner was the Colours of this new mutiny diſplayed, but almoſt all the reſt of the Spaniards came in unto it from all places. They fell with all diligence to fortifie *Alſt*, and began to treat thoſe of the Town bitterly, and with like cruelty to overrun the Territories thereof, and all the neighbouring Country, to get the greater contribution. The Councel of State much ſcandalized hereat, gave order that the people ſhould arm themſelves every where, and imployed many men to hinder the incurſions of the mutiners. *Jerolimo Rhodes*, a Spaniſh Lawyer, was Preſident of the particular Councel or Committee for Mutinies, which was inſtituted by the Duke of *Alva*, and was therefore the more deteſted by the Flemiſh. His very perſon made the Office be the more hated, and the Office his perſon. Which occaſioned ſo great a commotion in *Bruſſels* by reaſon of the mutiny, as that a great tumult aroſe inevitably amongſt the people, againſt the ſaid *Rhodes*, againſt *Julian Romero*, the Camp-maſter, and againſt *Alonzo Vargas*, who commanded the Kings horſe: in ſo much as they were all three in great danger, and had much adoe to ſave themſelves in the Kings Palace; and notwithſtanding *Rhodes* had a ſon ſlain in that popular uproar, and he himſelf was afterwards made priſoner. The Spaniards on the contrary, finding ſo univerſal an abhòrition againſt them in the Country, they likewiſe reſolved to do what they could for their own ſafeties. *Sancio d' Avila* was the chiefeſt amongſt them, by the prerogative of his years, places, and their opinions: he therefore deferred no longer: but aſſembling ſome other Commanders, particularly ſome German Colonels, fell to conſider what was beſt to be done for their men, and for the Kings ſervice: and reſolved to muſter all their ſouldiers in one body, before they ſhould be hindred by thoſe which the States gathered together. The whole Flemiſh Militia which took up arms againſt the Spaniards was called by this name of States. And on the contrary they were termed Spaniards, not only who really were ſo, but all thoſe who appeared for them againſt the Flemiſh. The ſpetious name of the Kings ſervice did equally reſound on all ſides, and each party would attribute unto themſelves greateſt fidelity. A uſual confuſion in civil wars, which affords matter to honeſt the worſt cauſe as well as the better; and which very often makes the falſe pretences of the one, prevail over the juſt reaſons of the other. Great difficulty was met withall in effecting the reſolution taken by the Spaniſh and German Commanders: for a great part both of their horſe and foot were diſtributed in divers quarters and gariſons, much remote one from another. They were not to deprive the Towns of them; and therefore their men being to be reduced into a very ſmall number, and to march divided before they could meet, this doubtleſly aſſiſted the Flemiſh much to hinder their meeting. The Caſtles of *Antwerp*, *Gaunt*, *Valentiennes*, *Utricht*, and ſome other leſs conſiderable were in the Spaniards hands. That of *Antwerp* was in the cuſtody of *Sancio d' Avila* and that of *Gaunt* in *Chriſtopher Mandragones*, who was then in *Zealand*. *Julian Romero* kept in *Sira*, a Town of very great conſequence in the very heart of *Brabant*. and in *Maſtrike* (a place of ſuch moment

as

as hath been experienced upon ſo many ſeveral occaſions) ſome German Companies of Foot were in garriſon. The *Spaniards* did notwithſtanding draw out as many men as they could from out the reſt; and their deſign was, when they ſhould have made a ſtrong body of them, to bring them into *Antwerp*, and to ſecure that City chiefly, which was ſo conveniently ſituated, ſo rich, and ſo great. They hoped to receive powerful Forces there from *Spain*; and by the way of *Maſtrick*, good ſuccours from *Germany* and *Italy*. But all theſe proviſions required time. The States were likewiſe in the ſame ſtraits: So as both ſides ſtrove to gain it. To this end Letters paſt between the Councel of State and *Sancio d'Avila*, equally complaining of the preſent Mutiny, and ſeeming deſirous to come to ſome accommodation. They met to this purpoſe in the Village of *Villebruck*, two leagues diſtant from *Bruſſels*; ſome of the Councel of State on one part, and *Sancio d'Avila*, together with the aboveſaid German Colonels on the other. But their reſolutions came not to much: Only *Gerollemo Rhodes* was ſet at liberty, and *Romero* and *Vargas* were likewiſe ſuffered to go free out of *Bruſſels*. Jealouſies increaſing thus rather then diminiſhing on all ſides, the States haſtned their proviſions every day more and more: which they might much eaſilier doe then the *Spaniards*; for all the Provinces, except it were that of *Lucemburg*, did already openly joyn in one and the ſame ſenſe, which was, Not to ſuffer any *Spaniards* or other Foreigners to tarry amongſt them. Signior *Campigni*, a Burgonian, brother to Cardinal *Granville*, was Governour of *Antwerp*; and the Baron of *Erbeſtine*, a German Colonel, was there in garriſon with his Regiment. The States wrought ſo, as they drew them both privately over to be at their command; though in publike both of them were bound to *Sancio d'Avila* and the other German Colonels, not to admit any of the States ſouldiers into *Antwerp*, as *Avila* was likewiſe bound to call in no more *Spaniards* thither. By another ſecret intelligence they had likewiſe gained over the Captains of the other German Companies which were in *Maſtrick*, who likewiſe were of *Erbeſteins* Regiment. Having theſe advantages, the Councel of State reſolved to temporiſe no longer. As ſoon as they had placed good ſtore of Horſe and Foot near *Bruſſels*, they treated of proclaiming all the *Spaniards* which were in *Flanders* Rebels, and to purſue them every where with their Arms as ſuch. The two Counts of *Mansfield* and *Barlemont* appeared mightily againſt this; and *Viglio* yet more, who was Preſident of the Councel; A man, who as he did advance in yeares, ſo did his zeale for the good of *Flanders* ſtill increaſe. He ſaid,

Out of what fault ſhall we declare this Rebellion? If the Spaniards *have fallen thereinto by mutinying, this is not the firſt time they have done ſo, nor will it peradventure be the laſt. War cauſeth expence; Expence, want of Pay; Want of Pay, the Souldiers anger; and the Souldiers anger, Mutiny. As long as the wars continue, theſe diſorders will fall out: other Countries have had experience of it, as well as ours hath now. But when was it ever heard that in ſuch a caſe the Mutiniers were eſteemed Rebels? aay, how often have whole Armies rather commended then condemned their cauſe? inſomuch as at leſt it hath been thought the beſt courſe to ſuffer ſomething in accommodating them, then to run hazard of greater dangers by going about to puniſh them too ſeverely. I heartily wiſh that in the like caſes, as alſo in divers others of the world. Neceſſity prevailed not too much above Reaſon. Kingdoms give way, and Empires bow to this force: To this we muſt now likewiſe ſubmit. The* Spaniards *are too much incenſed to ſee* Flanders *every where ſo hatefully bent againſt them: they ſtorm already for being declared Enemies; how much more will they doe ſo when they ſhall be declared Rebels? The other* Spaniards *will flock to defend the Mutiniers, and will make this a common intereſt. And with whom is it that we ſhall contend? What Nation is there to be found which hath been longer trained up in Arms, more acquainted with blood and more accuſtomed to fight and overcome? To what a rage will deſpair carry them? I therefore am of opinion, that this wound is to be cured by the accuſtomed ways. Armies, as well as humane bodies, are liable to infirmities: And if this may be eaſily cured, we ought not by danger of ſo great an impairment make it our ſelves incurable.*

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The Reaſons alleadged by *Vighlio*, and divers others other Conſiderations offered by the two Counts, did no whit avail to alter the opinion of the oppoſite part of the Councel, which was the more numerous, and the more powerfull. But theſe accuſing the other of perfidiouſneſs, injuriouſly ſaid that they were *Spaniards*, and no longer *Flemings*, and broke forth into open threats againſt them Nor were they long in putting them in execution, taking new pretences, and ſtill palliating the appearances thereof the more, they impriſoned the three above-named Councellors, as alſo Signior *d' Aſonville*, and made the Duke of *Ariſcot* Prefident of the Councel. They then proclaimed an Edict of Rebellion againſt the *Spaniards*, the Contents whereof was in ſubſtance this.

That all the miſchiefs of Flanders *had proceeded from the* Spaniards. *That to have the total domination thereof, they had taken away the government from the Dutcheſs of* Parma, *and given it to the Duke of* Alva. *That from that time forward the Country was oppreſt in all parts by ſad and fatal chances: Amongſt which that of Mutinies was to be accounted among the moſt fatal. That one of theſe was now on foot in the very heart of the Provinces; and that under pretence of having their Pay, the* Spaniards *deſign was generally to devoure the ſubſtances, and to drink the blood of all the* Flemiſh. *That therefore the Counſel of State, which by order from the King did now govern, judging it neceſſary to withſtand with Arms this threatening ruine, had therefore put on the moſt convenient reſolutions. That notwithſtanding in this ſo great neceſſity, there were ſome Councellors who ſhewed themſelves averſe to the common good, ſo as the reſt had thought fit to ſecure them. That the* Spaniards *deſired now more then ever to bring in the Inquiſition into* Flanders. *That out of their zeal to the Kings ſervice, the Councel of State had publiſhed this Edict, whereby the aforenamed* Spaniards *were declared Rebels to the King, and whereby it was ordered that they ſhould be purſued every where and ſlain as Enemies. The Edict concluded with an invitation to all the Provinces to joyn in the ſame ſenſe and opinion, ſince the ſame was the cauſe amongſt them all.*

It is not to be believed how much the minds of the *Flemiſh* were moved after this publication; and how, as if the Edict had been a general Trumpet which had ſummoned them, they ſtrove who ſhould ſhew themſelves readieſt to goe againſt the *Spaniards*, and drive them out of the Country. The Councel of States chief intention was, to call together the States Generall; to the end that the reſolutions which they had already taken might be of greater authority, as alſo thoſe which they ſhould hereafter take. Nor was there need of any great trouble herein. At the very firſt invitation, every Province (except that of *Luxenburg*, as hath been ſaid) ſhewed themſelves willing to meet in this General Aſſembly, either by expreſs Deputies, or by open conſent. In Governments where the Kings Prerogative and the Subjects Priviledge doe interfere, the one ſide is uſually glad to get the advantage of the other. And therefore in *Flanders*, Princes have alwayes been unwilling to have the Generall Aſſembly of the Provinces meet, it being a time wherein they pretend rather to give Laws then to receive them: And on the contrary the Provinces have always imbraced ſuch occaſions, wherein by the meeting of their whole body together they might keep the power of Princes within its precincts. And the *Flemiſh* did this now the more readily, for that they thought it a fit conjuncture of time, having no Kingly Governour amongſt them who might oppoſe them, or at leaſt be over them. When then the Edict againſt the *Spaniards* was publiſhed, and the convocation of the States Generall made, Hoſtility began ſuddenly on all ſides: The chief deſign of the States was, to have *Maſtrick*, and the Citadels of *Antwerp* and *Gaunt* in their poſſeſſion; hoping that by their examples the other Caſtles would ſoon doe the like. On the other ſide, the *Spaniards* ſtudied chiefly how to keep all the aforeſaid ſtrong Holds and Towns, but eſpecially *Maſtrick* and the Citadel of *Antwerp*, for the reaſons above mentioned. Many Souldiers were muſtered together in *Gaunt* to beſiege that Caſtle; and a greater number were gathered together in *Antwerp*, becauſe they thought that would prove the harder work. The Governour *Champigny* and Colonel *Erbeſtine* had already diſcovered themſelves to be for the States, and received all that came into the City, who were ſent from them. But the States chief endeavour was, to keep the *Spaniards*, and alſo ſuch *Germans* as adhered

adhered to them, from meeting together. The Walloons, as natives of the Country, did already intirely obey the orders of the Flemiſh. Nay after the ſurrender of *Ziricſee*, thoſe Walloons who were at the taking thereof, ſeaſed upon their Colonel *Mandragone*, and kept him forth-coming. The Flemiſh Commanders did then to the aforementioned end, ſhut up all the Paſſes, and fortified them, and placed many men about them in ſundry parts. The Spaniards on the contrary were very diligent in getting together as many of their Forces as they could, and to quarter themſelves in ſome of the moſt commodious parts in *Brabant*. From this oppoſition of deſignes, they came quickly to the like of arms: and the firſt effect thereof fell out about *Lovain*. The Spaniards had aſſembled together a good ſtrength of horſe in the parts about *Maſtrike*, towards the Country of *Liege*; and came towards *Lovain*, that they might get to *Alſt*; and by new endeavours, try whether they could get the mutiners from thence or no, and make them joyn with the other Spaniards. Which they refuſed to do till they ſhould have received their full pretended pay. The Councel of State had notice of this their moving; and ſpeedily diſpatched away the *Seignior di Glimes*, with 2000 foot and 600 horſe to hinder them. The Spaniards had 800 horſe, but came without any foot at all. Both parties met in the Village of *Viſenack*, not far from *Lovain* The Spaniards, whoſe chief Commander was *Vargas*, endeavoured firſt to paſs friendly by, which they ſignified by a Trumpet to the contrary party. Who being more in number, returned a negative anſwer, and forced the Spaniards to open their way with their ſwords. They were all choice men; where as the others horſe conſiſted moſt of the old Companies of *Flanders*, and uſually but little exerciſed; and amongſt their foot there were many new ſouldiers but then raiſed by the Councels Authority. The Spaniards, ſeeing a neceſſity of fighting, ſupplyed their want of foot, by putting a Company of Burgonian horſe on foot, and took the beſt advantage they could of place, whereby they might receive the leſs offence from the adverſe foot. Here they came to blows. The Flemiſh charged violently at firſt; but the Spaniards knew ſo well both how to evade them, and how to ſtand them, as turning furiouſly upon the Flemiſh, they eaſily broak them; and cut almoſt all their foot in peeces. The horſe ſuffered but little harm; for not intending to fight, they ſoon ran all away. Thoſe Burgonians who were on foot behaved themſelves gallantly: with whom *John Baptiſta del Monte*, leaving his Company of Lanciers, and fighting on foot, gave great teſtimony of his courage and ſtoutneſs in that action. Amongſt the other Captains of Lanciers, *George Baſti*, *Barnerdine Mendoſa*, and *Peter Taſſis*, fought likewiſe very valiantly: particularly *Baſti*, upon occaſion of charging the enemy in the moſt dangerous flank; and in the firſt heat of the combate, *Rafael Barberino* was dangerouſly hurt. The Paſs being won, *Vargas* went to treat with the mutiners in *Alſt*: where he met *Sancho d'Avila*, and the Camp-maſters, *Romero* and *Toledo*. All theſe indeavoured very much to get thoſe other to joyn with the reſt who followed the ſame Colours. They repreſented unto them in what danger the Caſtle of *Antwerp* and *Gaunt* were, and the Town of *Maſtrick*; by reaſon of the intelligence that the States held there. And they concluded, that their men if they would joyn together, might hope to overcome, but being divided they were ſure to be all loſt. But all this was in vain: for the mutiners, appearing more deaf in their minds then in their ears, with a greater ſenſe of rage then reaſon, remained firm in their reſolution of not quitting *Alſt*, till they were fully paid. So *Vargas* and the reſt returned to from whence they came. It was not long ere *Vargas*, with whom the Toledan was joyned, met with a new occaſion of fighting. They were not gon far from *Alſt*, when they heard the German Gariſon, together with the Townſmen in *Maſtrick* were ready to riſe, in favour of the States. That City (as we ſaid in the beginning) is divided by the *Mauſe*: the greateſt part thereof lies towards *Brabant*; and on the other ſhore towards the Country of *Liege*, doth the leſſer part ſtand, called by the name of *Vich*. There were here ſome few Spaniards; and ſome few others in a gate placed between two great Towers on the other greater ſide of the City, which was therefore chiefly in the Germans cuſtody. *Monteſdock*, a Spaniard, was Governour of the Town, who when he found the contrivings of the gariſon with the,

Townſmen

Townſmen, he endeavoured by ſundry ways to remedy it, but the iſſue was, he himſelf was impriſoned. They then took up arms to drive out the Spaniards, and to put the City abſolutely into the hands of the Flemiſh. This news was ſuddenly brought to *Vargas*, and he in great haſte ran to aſſiſt his companions. He forthwith aſſembled together many of the neareſt Spaniſh foot; and paſſing over the *Manſe*, gave ſuch ſuccour as was needfull to the part called *Vich*. And this happened ſo opportunely, as that the enemy were driven from the bridg which joyns the two parts of the Town together, and purſued into the Town with great ſlaughter. The others had the like ſucceſs alſo at the fighting of the aforementioned gate; for the Spaniards that were within having ſtill manfully defended it, at laſt let thoſe in that were without, who ſecured the City; which in revenge was afterwards ſackt by both parties.

The States indeavoured this mean while by all means poſſible, to have the two Caſtles of *Antwerp* and *Gaunt* in their poſſeſſion. They had already laid ſiege to the latter, and begirt it with many men, which were commanded by *John Croy*, Count of *Roulx*, ſubordinate to the Duke of *Ariſcot*, who was Governour of the Province. The Emperour *Charls* the fift made the Caſtle to be built in that year 1540. upon the occaſion of the riſing of thoſe of *Gaunt*, ſo to curb their contumacy the more for the future. It conſiſts of four Baſtions which look on one ſide upon the City, on the other ſide towards the fields. The Governour of the Caſtle was at this time ill provided of all things, and had not above 200 men to defend it. It was commanded by a Lieutenant of *Mandrigone*'s (in lieu of him) who notwithſtanding all his wants, prepared manfully to defend it. Count *Roulx* raiſed a platform on the ſide which was neareſt the City; and began to open his Trenches on the ſame ſide, to fall as ſoon as he might into the ditch. He placed ſome peeces of Artillery upon the platform, which commanded the Caſtle: and did ſo ſtreighten it on all ſides, as thoſe within could receive no relief from thoſe without. At the ſame time a great many of the States men were gone likewiſe to *Antwerp*, to beſiege that Caſtle; the foot, which conſiſted all of old Walloons, and new raiſed men, were accompanied by a good body of horſe; and the States did not omit any other ſort of proviſions which were requiſite, ſuddenly to come by their deſires in both places. The Citadel of *Antwerp* lies upon the banks of the *Scheld*, upon the South ſide of the City. It is a *Pentagon*, compoſed of five Royal Baſtions. Of all modern fortifications, it hath been eſteemed ſo famous, as it hath ſerved for a pattern to almoſt as many Citadels as have been built in any Country ſince. Some of her flanks lies towards the City; and the reſt lean towards the Champian. Reſpect being had, as in all other Caſtles, to be able on one ſide to command the City, and on the other to receive neceſſary ſuccours upon all occaſions from without. There lies a good ſpace of ground between the Caſtle and the City: The Flemiſh reſolved to ſtreighten the ſiege on this ſide, which they began to do with two Cavalliers of a great hight, upon which they placed ſome peeces of great Artillery. From hence they began to play upon them within; and imployed a great number of men in making their Trenches. The Canon ſhot which played upon both the Caſtles were heard in *Alſt*: at the hearing whereof the mutiners began to reſcent themſelves, and to be inraged both with anger and ſhame. *John de Navareſe* was their head under the title of Elect: who had always uſed his beſt indeavours (though ſtill in vain) to make them joyn with the other ſouldiers. He did not let ſlip this occaſion; but calling the multitude into the *Piazza*, ſaid thus unto them.

And what ſhall we expect more? you hear the ſound of the ſhot that are made againſt the Caſtles of Gaunt *and* Antwerp. *Shall we ſuffer theſe that are really rebels to God and the King, boaſt that th y have (though falſely) laid the imputation of rebels upon us? ſhall we ſuffer them to bereave us of two ſuch important ſtrengths? and which keep their perfidious necks under ſo juſt a yoke? will it not be in their power afterwards to puniſh us? and ſhall not we then receive correction inſtead of inflicting it? What will our pertinaciouſneſs of not joyning with the reſt, ſerve us for then? So inſtead of getting our pay in monies, we ſhall be paid ſhamefully with bloud. But we have yet time enough to revenge us, if we can but know our own ſtrength, and manfully make uſe of our hands. I am then of opinion, that without any delay, we*

depart from hence, and that We haſten to relieve the Caſtle of Antwerp, *which is of greater importance then that of* Gaunt: *And that when we ſhall have ſecured that Fort, we may with the ſame fervor ſuddenly aſſault the City. I doe not any wayes doubt the Succour, and I hope for all good ſucceſs in the Aſſault: We know that the Beſiegers are almoſt all of them Townſmen; Who aſtoniſhed at our arrival, and much more at our aſſault, will immediately run to their houſes, and to their Magazine of Merchandiſe. Here we ſhall quench our juſt thirſts with their blood, and our no leſs juſt longing after their wealth.* Antwerp *alone will put us into poſſeſſion of all the Northern Wealth, and by the Plunder of one City We ſhall enjoy the ſpoils of many Provinces. But this is an opinion (my Companions) which would be ſooner put in execution, then given: the worth thereof conſiſts in expedition: For if We ſhall put off time, and that the Caſtle be the mean time well begirt, what will it avail us then to have taken ſuch a reſolution, when meeting with inſuperable difficulties we ſhall not be able to effect it.*

The Elect would have ſaid more, when the Mutiniers violently interrupted him; and with a loud voice, as if it had proceeded but from one mouth, began to cry out, *To Arms! To Arms!* And running from all parts rather to ſnatch them, then to take them up, they reſolved to march immediately towards the Citadel of *Antwerp*. There were not many houres of day-light left; and 'twas upon the 3. of *November* 1576. Having then taken up their Arms, and each of them commanding rather then obeying, they haſtily left *Alſt*, intending to enter the Citadel the next morning, and then ſuddenly to aſſault the City. They could not notwithſtanding get thither till after noon, becauſe they were longer in paſſing the *Scheld* then they had thought: which while they were paſſing over, *Vargas* and *Romero* came luckily to the ſame place with 400 Horſe and ſome Foot; and being joyned together, they quickly entred the Caſtle by the Relief-gate. *Sancio d' Avila* would have had thoſe that had come from abroad to have taken ſome refreſhment before they ſhould have fallen upon the Enemies Trenches: but all of them ſhewing the eagerneſs of their minds by their eyes, cry'd out, *We muſt immediately goe out, and either dye, or ſup this night in Antwerp.* The number of thoſe that came from without, and thoſe that were in the Caſtle, came to ſomewhat more then 3000 Foot, and 500 Horſe. They made not any long delay: The Foot being put in order, they went out of the Citadel, and were divided into two parts; the one under the Camp-maſter *Romero*, the boldeſt, and moſt fortunate at execution that peradventure came ever out of the Spaniſh Nation; and the other, to doe that honour to the Mutiniers, under *Navareſe*. The Souldiers of both parts, being of Companions become Rivals, marched with ſuch violence againſt the Enemies Trenches, and aſſaulted them with ſuch reſolution, as the *Flemiſh* began at the very firſt to be troubled, and to ſhew manifeſt ſigns of fear, and of running away. The failing of courage in the one, increaſed the like in the other; ſo as redoubling their force, they quickly put the Enemy in ſuch diſorder and confuſion, as not being able longer to make good their Trenches, they were forced to retreat and forſake them. The *Antwerpians*, who were come to defend them, fled immediately away, never looking back: but the *Walloons* and *Germans* ſometimes facing about, retreated leſs ſhamefully. This mean while, the Spaniſh Foot purſued them more hotly by the two chief wayes which lead from the Citadel to the City; and being followed by the Horſe, and beating down whatſoever withſtood them, they came to the *Piazza*, where the Town-Houſe ſtands; which was very ſumptuouſly built, and to which the whole North might very well give then the precedencie and honour of Merchandiſe. This *Piazza* was built about with many noble ſtructures. Here the *Antwerpians* made a ſtand; and ſome *Dutch* and *Walloons* joyning with them, endeavoured with new Forces to make head: but being again broken and routed, a good many of them got into the Town-Houſe, and into the Houſes about the *Piazza*; and ſtriking the *Spaniards* who were below, with much advantage from the windows above, they forced them to finiſh their victory by fire, ſince it would either be too hard, or require too much time to doe it by the ſword. Thus on a ſudden was a fire kindled, which in a ſhort time devoured the goodlieſt part of ſo gallant a City. All the Piazza's, ſtreets and nooks fell into their abſolute power; who confounding Impriſonments

impriſonments with Death, had not hands enough to doe both. Many *Flemiſh* of good quality did notwithſtanding ſave themſelves; and amongſt others, the Marquis of *Haure*, brother to the Duke of *Ariſcot*, ſaved himſelf, and fled over the *Scheld*, as did alſo *Campigni* the Governour of the Town. The Baron *Erbeſtein* had not the like good fortune; for the Boat wherein he was with his Arms on, overturned in the water, ſo as he was drowned. Infinite others ſought to ſhun the Enemies rage by the ſame way: but either not finding Boats ſo ready at hand, or not being able to get ſo many thereinto, they were made a miſerable prey either to the water or to the ſword. Others in a blind madneſs threw themſelves over the walls, and periſhed in the City-ditches. Others more adviſedly hiding themſelves in the ſecreteſt places of their houſes, truſted Fortune with their ſafety. And many in a generous deſpair, rather ſeeking out danger then ſhunning it, choſe ſooner to die, then to out-live ſo ſore a misfortune both private and publike. Count *Egmont*, the Lord of *Capres* and *Goygni*, and divers others conſiderable perſons, together with almoſt all the chief Citizens and Merchants, were taken priſoners. The number of the dead was ſaid to be about 7000. the moſt of them Townſmen; not above 200 of the *Spaniards* were ſlain, and one of theſe was the Mutiniers Elect, *John de Navareſe*. As ſoon as they had glutted themſelves with blood, the *Spaniards* fell preſently to plunder the City. *Antwerp* by the concourſe of Foreigners did at this time wonderfully flouriſh in Merchandiſe; the City abounded in riches, and in all thoſe happy accommodations as were to be wiſhed for in ſo luxurious a juncture of time. Amongſt other Forcigners, great were the number of the *Engliſh*, and *Eaſterlings*, which are thoſe of the Hans Towns upon the *Baltick* Sea. Theſe two Nations had two Houſes in *Antwerp* of ſuch a largeneſs and capacity, as they rather ſeemed to be Plantations then Ware-houſes Luxury, the conſtant companion of Riches, made the Merchants not only live handſomly, but with a great deal of ſumptuouſneſs; many of which abandoning all parcimony, lived like ſo many Kings: they had got together great ſtore of Jewels, Pearls, Gold and Silver, and their houſes were full of all other ſort of merchandiſe. How great the gain was which the *Spaniards* got in theſe *Indies* of one City, may ſooner be conjectured then ſaid The Plunder laſted three dayes. And notwithſtanding, ſo great Riches not being able to ſatisfie the inſatiable Souldier, the houſes were heard to ſound with outcryes, and the ſtreets were full of people that ran away, by reaſon of the violences committed by the Souldiers againſt the Inhabitants, to make them confeſs where their moſt pretious things were hid, and to make them produce them. Thus they proceedrd from Avarice to Cruelty, and from Cruelty again to Rapine; and thus they continued, till weary rather then ſatisfied, and matter to plunder wanting rather then will to plunder, they reduced themſelves to the obedience of their Commanders. Thus did *Antwerps* miſery end; the Town remaining ſo afflicted, as if that decay of Commerce had been then Prognoſticated, which fell out unto her in the inſuing years, by reaſon of the Warre, and other calamities. At the news of this, whole *Flanders* was incredibly aſtoniſhed. The meeting of the States General was already appointed, and to this purpoſe the Deputies of almoſt all the Provinces were in *Gaunt*. Whereupon the deſire of driving out the foreigners exceedingly increaſing; the Flemiſh did again bend all their endeavours to re-poſſeſs themſelves of the Citadel of that City. Which at laſt they did, without any great difficulty. There were but very few people within it, and there was ſcarcety of all things elſe, as we have formerly ſaid, ſo as the ſiege was not rendred famous by any important action. But that which the Flemiſh did chiefly aim at, was to make a general union of all the Provinces; and that the Government being eſtabliſht in men of their own Country, all forein government might be excluded. To this purpoſe the Deputies of *Holland* and *Zealand* met with the other Deputies. Nor was it hard for the Prince of *Orange* (who was the chief leader, and layer of all theſe practiſes) in this preſent criſis of time, to agree the diverſity of Intereſts, which were between theſe two Provinces infected with Hereſie, and the others which kept yet Catholick; and to make them afterwards joyne in one opinion. The former Treaty of *Breda* was reaſſumed; and the Propoſitions which were then made by the Rebels, were almoſt all of them

aſſented unto. By a joynt reſolution taken in *Gaunt*, many Articles of agreement were eſtabliſhed between the one and the other Provinces; and peace and union was agreed upon by them all, ſave that of *Lucemburg*. To which the Kings authority was alſo fully made uſe of by the Councel of State. Theſe were the chief things agreed upon:

That there ſhould be peace, friendſhip, and confederacy for the time to come, between the Catholick Provinces on the one part, and Holland *and* Zealand *together with the Prince of* Orange *on the other part; and that all paſt injuries and offences ſhould for ever be forgotten by all their Inhabitants. That from that time forward their people ſhould return to joyn the liberty of the former commerce, and their reſpective correſpondency. That all the Provinces ſhould with a joynt conſent drive all the Spaniards and their adherents immediately out of the Country, and take ſuch courſe as ſhould be needfull to that purpoſe. That the Provinces being freed from this oppreſſion, they ſhould all immediately meet in a general Aſſembly, as was done the laſt time, in the days of the Emperour* Charls *the fift; and that then ſuch reſolutions ſhould be taken as ſhould be thought beſt for the re-ordering of the Government, and for the reducing of it to its primary, true, and natural form. That in the mean time the ſo many Laws come forth with ſo much rigour by the Duke of* Alva *for the puniſhment of hereſie and tumults, ſhould be ſuſpended, bnt that no other religion, ſave the Roman Catholick ſhould be uſed in the Roman Catholick Provinces; and as for the other two of* Holland *and* Zealand, *they ſhould expect what the States General would determine in that point. That concerning the reſtitution of Cities, Places, ſtrong holds, Ammunition and Arms which was to be made unto the King; that ſhould likewiſe be done which ſhould be reſolved on by them. That all priſoners, particularly Count* Boſſu *ſhould be ſet at liberty without any maner of ranſome. That all goods ſhould be likewiſe reſtored to their former poſſeſſors: reſpect being had to many irreparable impoſſibilities which the war had produced.*

Theſe were briefly the contents of the chiefeſt Articles which were agreed upon between the one and the other Provinces: many others being by us omitted, which related to matter of Juſtice, and touching the reſtitution of goods; ſo to ſhun the tedioufneſs of relating every little matter; and not to detain you with ſuperfluous prolixities. This peace and union being concluded in manner aforeſaid, the Provinces would begin to put them in execution, upon thoſe few Spaniards which were in the Caſtle of *Gaunt*: the which was ſurrendred at the ſame time that the peace was agreed upon: and therefore they conducted thoſe Spaniards to the Frontiers of *France*, and ſo ſent them out of the Country; and prepared with very great reſolution, to drive out all the reſt alſo as ſoon as poſſibly they could by force.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO*.

BOOK X.

The Contents.

Don John *of* Auſtria *comes to the Government of* Flanders. *Much diffidence ariſeth among ſt the Flemiſh touching his perſon. He endeavours as much as he can to remove them : and* Orange *labours to nouriſh them. An agreement is at laſt made between* Don John *and the States. But the Prince of* Orange *with the two Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand, *oppoſe it.* Don John *is received into the Government. He uſeth all means again to bring all the Provinces to be of one mind: but fails therein. Hence ſuſpitions ariſe on all ſides; and from thence troubles. The* Queen *of* Navar *paſſeth by the Frontiers of* Flanders *towards* France. Don John *goes himſelf in perſon to receive her, and to carry her to* Namures. *Upon which occaſion he makes himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of that City. The States complain hereof unto the King. They reſolve to call the Prince of* Orange *into* Brabant, *and receive him with unuſual honours. Which cauſeth jealouſies in the reſt of the chief Nobility: who therefore determine to offer the Government of* Flanders *to Archduke* Mathias. *He accepts of the offer, and comes thither privatly.* Orange *his opinion, and the opinion of the States General, touching his coming. They reſolve to accept of him for the Governour of the Country. The Flemiſh take up arms on all ſides againſt* Don John. *And endeavour to beſiege* Namures. *The Kings men return ſpeedily into* Flanders: *And a battel inſues thereupon near* Geblurs; *wherein they have the victory. The proceedings of the Kings Forces. Preparations on the behalf of the Flemiſh do encreaſe continually more againſt them. To this end an Army is raiſed in* Germany, *by the Palatine* John Caſimere. *And the Duke of* Alanſon *prepares another in* France. John Caſimere *moves firſt, and being come to* Brabant, *takes* Diſte. *The Flemiſh quarter themſelves ſtrongly in the fields, to expect the arrival of all the foreign forces.* Don John *marches with all his men towards them : but cannot draw them forth to battel. His hopes of ſeeing the enemies foot ſoon diſſolve. By favour of the heretical aids, the Flemiſh ſectariſts demand a general liberty of conſcience; and obtain it. The Catholicks are much ſcandalized hereat. A new action of the*

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Malecontents. Some accommodation of the affairs of Flanders, *is again endeavoured by the Emperour, by the King of* France, *and by the Queen of* England: *but in vain.* Alanſon *enters the Country with his Army.* Orange *doth all he can that the Flemiſh and the foreign forces may joyn.* Don John *falls ſick; dies. And leaves the Prince of* Parma *in the adminiſtration of the Government.*

An. 1575.

WHilſt *Flanders* was thus agitated with tempeſtuous troubles, and that a new Governour ſeemed to be moſt neceſſary; news came that *Don John* of *Auſtria*, the Kings baſtard brother, was unexpectedly arrived in the Province of *Lucemburg*. In his journey he had paſſed through *France* in diſguiſe; and had made ſuch haſte by Poſt, as he was the firſt man that brought news of his arrival. *Don John* was then in the prime of his age, and in the height of his glory. Whilſt he was yet very young, he was imployed by the King to allay the inſurrection of the Moors, with which *Spain* was then very much moleſted, and won very great renown in the ſucceſs thereof. Being from thence ſent into *Italy*, upon occaſion of that memorable league againſt the *Turk*, it is not to be expreſt how gallantly he made the valour of his own perſon, correſpond with the ſupreme authority of his command throughout the whole carriage of the enterpriſe: in ſo much as the ſo famous naval victory of *Lepanto*, wherefore Chriſtendom was ſo happily freed from ſo eminent danger, was chiefly attributed to him. Being returned to *Spain*, he kept near the King in very great eſteem; and by the publick votes of his whole Nation, was cryed up to whatſoever greateſt imployment that Monarchy could beſtow. Whereupon occaſion ariſing of ſending him to be Governour of *Flanders*; the King readily imbraced it; joyning in opinion himſelf with the like of others, that *Don John* by reaſon of his ſo great indowments, might better then any other, both keep the obedient Provinces in their loyalty, and reduce thoſe that were in rebellion, in a ſhort time by his forces. He departed from *Spain* unknown, and made the aforeſaid haſte to the end that his arrival in *Flanders* might be the ſooner, and the ſafer. With him was *Octavius Gonzaga*, ſon to *Ferrante*, ſo famous formerly in arms, who was Viceroy of *Sicily*, and afterwards under *Charls* the fift, Governor of *Milan*. He paſſed every where in diſguiſe, as a ſervant of this *Octavius*, though he tarryed ſome days in *Paris*, out of a curioſity of ſeeing the King, as he did; and to treat with the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, who was then Reſident there. When he was come to the Town of *Lucemburg*, which denominates the whole Province, he underſtood in what a troubleſome condition thoſe Countries were. And his coming fell out to be juſt then when *Antwerp* was ſo miſerably plundred. He was very much diſpleaſed thereat, and ſoon foreſaw how much the peoples minds would be thereby every where exaſperated, and what difficulties he ſhould meet withall, in the firſt introducing of his Government. To make uſe of arms, neither had he ſufficient wherewithall, neither was it a fitting time. To boot that at his departure from *Spain*, he had received particular inſtructions from the King, that by all means he ſhould firſt try what good was to be done upon the Flemiſh by fair means, before he ſhould uſe any force. He therefore did not delay to give the Councel of State which was at *Bruſſels*, notice in all civil manner of his arrival in the Province of *Lucemburg*. He told them that the King deſired nothing more then to ſee *Flanders* in peace and quiet. That he had brought with him very large Commiſſions to this purpoſe; and that he for his part would be ready to execute them with all ſpeed and alacrity. He ſhewed himſelf to be highly diſpleaſed at the Tumults and diſorders that had lately happened; to witneſs which, he ſaid he would give ſudden order to the Spaniards that they ſhould deſiſt from all hoſtility: and that he would endeavour fully to aſſure the Provinces, that through his Government they ſhould receive all the juſt ſatisfaction from the King which they could deſire. The Deputies of the States General were gone from *Gaunt* to *Bruſſels*; and the Councel of State went with them, ſtill adhering with them in opinion. They were all of them greatly aſtoniſhed at the ſudden coming of *Don John*: for they ſaw it was impoſſible he could bring ſuch reſolutions



Don Iohn of Austria
Son to Charles v^th
Governour of the Low countreys 150

ſolutions from the King as could ſtand with their deſigns. Yet after a while, they diſpatched away the Vicecount of *Gaunt*, the Lord of *Raſſenghein*, and Lord *Vigliernel*, to preſent their ſervices to *Don John*; but indeed, to dive into his moſt inward thoughts *Don John* failed not to receive them with all ſhew of civility, and acquainted them at full with the Kings exceeding good intentions toward thoſe Provinces. He aſſured them in particular, that the King would by all means have all the Spaniards, and foreign ſouldiers to depart from thence; and that he would grant a very ample pardon to all thoſe, who by reaſon of the late revolts, might have any need thereof. This tidings being brought to *Bruſſels*, they muſt needs very much pleaſe one ſide; ſince in the point concerning foreigners, the Flemiſh had what they ſo much deſired. But then again, they did ſo diſtruſt all the Spaniards actions, and ſo freſh, and deteſtable was the memory of the calamities which they had ſuffered by them, as the more favourable the offers were which were made by *Don John*, the more deceitfull they thought them to be.

The Prince of *Orange* was as the Oracle of the Provinces, after the agreement made between them: ſo as he was the main wheel upon which all their reſolutions were turned: wherefore the Councel of State, and Deputies of the States General, deſired to know his opinion concerning the coming of *Don John*; and in what manner he would have him received into the Government, before they would take any reſolution therein. Whereupon *Orange* began a long diſcourſe, the ſubſtance whereof was this,

That the larger Don Johns *promiſes were, the more they were to be ſuſpected. That it was apparent the Spaniards end was to cheat the Flemiſh, and to lull them aſleep, that they might the more eaſily oppreſs them. That* Don John *was not to be received any otherwiſe then upon ſuch terms, as (their obedience always preſerved unto the King) the former Government might be reſtored unto the Provinces. That therefore in the firſt place, all the Spaniards ſhould be expelled. That the Citadels ſhould be all demoliſhed, and put into the hands of the Flemiſh. That no Authority at all ſhould be granted to* Don John; *not ſo much as over the Militia of the Country. That the States General ſhould retain the prerogatives due unto them. That to this purpoſe they might have a power to meet once or twice a year, to preſerve the priviledges of the Provinces. And that* Don John *ſhould reſolve on nothing without the Authority of the ſaid States General. That it better behoved him to truſt the Flemiſh, then the Flemiſh him. And that howſoever it was not to be believed that the King would ever pardon them, ſince he held himſelf too much injured by them: That therefore they ought to conſider his anger together with his forces; and put themſelves into ſuch a poſture, as ſince they could never ſecure themſelves from the one, they might not at leaſt be oppreſt by the other.*

This was *Orange* his opinion, which he deſired to diſtill into all the Flemiſh. And this was the foundation which he even then laid of that Commonwealth of the United Provinces, which hath been ſince ſo formed and eſtabliſhed in theſe our times by powerfull forces: and of which we formerly ſent a particular Relation from *Bruſſels* to *Rome*; which together with ſome other writings of ours touching the affairs of *Flanders*, were afterwards publiſhed by *Ericio Puteano*, our very good friend, and the worthy ſucceſſor of *Juſtus Lipſius*, no leſs in learning then in place, and in the Inheritance of his fame, no leſs then of his labours. *Orange* hoped by this means to make himſelf Moderator, and Arbitrator of the Government; and aſſiſted by the preſent conjuncture of time, to make himſelf at leaſt as good as Prince of *Holland* and *Zealand* if he ſhould not arrive at the Principality of all the Provinces, joyned together in one body. And peradventure he would not have miſſed in his deſigne, had he not been ſlain (as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place) and ſo had the thread of his life, as well as that of his hopes cut off. This anſwer increaſed ſuch jealouſies in the Flemiſh, as not thinking themſelves ſufficiently united by the agreement made at *Gaunt*, they reſolved to make another union which ſhould be more ſtrict, and more efficacious. They therefore drew up a Declaration in the name and Authority of the States General; wherein repeating the calamities ſuffered by the Spaniards, they did again confirm the confederation of *Gaunt*, promiſed to obſerve it inviolably, and declared

red all ſuch to be Traitors and infamous perſons who ſhould in any whatſoever manner countervene it. This Writing or Declaration was afterwards ſigned and ſealed in every Province, by every Magiſtrate and Governour; and was imbraced with great applauſe by the whole Country. And becauſe *Orange* had chiefly minded them that the States ſhould put themſelves in Arms, ſhewing what danger they were again to expect from the Spaniards, therefore the States General betook themſelves to raiſe new men, which they brought together in a good body, under the command of Count *Di Saleigne*, of the Vitecount of *Gaunt*, and Monſieur *de la Mota*. to *Vanres*, a Town between *Bruſſels* and *Namures*, very opportunely ſeated, eſpecially to withſtand *Don John*. The States General made likewiſe divers expeditions into *Germany*, *France*, and *England*, to pray aide in all thoſe parts, and to make the cauſe of the Flemiſh common with all their neighbours A conſiderable ſum of money was ſent from the Queen of *England*; who under hand ſhewed her ſelf well inclined to greater demonſtrations. On the part of *Germany* the greateſt confederacy was had with *John Caſimere*, one of the Count Palatines of *Rheine*; and the thing deſired was to furniſh him with monies, whereby to raiſe men in that Nation, and lead them into *Flanders*. On *France's* ſide, they did not only endeavour to raiſe the Hugonot Faction, but to draw likewiſe the Catholick party to be of the ſame mind, under the Duke of *Alanſon*, brother to the King: particularly inviting the Duke to endeavour to raiſe a Fortune worthy of himſelf in *Flanders*, now that he had little hopes of finding any in *France*.

Don John was eaſily acquainted with all theſe practices; who notwithſtanding patiently bearing with them, and willing to take away all pretences which the diſcontented Flemiſh could make uſe of, confirmed the aforeſaid offers in ſatisfaction to the Provinces; and concluded, that obedience being rendred by them to the Church, and to the King, he would in all things elſe accept of ſuch Propoſitions as they ſhould propound unto him. The Vicecount of *Gaunt*, and Lords of *Raſſenghean* and *Viglirual* went ſundry times to and fro between the States and *Don John*; and the eaſilyer to agree upon what was fitting for the receit of *Don John* into the Government, a Truce was made for 15 days, which was afterwards prolonged for ſome few days longer. All the difficulties ariſed from diffidence: For the States would, that in the firſt place, all the Spaniards and whatſoever other foreign ſouldiers, ſhould go out; which *Don John* ſeemed to agree unto: but then he thought it a juſt demand, that at the ſame time the States foreign Militia ſhould likewiſe go out. And becauſe the States appeared very obſtinate againſt this, it was propounded, that at leaſt for ſecurity ſake, ſome conſiderable men of theirs might be put as Hoſtages into the Caſtle of *Huy*, a Town in *Liege*, under the cuſtody of the Biſhop of that City, till ſuch time as the Spaniſh Forces being firſt ſent out, their foreign Militia might likewiſe be made depart. And 'twas added, that at the ſame time a Guard ſhould be given to *Don John* under ſome Captain of that Country, who ſhould ſwear due loyalty to him. He chiefly deſired to know what form of obedience ſhould be obſerved to the Church and King; and inſtanced that the conditions of his being received into Government might be ſuch, as Religion might not thereby receive too much prejudice, nor the Royal Dignity be too much offended. The Town of *Huy*, as a nutral place, was likewiſe propounded for a place of ſecurity, where the agreement which was managed on both ſides, might be made between *Don John* and the States. But divers difficulties aroſe in all theſe points; which *Orange* particularly fomented with all his might, becauſe his end was, either that *Don John* might not at all be received: or at leaſt that he might only have the bare title of Governour; and that the Government might remain abſolutely in the States hands, which was almoſt as much as to ſay, abſolutely in his own power. The Emperour *Maximilian* was dead a little before this. And the Flemiſh having had recourſe to him for protection before he died, they therefore made the ſame application to his ſon *Rodolphus*, who ſucceeded him in the Emperial dignity. Nor could the King of *Spain* be hereat offended. *Rodolphus* had therefore made choice of *Gerard Groſbeck*, Biſhop of *Liege*, together with two other of his Councellors, to mediate ſome agreement between *Don John* and the States. *Ce-*

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Ceſar thought it likewiſe fitting, and herein the King did likewiſe agree with him, that the Duke of *Cleves*, as a Prince ſo nearly intereſſed in the neighbourhood of *Flanders*, might likewiſe ſend ſome expreſs perſonages in his behalf to facillitate the accommodation.

In the beginning of the year 1577, theſe Ambaſſadors went to the Town called *Marcha* in *Famines*, which is in the Province of *Lucemburg*, towards the Country of *Liege*; where *Don John* was himſelf in perſon, that he might be nearer *Huy*, where the Commiſſioners were, which the States made uſe of in the aboveſaid Treaty. The States ſtood inflexable to two points: The one was, That firſt of all, the Spaniards together with all the other foreign ſouldiers ſhould be ſent away. The other, That this new agreement with *Don John*, ſhould in no ways prejudice the union made between the Provinces at *Gaunt*. Very great were the difficulties which were met withall, in theſe and divers other points; and *Don John* knew very well how much the Kings Authority and his would at laſt ſuffer by this accommodation. But rather then return to arms, he being deſirous to try all means of accommodation, and being much preſt thereunto by the Imperial Ambaſſadors, and by thoſe of the Duke of *Cleves*, who were perſwaded that when the Spaniards ſhould be ſent away, *Don John* ſhould receive all manner of ſatisfaction from the Flemiſh in all things elſe; he at laſt condeſcended to the agreement in ſuch manner as the Ambaſſadors thought fit. Which was.

That all the Spaniſh ſouldiers, as alſo the German, Italian, and Burgonian, ſhould effectually depart out of the Low-Countries within forty days. That the Towns and Caſtles ſhould forthwith be deliverea up into the hands of the Flemiſh; *That all priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty; particularly Count* Buren *who was priſoner in* Spain; *upon condition that his father the Prince of* Orange *ſhould after the meeting of the States General, make good on his ſide whatſoever they ſhould determine. That the King ſhould permit the Provinces to enjoy all their former priviledges and immunities. That on the contrary, the Catholick Religion ſhould be by them maintained in all places: That they ſhould likewiſe diſmiſs all their foreign ſouldiers, and ſhould renounce all foreign confederacies and leagues. That they ſhould preſently pay down 60000 pound ſterling, for ſatisfaction to the Spaniards who were to be gone; and ſhould take upon them alſo to ſatisfie the Germans.*

Theſe were in ſubſtance the chief Articles of the agreement; and upon theſe conditions the States obliged themſelves to receive *Don John* for their Governor. This agreement being made, order was immediately given by *Don John* for the departure of the Spaniards, and all the other foreign Souldiers; and he ſent *Octavius Gonzaga*, and the Secretary *Eſcovedo* a Spaniard, to ſee it effected. But *Orange* hearing the Agreement, declared publickly that they were not ſuch as did ſatisfie him, nor yet the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*.

He complained, *That his ſon was not freely reſtored unto him; that ſufficient proviſion was not had for the ſafety of the Provinces; ſince there was no order for the demoliſhing of the new erected Caſtles: That it was an unworthy action to pay the Spaniards, the great wealth conſidered which they had got by plunder from the Flemiſh. That convenient reſpect was not given to thoſe Princes whoſe favour and aſſiſtance had been ſo advantagious to the Flemiſh. That by this agreement, that other of* Gaunt *was not ſufficiently made good: from which he and the Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand *did not intend to recede, nor run ſuch hazards as the reſt were quickly like to do.*

The States replyed unto theſe Objections, and endeavoured to make it appear that the agreement of *Gaunt* was not any ways altered; and that howſoever they would ſee it obſerved. But *Orange* by cavils or ſubterfuges, continued ſtill of the ſame mind; ſo as it was impoſſible to get him, nor the other two Provinces, which depended abſolutely upon his arbitrement, to approve of this agreement. *Don John* was this mean while gone from the Town of *Mark* to *Lovain*, to ſee the Spaniards depart, and that the Citadels ſhould be put into the Flemiſh hands; that then he might make his ſolemn entrance into *Bruſſels*, and begin his Government. A great many of the Nobility came preſently to *Lovain* to viſit him, who received them with all the civility the Country could expect, and with ſuch dignity as became his perſon. He from thence ſent Doctor *Leonino* into

Holland to acquaint the Prince of *Orange*, and the State of *Holland* and *Zealand* with the agreement made between him and the other Provinces, and to uſe all means to draw thoſe two Provinces and *Orange* to be of the ſame mind. But this brought forth nothing elſe, but the greater diſcovery of the obſtinacy of thoſe parts, and of *Orange* his induſtry in fomenting them therein. *Don John* had this mean while made the Citadel of *Antwerp* be delivered up to the Duke of *Ariſcot*. And all the other Caſtles which were in the Spaniards hands were delivered up to the Flemiſh. Whereupon all the foreign ſouldiers being aſſembled together at *Maſtrick* (except the Germans who for want of their pay had little longer time allowed them for their departure) betook themſelves to leave the Low-Countries; and ſo they did according to the agreement. It is not to be expreſt what joy, and what demonſtrations thereof, this cauſed throughout all *Flanders*. In all Cities, Towns, and in the meaneſt Villages, all the people ran to hear the news, and then to tell it; as if this were the greateſt happineſs which they could have expected or deſired. *Sancio d' Avila* the then Governour of the Citadel *Antwerp*, would not be preſent at the delivery up of the Citadel of into the hands of *Ariſcot*; but left it to be done by his Lieutenant: publickly ſhewing by the freedom of his demeanor and words, that he would have no part in an action which he thought to be very prejudicial to his King, and not anſwerable to ſo many other acts which his Nation had ſo glorioufly performed in *Flanders*. Nay 'tis ſaid, that in his taking leave of *Don John*, he with the like freedome of ſpeech ſaid unto him,

Your Highneſs makes us go out of Flanders: *but remember that I tell you, you will quickly be forced to call us back again.*

And ſo it fell out, as in its place ſhall be told. A Gariſon of Walloons was put into the Caſtle of *Antwerp*, and the States were as diligent as they could be, in gathering together the monies, wherewith to ſend away the Germans alſo; wherein they found much difficulty, by reaſon of the great expences the Country had already been at, as alſo in thoſe of ſending away the Spaniards. *Don John* came at laſt from *Lovain* to *Bruſſels*, where he made his pubilck entry on *May*-day; which was done with ſuch ſolemnity, as well by reaſon of the ſo many Nobility, and other inferior people; as for the acclamations of joy, which his firſt receiving was accompanied withall, as there is hardly the memory of any the like, at the reception of any abſolute Prince of *Flanders*, much leſs at that of a bare Governour. But it was not long ere this ſcene of joy was changed into others, full of ſorrow, and horrour: as we ſhall by degrees make known unto you.

When *Don John* had taken upon him the adminiſtration of the Government, he ſoon found his part was rather to obey then to command. No Order could iſſue forth from him, which was not to be ſubordained by the Councel of State; who unwilling to quit the Government which till then they had proviſionally exerciſed, ſought in an indirect way to keep it ſtill by the prerogative of Authority. They alleadged ſometimes the common priviledges of their whole Conntry, ſometimes the particular priviledges of this or that Province; and ſometimes by one pretence, ſometimes by another, they endeavoured ſtill to increaſe their own Authority, and to leſſen *Don Johns* Government as much as they could; and *Orange* was ſure not to be wanting upon all occaſions. He had for his Architecture of ſedition, *Philip Marnice*, Lord of *Aldigonda*, and the Lord *Hees*, particular Governor of *Bruſſels*, was likewiſe a great follower of his. The firſt was more wary, the other more zealous; and therefore both of them of a better mixture to do evil. Theſe two in *Bruſſels*, and divers others in other parts, who depended upon *Orange*, did continually diſperſe ſeditious ſpeeches, to incite the Flemiſh to novelties more then ever. They gave out that *Ierolimo Rhodes*, *Sancio d' Avila*, and other Spaniſh Commanders who were gone into *Spain*, after their departure from *Flanders*, had been very gratiouſly received by the King, and by his Court, with promiſes of new and greater imployments.

Was not this (ſaid they) *a manifeſt declaration of the Kings, wherein he gave ſentence in favour of the Spaniards againſt the Flemiſh in the laſt troubles which the Country had ſuffered? Was it not an accuſing of the Councel of State of infidelity?*

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did not the Kings intention touching the affairs of Flanders *appear plainly in this? and what could he fancy elſe to himſelf, but to expect that the Flemiſh ſhould be diſarmed, to the end that he might again the eaſilyer oppreſs them; That the example of paſt things did prognoſticate future ſucceſſes. That ſo in the Dutcheſs of* Parma's *time the Country did truſt; and about the end of her Government, did expect much better treatment; when loe the Duke of* Alva *came at unawares armed, and brought with him that cruel and miſerable ſlavery which they had till this day experienced. That in fine,* Don John *was a Spaniard; that he brought conceal'd Councel from* Spain, *and that he had* John Eſcouedo *for his chief Councellor, one of that Nation, and to whoſe ſecrecy the King had truſted the moſt miſterious ſecrets of the affairs of* Flanders. *That then unleſs the Flemiſh would again periſh miſerably, they were not in any ways to lay down their preſent Authority. That the Councel of State ſhould preſerve their prerogative. That the States General ſhould keep their ſuperintendency; but above all things that the Provinces ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be lul'd aſleep by too much quiet: for the Spaniards would be ſnre, quickly to make uſe thereof. That the King could at once both raiſe and bring in an Army; in which caſe, what would the tediouſneſs of their meetings avail the Flemiſh, to muſter together their Forces? and what good would the yet more ſlower hopes doe of being aſſiſted by Foreigners?*

Thus they endeavoured to corrupt the minds of the Flemiſh, and to imprint ſuch affections in them, as might alienate them from *Don Iohn*, and ſtill more from the Spaniards, and make them fall again into yet greater troubles. Fraud reigns in the South, and Candor in the North. But this ſo candid proceeding degenerates too eaſily into credulity: ſo as it is no wonder if any wary weaver of novelties wind the people in thoſe parts as he pleaſeth: and make them ſencible of the evil of deceit, before they can diſcover that they are deceived. Flemiſh natures uſe to erre on this hand: which if they ever did at any time, 'twas when they ſo eaſily believed what was ſuggeſted to them at this time in prejudice of *Don Iohn*, and to make the *Spaniards* ſeem hateful to them. *Don Iohn* was rather abandoned, then put into the Government of the Country: he enjoyed the bare name of Governour, but not any authority at all. The *Spaniards* were gone, the *Germans* were to be gone; and which imported moſt, all the Caſtles were already in the cuſtody of the natural Flemiſh; and yet they returned as eaſily to their ſuſpitions, as if the Duke of *Alva* had been again at their gates with a more powerfull Army then before. *Don Iohn* endeavoured notwithſtanding diligently to free them of them; he made uſe of the aboveſaid reaſons, and many others which he repreſented in confirmation of the Kings good will, and his own towards the Nation. But ſuch endeavonrs availed but a little, for there were too many deceits woven to the contrary, and thoſe who wove them wrought their end too eaſily. One of the chiefeſt Articles which was eſtabliſhed at *Gaunt*, and afterwards confirmed at *Marks*, was that as ſoon as the Foreign Souldiers ſhould be gone, the States Generall ſhould be aſſembled with all ſolemnity, juſt as they were the laſt time in the reign of *Charles* the 5. and that then it ſhould be determined what ſhould be thought moſt convenient in point of the Catholick religion in *Holland* and *Zealand*. When *Don Iohn* was admitted into the Government, he preſt the execution of that Article; and the Councel of State ſeemed as if they would do the beſt they could with *Orange*. But were it either that the endeavors were too cold on the one ſide, or that the anſwers were more obdurat then uſual on the other, there could be nothing concluded therin. The States did then reſolve, and did therin particularly requeſt *Don Iohn* to ſend the Duke of *Areſcot* in their name into *Holland*, as alſo the Lords *Hierges* and *Viglierval*; and Doctor *Leonino*, and the Treaſurer *Schets* Lord of *Grobendorick*, in the name of *Don Iohn*, to endeavour again to perſwade *Orange* and the two aforeſaid Provinces to joyn in one and the ſame opinion with the reſt. Which if it ſhould not ſucceed, *Don Iohn* thought their obſtinacie and pertinaciouſneſs would the more evidently appear. Upon this occaſion *Orange* and the Deputies of *Holland* and *Zealand* came to a more determinate anſwer. They ſaid, thoſe two Provinces could not change the reformed religion, which was now received throughout them both. They complained, with various interpretations, that the Agreement made at *Gaunt* was not obſerved as it ought to be;

That the new Forts ſhould of right be demoliſhed, and particularly that of *Antwerp*, thereby to take away all occaſion from the *Spaniards* of re-entring there. *Orange* demanded the free redelivery of his Son: And pretending complaints upon complaints, they could not be ſatisfied becauſe they would not be ſatisfied. *Ariſcot* returned to *Bruſſels* with a *Non eſt inventus*; the States did not ſo much reſent it as *Don John* expected they ſhould. But *Orange* his faction growing ſtill more ſtrong, his adherents endeavoured to juſtifie, boldly and to the very teeth of *Don John*, every action that came from that Party. *Heez* walked through the ſtreets of *Bruſſels* with a particular Guard, as if he acknowledged no other Command but his own in that Town; and the People laying aſide all reverence to *Don John*, committed divers misbecoming actions to his Family; the moſt hair-brain'd of all the meaneſt ſort of people not ſticking to give out inſolent ſpeeches tending to ſedition. For all this *Don John* diſſembled, and in many things ſeemed as if he either did not take notice of them, or did not regard them. He endeavoured all he could to win *Ariſcot*, and the other chief men, and to divide them and *Orange*, and to make them aware of his artificial deſigns; ſhewing,

That they tended apparently to aggrandiſe himſelf with popular Authority, by the abaſing of all the other States of the Country. That being already become an Heretick, he had conſequently made himſelf an Enemy to Church-men: and did he not by making himſelf the Peoples prime Protector, declare himſelf to be the chief againſt the Nobility?

To ſhew his greater confidence in *Ariſcot*, the King had put the Caſtle of *Antwerp* into his hands, and had given him his eldeſt ſon the Prince of *Samai* for his Lieutenant. And doubtleſly there was great emulation between *Ariſcot* and *Orange*, who ſhould be the greater. But the former was of an open and voluble nature; whereas the other being a man of great knowledge, and deeply ſubtile, and already of ſo great repute both in *Flanders* and elſwhere, had too great advantage on his ſide in all things. To this was added, That the Popularity enjoying ſo great a part in the Government of *Flanders*, eſpecially in Towns and Cities, (for that the Monaſtical Abbots, and the Nobles did uſually live in the Country) *riſcot*, nor no other Governour of any Province would diſtaſte that ſort of people upon which their chief attendance and authority in the Country did depend. To boot that all the Nobility, and amongſt them thoſe that were the greateſt, deſirous to ſhew their zeal in favouring the welfare of the Country, they could not vary much from thoſe opinions which *Orange* appeared to be of, ſince they were too ſpeciouſly coloured over to that purpoſe. The Viſcount *Gaunt* was likewiſe then in great eſteem, who was afterwards Marqnis of *Rubais*; and who in the diviſions which fell out between the Provinces, did afterwards ſerve the King very faithfully in military imployments of very great weight. *Don John* deſired likewiſe to make him his friend: So as to ſhew his confidence in him, he ſent him into *England*, to give account to the Queen of his being received into the Government, and to keep all fair correſpondencie with her, at leaſt in appearance; ſince for other things he could not be ignorant, that the Rebels in *Flanders* had in former times ever been moſt fomented from thence, and were likely to be ſo more then ever in the future. The States this mean while ſollicited the payment of the German Souldiers, that they might rid the Country likewiſe of that ſort of Foreigners that yet remained there. But the buſineſs proved very difficult; for the States knew not where to find the mony, which were greatly exhauſted by reaſon of the ſo many paſt expences, & for what they had lately diſburſed for the ſending of the *Spaniards* away. They liked therefore very well the Vicount of *Gaunts* being ſent into *England*, and thought to have intreated the Queen by him, that ſhe would furniſh them with ſome monies to that purpoſe: They owed her other ſums of money before, and peradventure ſhe would not have been unwilling to have thrown in this. But *Don John* thinking it not fitting to pawn more of the Countries revenues to the Queen, then what was already pawned, and knowing that this was one of *Orange* his plots, he would not ſuffer the Vicount to move any thing in it. The States complained much hereof, and began from hence to ſuſpect that *Don John* would be unwilling to ſee the *Germans* depart. This ſuſpition increaſed very much afterwards upon another occaſion. The Colonels and Officers

of

of that Nation were by orders from the States come to *Malines* to audit up the monies which were due unto them: And their pretenſions reaching very high, the buſineſs met with great difficulties. To overcome the which, the States ſent the Duke of *Ariſcot* to *Malines*, and to that purpoſe *Don John* went thither himſelf in perſon. But all was in vain: which afforded new occaſion of ſuſpition that *Don John* was gone to *Malines* rather to nouriſh then to remove the difficulties which aroſe in that buſineſs; and that his deſign was to keep the *Germans* from departing, to the end that by their forces he might retain that Authority amongſt the *Flemiſh* which otherwiſe he could not get. But the wiſer ſort thought that this difficulty was rather fomented by *Orange* his Faction, that they might lay the fault upon *Don John*; And to the end that the *Germans* not going away, there might be ſome colour of raiſing new troubles. The truth is, that when *Don John* returned to *Bruſſels*, jealouſies grew ſo faſt on his part, as he could no longer diſſemble as before. He was received by the people of that City with manifeſt ſigns of averſion, *Heez.* deſpiſed him inſufferably; he found by divers things that there was treachery plotted againſt his perſon: And that which troubled him moſt was, to ſee how ſtrait correſpondencie the States kept with *Orange*, and that he was as it were the Arbitrator of whatſoever they did. *Don John's* ſuſpition of treachery againſt his perſon was afterwards confirmed in him by very good Authors; the one was the Duke of *Ariſcot*, who ſeemed to know that there was a conſpiracie either to kill him, or to impriſon him: And the other was the Vicount of *Gaunt*, who parting in great haſte from that City, came to *Bruſſels*, and acquainted *Don John* with the eminent danger he was in. Yet *Don John* ſeemed not to truſt theſe reports, doubting leſt there might be ſome cunning mixt amongſt them, to make him fall upon ſome deſperate reſolution, by which the accuſations laid unto his charge might be the better juſtified. But his occaſions of fear ſtill increaſing, he at laſt reſolved to ſend the Secretary *Eſcovedo* into *Spain*; and for a pretence, told the States, that he would doe his utmoſt endeavour to get the King of *Spain* to ſend ſome good ſtore of money wherewith the ſooner to ſatisfie the German ſouldiers. But his true intention in ſending him was, to advertiſe the King at full in what condition the affairs of *Flanders* ſtood, and to let him know what evident neceſſity he *Don John* had ſuddenly to ſecure his own perſon. *Eſcovedo* being gone, *Don John* came to the knowledge how that the Prince of *Orange* his faction did in ſeveral places tamper with the chief German Commanders, to draw them over to his ſide. He then delayed no longer; he called the Counts of *Mansfield* and *Barlemont* (in whom he knew he might boldly confide) into private Councel, and acquainted them with what ſtraits he was in. *Mansfield* was Governour of the Dukedom of *Lucemburg*, and for his great fidelity to the King did afterwards (as ſhall be ſaid) divers times govern the Low-Countries, and continued his particular government of that Province till he dyed a very old man of above fourſcore and ten years old. *Barlemont*, who together with his Sons was likewiſe very faithful to the King, had the government of the County of *Namures*; which Province together with the other lay neareſt to *Lorain*, and conſequently neareſt *Italy*. The *Mauſe* runs through the midſt of the City of *Namures*, and into this River doth another River fall, called *Sambra*, which joyns with it in the ſeat of the ſame City. The paſſage over both theſe Rivers is always free by two Stone-bridges, which makes the place both more commodious, and more beautiful. The ground in one ſide of the City lies high, upon the top whereof there ſtands an antient Caſtle, but naturally ſtrong enough. *Barlemont* opinion was therefore, that *Don John* ſhould take ſome pretence to go to *Namures*, and ſhould make that City and Caſtle ſure for his own ſafety; for from thence he might at any time paſs freely into *Lucemburg*, and there ſuch Forces might eaſily be received from *Italy* which of neceſſity were again to be recalled into *Flanders*. But above all things he was of opinion, That all diligence was to be uſed to win the *Germans*, and break the practice which the contrary party held with them. And doubtleſly this was an important point: For to boot with the condition of the Souldiers, many of the chief Towns might be ſaid to be in their hands, they being therein quartered. *Mansfield* leaned likewiſe to the ſame opinion: But being a grave man, and one that did naturally rather imbrace wary then hazardous councels, he

he would willingly have tarried till *Escovedo* might have been arrived in *Spain*, and have more clearly discovered the Kings mind, for then *Don John* might with more safety effect his. He said,

It was not to be doubted but that the possessing himself of the Castle of Namures *would be like a generall Alarm, which would make the* Flemish *flie to their Arms in all places. And what else could* Orange *his faction desire? how would they rejoyce to see that* Don John *should be the first that should use violence? and how hard would it be to be justified? To boot that Justification would peradventure be more needfull in* Spain *then in* Flanders. *That Principality had miseries mixt with its happiness; one of the greatest whereof was, That conspiracies were not credited till compassed. That then it was better to wait for answer from* Escovedo, *and in the mean time to be very vigilant in the shunning of all danger. That God doth protect good causes, as it was assuredly to believe he would doe in this, which might be said to be more his then the Kings.*

These reasons of *Mansfilds* bore such force with them as *Don John* did for a few days suspend the resolution which he was advised unto by *Barlemont*. But knowing that preparations to troubles increased every day more and more in *Holland*, and the dangers against his person still more and more in *Brussels*, he would no longer expect the perfecting thereof, and therefore resolved to go to *Namures* as soon as he could. Being thus resolved, the greatest difficulty was to find a pretence for his going thither: For the City of *Namures* was not so near *Brussels*, as that under a pretence of hunting, or any other colour, it could handsomly be done. These two Towns are distant almost two days journey one from another. In so much as it would be a great remove for *Don Iohn* to go with all his Court to *Namures*, and 'twould afford great occasion of discourse. But it is not to be believed how much the blind Will of fortune rules in human chances. *Margaret* of *Vallois*, Queen of *Navar* passed at this time about the beginning of *July* towards *France*, by those Frontiers of *Flanders*, upon occasion of going to the *Spaw*. This was given out for the end of her journey, but the true meaning thereof was, that she might be nearer at hand to help the practises on foot on the behalf of her brother the Duke of *Alanson*, as we gave you a former inkling. The Duke received but little contentment in the King his brothers Court; and there was a great correspondency of affection between the Queen and Duke, to boot with their alliance in bloud, wherefore to advantage the Dukes Interest, the Queen passed by *Cambray*, and there endeavoured to win the Archbishop of that City, and the Governour of that Castle. She afterwards used the like diligence to the Count of *Lalleyn*, Governor of the Province of *Hennault*, and to divers other chief personages of those parts. Nor were her endeavours of small avail; for *Margaret* was a Lady of a high spirit; and in her Book of Memorials which came forth in Print, elegantly written after her death, the successe of what she Treated of in *Flanders*, in the behalfe of her Brother, is by her self told. This business was therefore managed with great secrecy, in so much as *Don Iohn* was not then aware thereof. Fortune having offered him so good an occasion, he presently laid hold of it, and gave out the necessity he was in, of receiving, and lodging the Queen in *Namures*, which was the place neareſt *Brussels* that she came to. To boot with the considerations of her so much greatness, 'twas known that an elder sister of hers many years before was married to the King of *Spain*, by whom she had two daughters: wherefore *Don Iohns* journey there was thought so just, as there was no siniſter interpretation to be given to it. Nay many of the Nobility offered to wait upon him on that occasion, whose offers he accepted of; the Duke of *Ariscot*, and his son the Prince of *Limay*, the Marquis of *Haure*, brother to the Duke, and divers other principal personages went along with him. When he had received the Queen, and waited upon her as long as she tarryed there, he was not long in executing his designe of making himself Master of the Castle. The Governour of the Castle depended upon the States, so as it behoved *Don Iohn* to use industry; the business was thus carryed: He feigned one morning to go a hunting, and took his way towards the Gate to which the Castle leads: and feigning that a desire took him at that instant of seeing the Castle out of meer curiosity, he sent for the Governour, and

and freely gave him his hand, and went with him to go into the Caſtle. *Don John* was accompanied by the Count *Barlemont*, and four of the ſaid Counts ſons, which proved all of them valiant men, and got very good Military imploy ment. One was the Lord *Hiergee*, of whom we had formerly occaſion to give very honourable teſtimony. The others were the Count *Mega*, the Lord *Floyon*, and Lord of *Altapenna*. Together with theſe *Don John* had provided divers others who followed aloof off, and were all of them furniſhed in ſecret with arms, to make uſe of as occaſion ſhould ſerve. But the Governour of the Caſtle partly raviſhed with the favour he had received from *Don John*, and partly moved out of the reſpect he bore him, made no difficulty of letting him in, but ſeemed to take it for a very great honour that he would vouchſafe to come into his Caſtle. *Don John* ſtaying then a little to attend the coming up of the reſt who were partakers in the deſigne, poſſeſt himſelf ſuddenly of the Gate, and made the uſual guard go out; they were but very few that were there in gariſon, wherefore the Governour durſt not do any thing to the contrary. Many were of opinion that *Don John* was adviſed hereunto by *Orange* his artifice, that he might make him be the leſs believed in by the Flemiſh. But the buſineſs was carried as we have here told you; and ſo it hath oft been related to us by Count *Barlemont*, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and ſon to the before mentioned Count, who ſucceeded his father in the Government of *Namures*, and who in the time of our being in *Flanders* paſt to the Government of *Lucemburg*; and who together with his father and brethren, was preſent at this action. *Don John* having made himſelf ſure of the Caſtle, (and the Governour *Barlemont* having already made all obedience be given unto him by the Town) ſent preſently for *Ariſcot*, and the reſt of the chief men who were at *Namures*, and endeavoured to juſtifie this his action. He ſhewed them the expreſs neceſſity he had of ſecuring his own perſon, which he ſaid he had miraculouſly ſaved till now. He added, that he received advertiſement from all ſides of new treacheries; and that he knew for certain that the Counts, *Egmont*, *Laleigne*, and *Heet*, together with divers others unquiet and treacherouſly minded people, had laid ſnares for him about *Namures*, expecting when he ſhould return for *Bruſſels*. And finally he ſaid he would make the States acquainted with the whole matter; aſſuring himſelf that they would reſent his injuries according to the demerits thereof: as he for his part would remain conſtant to all things agreed upon with them; and would endeavour all peace and proſperity to the Country. He preſently diſpatched away *Signior di Raſſenghien* to *Bruſſels*, and by a Letter written to the States, endeavoured to juſtifie what he had done, repreſenting what made moſt for that purpoſe. He deſired them that they would ſee to the remedying of diſorders, and declared that being neceſſitated to retire into the Caſtle of *Namures*, he would out of the ſame neceſſity ſtay there, till his ſafety might be by them provided for in ſuch manner as was fitting. Great was the commotion that this accident occaſioned amongſt the States. They immediately ſent away three of their members to *Namures*; the Abbot of *Maroles*, the Archdeacon of *Ipry*, and *Signior di Brus*, by whom they writ unto *Don Iohn*, and earneſtly deſired him that he would lay aſide all jealouſies, and return to *Bruſſels*. But he, who would not return thither unleſs it were in a more honourable and ſafe way then before, ſent the Lord *Gravendon*, the Treaſure-General back with them to *Bruſſels*, and by him demanded divers things of the States, which he thought he very well might doe, by virtue of the agreement made with them. The chief of them were theſe,

That he might uſe ſuch Authority as became his place of Governour and Captain General: That he might have ſuch a guard as he might truſt in; and the neceſſary command over the Officers of War; That he might confer the Offices of the Country, as the precedent Governours haa done; and above all, he required, that in caſe the Prince of Orange, *and the two Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand, *ſhould not perform to do what became them on their parts, that then the States ſhould break off from holding any Intelligence with them, and ſhould joyn with him to uſe ſuch remedies therein as ſhould be requiſite.*

The States reply'd, That in the firſt place *Don Iohn* ſhould return to *Bruſſels*, where

where he ſhould receive all fitting ſatisfaction. But he perſiſting in the reſolution he had taken, and they on the other ſide being no leſs firm in their reſolves, jealouſies increaſed ſuddenly on all ſides. It was this mean while every where known that *Don John* was retired to *Namures*, whereat *Orange* (you will eaſily believe) was not any whit diſpleaſed, thinking that from this novelty many others might ſuddenly ariſe which might make for his purpoſe. Yet he appeared in publike to be very much grieved for it, and complained very much of it in all parts. He inflamed the States to reſentment: And to aggravate *Don Johns* offences, he divulged certain Letters, which (as his Aſſociates ſaid) were come into his hands by the King of *Navars* means, who they affirmed had intercepted them in *Gaſcony* upon occaſion of their being ſent by *Don John* and *Eſcovedo* through thoſe parts into *Spain*. Theſe Letters contained divers particulars, which not without reaſon might render *Don John* ſuſpected, if they had been true, as *Don John* affirmed them to be falſe. The Contents thereof were chiefly this; That he exhorted the King to make himſelf be obeyed by Arms in *Flanders*, for that otherwiſe he would loſe all authority there. Theſe Letters were held to be very true by the States, and as ſuch were by them diſperſt throughout all the whole Country, and were tranſlated into divers languages, that they might be the better underſtood by every one. *Orange* growing hereupon daily into more credit with them, he ſtrongly perſwaded them to Arm, repreſenting the danger which might inſue, if any delay were made. Affirming,

That aſſuredly Don Johns *actions in* Namures *were anticipately plotted in* Spain; *and that therefore it was to be preſuppoſed that the Kings forces, brought but a little before into* Italy, *would ſuddenly be led back to* Flanders. *That therefore they muſt be prevented.* Don John *muſt ſuddenly be driven from* Namures: *A paſſage of ſuch importance muſt be taken from him; let him then go into his ſo faithful Province of* Lucemburg, *and let him try how much he would be bettered by that Provinces not joyning in uniform conſent with all the reſt.*

This counſel was ſoon imbraced, and with equal readineſs executed. The States gave out divers Commiſſions to raiſe men, and prepared to uſe force againſt *Don John*, unleſs he would return to *Bruſſels* in his former condition. The mean while they wrote a long Letter unto the King, laying all the accuſations they were able upon *Don John*, and offered to juſtifie the cauſe which they would by all means maintain on their ſides: They did inlarge themſelves particularly in the buſineſs concerning the *Germans*, in that of *Namures*, and upon the Letters which had fallen into their hands.

'That *Don John* by artificial practiſes had hindred the auditing of the Pay with 'thoſe of that Nation; that under falſe pretences he was gone to *Namures*, and 'upon falſer ſuggeſtions of fear had made himſelf Maſter of that Caſtle. That 'doubtleſly the aforeſaid Letters were written by him and *Eſcovedo*, he not be-'ing able to deny his own Characters which were found in ſome of them. That 'his evil mind to the Country did hereby appear, his intention of not ſtanding to 'the Agreement made between him and the States; and that his deſire of bring-'ing all things again to Arms, was thereby manifeſtly diſcovered. That *Eſcovedo* 'had nouriſhed this opinion in him; and that being a Spaniard, he did ſtrangely 'maligne and hate the Flemiſh. They therefore deſired the King that he would 'ſhew his heavy reſentment by his proceeding againſt him; and that he ſhould 'injoyn *Don John* duly to obſerve what with ſo many circumſtances he had ſo-'lemnly agreed upon with them. Otherwiſe they ſhould be inforced to proteſt, 'that he failing on his behalf, the miſchief and diſorders which would neceſſarily inſue, to the prejudice of the King, Religion, and of the Countries welfare, were 'not to be imputed to them.

Don John writ likewiſe into *Spain*, endeavouring to clear himſelf of the imputations laid upon him in that Letter; adding what was moſt needfull to what had formerly been repreſented by *Eſcovedo*. He ſhewed,

'That the difficulty in the German buſineſs riſe from *Orange* his Faction, who 'endeavoured to gain that Souldiery to themſelves. That having miraculouſly 'ſaved himſelf from ſo many treacheries and conſpiracies, he with much adoe 'had got with ſome of his truſtieſt friends into the Caſtle of *Namures*. That

thoſe

'thoſe Letters which were aſcribed to be written by him, or by *Eſcovedo*, were 'certainly to be judged as either wholly fained, or in a great part altered by the 'ſame faction. And what greater contradiction could there be, then that he ſhould 'firſt ſend the Spaniards away, and afterwards adviſe the King to proceed with 'violence againſt the Flemiſh? That a: that time ſuch an advice would have been 'very much contrary to the ſeaſon, to reaſon, and to his Majeſties ſervice. But 'that now, inſtead of giving it, he did avow it was very requiſite to doe it: For 'that if his Majeſty did not ſuddenly by his forces prevent thoſe dangers which 'did ſo eminently threaten *Flanders*, all the Provinces would revolt; which 'when they ſhould once be loſt, they would not be ſo eaſily regotten.

This was the oppoſition between *Don Johns* Letters and thoſe of the States: but neither of them forbore this mean while to advantage themſelves by preparing Arms; for it was almoſt impoſſible ever to return to a new agreement *Don John* endeavoured to get the chiefeſt places of the County of *Namures* into his hands, and in particular ſecured himſelf of *Charlemonte* and *Mariamburg*, both of them very well fortified; and which had taken their names, the one of them from the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, and the other from his ſiſter Queen *Mary*. He likewiſe held very ſecret intelligence in the Citadel of *Antwerp*, to draw over the *Walloons* who had the keeping of it to ſide with him, and ſo to become maſter of that ſo important ſtrength. He dealt likewiſe with ſome German Companies who were in the Town, and which were of *Fromsberg* and *Fouchero's* Regiments: and did the like with other Officers of that Nation which were in *Bergen ap Zome*, in *Tolen*, in *Breda*, in *Balduke*, and in other places. But in the government of theſe negotiations, the event ſhewed that Fortune did favour the States much more then ſhe did *Don John*. The practiſe in the Citadel of *Antwerp* was diſcovered, and prevented. And the *Flemiſh* having a vigilant eye every where, and having better conveniencie to uſe either monies or force with the Germans, they forbare not uſing either of them, as occaſion did beſt ſerve: So as in a ſhort time they ſent them out of all the aboveſaid places. And in *Berghen ap Zome*, where Colonel *Fuchero* was quartered, and in *Breda*, where *Fromsberg* was in garriſon, their Forces proved ſo perfidious, as that they put both the Towns into the States hands. They then fell to demoliſh the Caſtles. That of *Antwerp* was firſt ſlighted, but only on that ſide which lay towards the City, the reſt was left in its former ſtrength. The people ran with great joy to this buſineſs, ſtriving who ſhould outdoe one another in the pulling down thereof; and expreſſing ſuch rage againſt thoſe inſenſible Platforms and Walls, as they could not have ſhewed greater againſt the Authors of them. By example of the *Antwerpians*, thoſe of *Gaunt* did the like to their Caſtle: and ſo were all the reſt diſmantled, except the Caſtle of *Cambray*, which the States durſt not meddle with for that it was in a City which was ſubject to the Empire, and to Archiepiſcopal juriſdiction. Yet they wrought ſo, as they got *Signor d'Inſy* to be put into it, and to keep it for their ſervice; cauſing *Signor di Lich* to be put out of it, who kept it formerly under the Kings protection. *Don John* was now all alone in *Namures*, the Duke of *Ariſcot* and almoſt all the reſt of the Nobility which had waited upon him thither being under ſeveral pretences gone: ſo as no perſons of any quality remained with him ſave *Barlemonte* and his ſons, and *Mansfield* in the contiguous Province of *Lucemburg*. He was not failing in repreſenting to the life his dangers and his neceſſities to the Court of *Spain*; and notwithſtanding kept ſtill fair with the States, telling them that he had deſired the King to ſend another Governour into *Flanders* who might be more acceptable to the Country: He offered to withdraw himſelf into the Province of *Lucemburg*, and there to expect the Kings orders; and propounded, that the States in this interim might not come to any act of hoſtility, nor make any innovation. But they ſuſpecting that *Don John's* end was to make them foreſlow their preparations, and ſo allow more time to the King to make his, did not any whit cool in their former reſolutions. They therefore ſignified unto *Don Iohn*, that in the firſt place he ſhould cauſe the City and Caſtle of *Namures* to be put into their hands, together with the other Towns which he had taken in that Province. Which he abſolutely refuſed to do, unleſs ſuch proviſion were firſt had, as was requiſite for his dignity and ſafety.

Thus were the minds on all ſides daily more and more exaſperated. The States General gave preſent order that *Orange* ſhould come himſelf in perſon to *Bruſſels*; and to this purpoſe they ſent four of their Deputies to him. There was nothing which he did more deſire then this. Wherefore he came quickly to *Breda*, a Town of his own, and which he had then recovered, after having been many years deprived of it. From thence he went to *Antwerp*, and ſo to *Bruſſels*. It is not to be ſaid with what concourſe of people, and with what Jubilee he was received in both thoſe Citys. The multitude being impatient to ſee him within their Walls went to meet him whole miles off in the fields, and following him with great acclamations of joy; called him the Father, the Protecter, and the Upholder of the Belgick Liberty. Nor were the demonſtrations of gladneſs leſs in all the more civil orders; in ſuch ſort as his entry and receiving, looked much more like the abſolute Lord of the two aboveſaid Provinces, then of the Vaſſal of a Prince who had juſt and ſoveraign power over him and them. Hardly was he well ſetled in *Bruſſels*, when to witneſs the great reſpect they bore him, he was by the general Orders created Governour of *Brabant*: an honour altogether unaccuſtomed. For the General Governour reſiding uſually in that Province, there needs no other particular Government. 'Tis true that nothing is more pernitious in States then faction: but from this evil, this good doth ſometimes ariſe; That whilſt the one beats down the other, the lawfull Prince may the more eaſily ſubdue them both. *Orange* his Faction was grounded upon the favour of the people, and of the new Sects, as may ſufficiently be comprehended by what hath been already ſaid. Wherefore when 'twas ſeen that his Authority grew to that hight not only in *Holland* and in *Zealand*, but even elſewhere; and that his deſigne was every day ſeen of leſſening the Kings Authority, as alſo that of the Church; high diſdain aroſe in the chief Nobles of *Brabant*, of the Province of *Flanders*, and of the Walloon Provinces, and from this diſdain did a practice proceed of framing another Faction, which might at leaſt counterpoiſe this.

The Duke of *Ariſcot*, as we have told you before, had a particular emulation to the Prince of *Orange*: and many in *Flanders* being of opinion, that after the death of *Recheſens*, the King would have ſent ſome of the Emperours brothers to be Governour of *Flanders*, and eſpecially the Archduke *Mathias*, *Ariſcot* had therefore from that very time endeavoured more then any other, to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of that Prince. *Mathias* was not then above 22 years old; his fortune was not anſwerable to his birth; for he had many brothers, wherefore his houſe was rather oppreſt by them then upheld. He was therefore very deſirous of this imployment in *Flanders*, thinking he could not find another like it in all *Germany*. *Ariſcot* making himſelf head of this faction, and judging that nothing could make more for the advantage thereof, then to have a Governour choſen by their Authority, he ſent an expreſs Meſſenger Privately away to *Vienna*, and alleadging all the reaſons which might moſt perſwade him thereunto, he endeavoured to make him take upon him the Government of *Flanders*. In this propoſal it was queſtionable whether the arrogancy of the propounder was greater, or the eaſineſs of the accepter thereof. And to ſay truth, there could not well any more raſh action been undertaken, then for the aboveſaid Nobles to appoint a Governour over *Flanders*, of their own Authority. And on the other ſide, the Archduke appeared too eaſie in accepting the offer, not weighing as he ought to have done, how the King, to whom he was ſo nearly ally'd, would be thereat offended, and upon whoſe Supreme and lawfull Authority that election did of right depend. But *Mathias* being perſwaded that the King would approve of it, and that in effect he could not wiſh more then to have an Auſtrian Prince of *Germany* at the Helm of Government in *Flanders*, by reaſon of the conformity of the two Nations; eſpecially a Prince who was invited thereunto by the chief Nobility of the Countrey, he did not any longer diſpute the buſineſſe.

This action was of ſuch a nature as it was to be executed ere it were divulged. Wherefore *Mathias* in the ſilenteſt hours of the night, took Poſt, and with all ſpeed made towards *Cullen*, and paſſing over the *Rhine* there, entred the Low-Countries within a few days, and came into *Brabant*. When this was known in *Vienna*,



Mathias Arch Duke of Austriæ
Duke of Burgundy & Governour
of the Vnited Provinces./ 162

Vienna, the Emperour was exceedingly troubled at it. He ſent ſpeedily to ſtay his brother; and to this purpoſe wrote very effectual Letters to all thoſe Princes, through whoſe States he was to paſs But no good inſuing thereupon, he juſtified himſelf unto the King as it became him to do; chiefly accuſing his brother, and ſhewing himſelf ready to reſent it. When *Mathias* was come into *Flanders*, he ſoon perceived how much *Orange* his faction prevailed over that of *Ariſcot*; and that he was to compaſs his deſired end much rather by the means of that, then of the other. *Orange* was not inwardly diſpleaſed at the reſolution taken concerning *Mathias*. He ſaw nothing could make more for his deſires then to ſee *Mathias* and *Don John* oppoſit one to another. That this might occaſion great jealouſies between the two Auſtrian Houſes of *Germany* and *Spain*: and above all, that ſuch an action would make *Don John* irreconcilable to the Nobility, who had herein ſo hainouſly offended him. For what remained, he doubted not but to be ſoon able to make the Archduke throw himſelf wholly into his hands. He therefore firſt exhorted the States to diſſemble the injury they received, by *Mathias* his being brought in without their authority or knowlodg, and went about with ſome of his truſtieſt friends amongſt them, to diſcredit *Ariſcot*. *Ariſcot* was Governour of the Province of *Flanders*, and prepared to go from *Gaunt*, the chiefeſt City of that Province, nobly accompanied to *Lyre*, where the Archduke by order from the States ſtayed, till ſome reſolution ſhould be taken touching his perſon. *Orange* had a great many of followers throughout all that whole Province, and chiefly in the Town of *Gaunt*: and of all the people of *Flanders*, thoſe of *Gaunt* were always readieſt to revolt. *Orange* therefore handled the matter ſo, as to make *Ariſcot* be held amongſt them for the Author of this novelty; in ſo much as a great tumult ariſing in that City amongſt ſome of the moſt ſeditious, the whole ſtorm fell finally upon *Ariſcots* own ſelf; as if he, contrary to the Order of the States General, would arrogate that unto himſelf which did not belong unto him. touching *Mathias*: Whereupon he was with great ſcorn impriſoned, and of a Governour made a Captive. Some others of quality were impriſoned with him His impriſonment laſted ſix days; after which time he was reſtored to his liberty and former place; but ſo, as he was to acknowledg *Orange* for the ſole author of it. Indeavours were had afterwards to reconcile them; but ere this muſt be done, *Orange* muſt ſhew his Authority in *Ariſcots* own Government, to be the ſame which he with unuſual demonſtrations enjoyed thorowout the whole Country. He to this purpoſe effected an occaſion of going to *Gaunt*, cauſing himſelf to be invited thereunto by the publick deſire of that City, as alſo of the whole Province. And he was ſo received by the Gaunteſes, as they could not have ſhewed greater demonſtrations of gladneſs if the King himſelf had come unto their City. When *Orange* had diſcredited *Ariſcots* faction as much as he thought good, and having made ſufficient oſtentation of his own; the States reſolved to make Archduke *Mathias* the General Governour. The reaſon they gave for it was this, That *Don John* having failed in his duty, and by the example of the former Spaniſh Governours, having endeavoured rather to oppreſs *Flanders* then to govern it, it was thought fit to have ſuch a Governour, as might be ſatisfactory to the Country: That the Archduke *Mathias* was thought to be ſuch a one; both for his own condition, and for that he was ſo near ally'd in bloud unto the King. And that the States had pitched upon this Election, particularly to avoid the danger of any other Prince his entrance into *Flanders*, and fixing himſelf there.

Mathias paſt on to this purpoſe to *Antwerp*, where he was ſolemnly received, and with him was *Orange*, who treated with him at large in that City; and many Articles were agreed upon, by which he bound himſelf to govern.

The firſt was, That the Prince of *Orange* ſhould be given unto him for his Lieutenant. All the reſt tended to make his Authority ſubordinate to that of the States General, ſo as he could not in any whatſoever manner do any publick action without their will and conſent. The States and the ſaid *Mathias* did afterwards by their Letters to the King, endeavour to procure his approbation of that Election, endeavouring to honeſt it in manner aforeſaid, and by divers other colourable pretences. But this mean while the States forbare not to prepare forces,

and they turned them chiefly towards *Vaures*, a Town between *Bruſſels* and *Namures* as hath been elſewhere ſaid; here they reſolved to make their Rendeſvouz, reſolving to beſiege *Namures*. So as when they ſhould have poſſeſt that Paſs towards *Italy*, as they had already done the other of *Maſtrick* towards *Germany*, there might be no paſſage left for the Kings men who were to enter into *Flanders* either by the one or the other in an hoſtile manner. This was the reſolution of the States General; and this was *Orange* his particular opinion, who governed all things then according to his own will.

But when *Eſcovedo* was come to *Spain*, and the other news of the novelties happened in *Flanders*, being likewiſe advertiſed, continual conſultation was had there touching what was to be done in the affairs of that Country. The King conſidered on the one ſide, that to return to arms again, would be to return to the former vaſt expences, and exceſſive difficulties; and that his enemies, and thoſe that envied his greatneſs, deſired nothing more, then that he might re-enter upon a War of which he ſhould never have an end, and wherein he was to ſpend the flowre of his Militia. There were not wanting ſome in his Councel who did not approve of *Don Johns* retreat to *Namures*, and of his ſurpriſing that Caſtle; as if he had done it not ſo much out of neceſſity, as out of choice, that he might have Forces in his hands, and gather thereout more advantage to himſelf, then to the Kings ſervice. But on the other ſide it was conſidered, that if *Don Johns* ſhould not be preſently ſuccoured, and that with powerfull forces, the Kings affairs in *Flanders* would be utterly loſt; the plots which were practiſed to that purpoſe, both within and without, being too apparent. To boot that there was no way ſeen whereby to come to a peaceable agreement, but by preparing with all poſſible power for a new War.

Theſe opinions being then juſtly weighed, it was reſolved in *Spain*, that Orders ſhould be given to all the Kings Officers in *Italy*, immediately to ſend back thoſe forces into *Flanders*, who were ſome months before come from thence; and who were now almoſt all of them in the State of *Milan*, or in the Kingdom of *Naples*. At the ſame time Commiſſions for the raiſing of horſe and foot were ſent from the King into *Burgony*, *Lorain*, and the neareſt parts of *Germany*. And it fell out luckily that Count *Charls Mansfield*, ſon to Count *Erneſtus*, did then lead back a body of 4000 foot from *France*, which he had formerly brought into that Kingdom for the ſervice of that Crown. So as the Kings Forces began to ſound aloud in divers places, which afforded the Flemiſh ſufficient matter to think upon Their chief deſigne was (as we have a little before ſaid) to beſiege *Namures* and to be Maſters of that Paſs, which was of ſuch importance. Wherefore the States endeavoured with all diligence to bring their men to the Rendeſvous in *Vaures*. And Commanders were already provided for the Army which was a gathering. They had made the Lord *Goygni* Camp-maſter-general; the Count *de Laleigne* General of the foot, the Vicecount of *Gaunt* General of the horſe; and Mr *de la Motte* Maſter of the Artillery. But the ſtrength of their forces did not as yet anſwer to the eagerneſs of their deſign: and therfore they labour'd very hard to get potent ſuccours from their neighbours abroad, and to advantage their Cauſe as much as they might. Theſe endeavors were had (as we have formerly ſaid) in *Germany*, *France*, and *England*. From *Germany* the Palatine *John Caſimire*, promiſed to bring a great ſtrength of men, if they would ſend him mony to pay them. In *France*, that King would not meddle with the revolt of *Flanders*, they having been too buſie in the Domeſtical troubles of his own Kingdom. Nor could the Duke of *Alanſon* much favour the Flemiſh by his own Forces. They therefore placed all their chiefeſt hopes in the Queen of *England*. And doubtleſly they might be better helpt from thence then from any other part, both with men and mony. Wherefore they turned their chiefeſt endeavours thither: and to give it the greater weight and reputation, they ſent a ſolemn Ambaſſy to the Queen, the head whereof was the Marquis of *Haure*. The Queen her ſelf deſired that this clamorous appearance might be made, to the end that ſhe might the better honeſt unto the King of *Spain*, any aid that ſhe ſhould give them, through the publick complaints of the Flemiſh.

A firm Confederacie was by this means made without much difficulty between

tween the Queen and the Belgick States; the ſubſtance whereof was, That each ſide ſhould aſſiſt other interchangeably, with proportionable Forces by Sea and Land. The Queen obliged her ſelf thereunto with preſent effects, and with declaring that ſhe would not ſuffer *Flanders* to be oppreſt. And on the contrary, the States promiſed to aſſiſt the Queen whenſoever ſhe ſhould be moleſted by the common enemy. She ſuddenly ſent an expreſs Ambaſſador into *Spain* to juſtifie this action of hers unto the King, and ſought to honeſt it, by making known how much her intereſt was concerned in not ſuffering her Neighbours to be oppreſt eſpecially the *Flemiſh*, with whom the *Engliſh* had alwayes kept good correſpondencie. She ſhewed the King, that he ought rather to be well pleaſed then offended with what ſhe had done in their aſſiſtance; for that otherwiſe they might peradventure through deſpair have thrown themſelves into the hands of ſome other neighbouring Prince. She exhorted him, ſpeedily to ſend ſome other Governour of his own blood, in ſtead of *Don John*: but chiefly to comply with the *Flemiſh* in their ſo juſt demands, and fairly to compound the affairs of thoſe Countries; to which purpoſe ſhe offered on her ſide to uſe her beſt and moſt powerful mediation. When ſhe had ſatisfied this her palliated reſpect to *Spain*, ſhe failed not readily to perform her true deſigns on the behalf of *Flanders*: ſhe ſuddenly raiſed the monies which were needfull to raiſe the intended Forces in *Germany*, under *John Caſimire*, which were to be moſt of them Horſe, and gave order that a good number of Foot ſhould be ſent out of her own Kingdom. The monies being received, *John Caſimire* was not ſlack in uſing ſuch diligence as was behovefull: Nor was the Duke of *Alanſon* wanting in nouriſhing all hopes of good aſſiſtance from his ſide. The noiſe of theſe ſuccours were greatly amplified by *Orange* and his faction, to make the States Generall ſtill the more reſolute in not liſtning to any accommodation with *Don John*. The Biſhop of *Liege* now become Cardinal, had by Commiſſion from the Emperour endeavoured to begin a new Treaty of Agreement; and though the difficulties grew daily greater, yet he would never give over the Negotiation, hoping that it might one day prove more ſucceſsfull. On the contrary, that it might be the harder to effect, *Orange* cauſed the States to publiſh an Edict againſt *Don John*, wherein in bitter tearms they declared him to be a Violator of the Peace, and made all thoſe that followed him ſubject to the puniſhment of Rebellion, if within 15 dayes they did not reſolve to leave him. *Don John* this mean while, leaving a ſufficient garriſon in *Namures*, was gone into the Province of *Lucemburg*, that he might be the readier to receive the Forces which were to come to him from *Italy*, and which were raiſed in the other neighbouring parts. And mightily encouraged by reaſon of the reſolutions which were put on in *Spain*, according to his deſire, he had deſigned the Town of *Marks* for his Rendezvouz, that he might be the nearer to relieve *Namures*, if need ſhould be, and afterward to enter with all his Forces more into the heart of the Country. This deſign, which was ſoon known by the Flemiſh Commanders, made them haſten the more to beſiege *Namures*, and to keep *Don John* from re-entring into *Brabant*. They therefore approached the City on divers ſides, and poſſeſt themſelves of divers places, that they might begin to begirt it. But neither had they as then men enough, nor did their condition correſpond with the imployment. Their men were almoſt all of them of their own Country, taken up where they could find them, and the moſt of them ill provided; and their Horſe conſiſted of the old Trained-bands of *Flanders*, which were but ſeldom wont to go into the field, and to be imployed in war. They notwithſtanding made ſome progreſs. For *Bovigni*, a Town upon the *Mauſe*, and not far from *Namures*, fell by Treaty into their hands; and in ſome skirmiſhes which hapned between their men and thoſe of *Namures*, they had ſomewhat the better. But all theſe were but petty buſineſſes in reſpect of what they had propoſed unto themſelves as their chief deſign.

The year 1578. now followed. In the beginning whereof all the men being arrived which *Don John* expected from *Italy*, and thoſe being added unto them which he had raiſed in the neighbouring Countries, he would no longer defer drawing near the Enemy. At firſt he temporiſed, till he was better provided of Forces: but now that he was ſo well furniſhed, he thought it made much for *Ann.* 1578.

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his advantage to fall upon the Enemy as ſoon as he could, and fight them before they ſhould have received the foreign Forces which they expected. The Flemiſh Commanders changed likewiſe their deſigns: For whereas before they thought to have beſieged *Namures*, they now determined to retreat to *Brabant*, and to put themſelves into ſome ſafe quarter, till ſtrengthened by foreign forces they might face *Don John*. They had about 10000 Foot, the moſt of them *Walloons*, the reſt *Flemiſh*, unleſs it were one *Engliſh* Regiment, wherein were ſome *Scots* and *French*: They had not above 1500 Horſe, compoſed of the Train'd-Bands of *Flanders*; of 300 Rutters, and as many Dragoons. In the Kings Army there was about 15000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, the moſt of which were *Spaniards* and *Italians*, all of them choiſe men, and all of them long practiſed in military affairs in *Flanders*. At the Kings firſt reſolution of taking up Arms, *Alexander Ferneſe* Prince of *Parma* appeared in *Flanders*, being deſired ſo to doe by the King himſelf, and *Don John* having very much deſired it. *Don John* had had ſufficient experience of this Prince his valour, in the memorable League againſt the *Turks*, and particularly in the Battel at *Lepanto*: wherefore he aſſured himſelf he would prove as valiant now in *Flanders*, Nor was he deceived in his expectation. *Ferneſe* was no ſooner come, then laying aſide all prerogative of blood, wherein he was ſo nearly allied to the King, and to *Don John*, he applied himſelf wholly to thoſe military actions, which were to make him appear as much ſuperior to others in merit, as he was in quality. None could be more carefull then he in providing for all things from time to time; in receiving of the Kings men, as they came into the Province of *Lucemburg*, in quartering of them, in bringing them to the rendezvous, and in all other imployments of the Army. He applied himſelf to thoſe of every Nation; he ſpoke almoſt all their languages: He was the firſt in undertaking any labour, the laſt in giving it over: He was no wayes curious in his diet, nor ſleep; in his apparel more a Souldier then a Prince; and always more intent upon the Kings ſervice then his own. The vigor of his body was no whit inferior to that of his mind; and his martial aſpect did promiſe Victory before it was won. When the Army was come to the Rendezvous, *Don John*, deſirous to make the juſtice of the Kings cauſe appear, and thereby the more inflame the Souldiers to defend it, he with a chearful countenance ſpake thus unto them.

After ſo many Treaties of Peace in vain, at laſt (valiant Souldiers!) Fortune hath pleaſed, or rather Juſtice, to put into your hands an opportunity of eſtabliſhing the Kings authority again in Flanders *by Arms. For what concerned Treaties of Accommodation, what hath not been done? what hath not the King condeſcended unto? I am aſhamed to remember how I arrived in theſe Provinces. When I was come, (I cannot ſay whether more unarm'd, or more unknown) I ſhewed my ſelf totally diſpoſed to Peace, and endeavoured by all means I could to take away thoſe rubs which might hinder the effecting of it. Let the truth be ſaid, and let the true manner of proceedings be known: which on the behalf of the* Flemiſh, *in the handling and concluding of all their Treaties, was much rather to give Laws then to receive them, and to proceed rather like Soveraigns then Subjects. Would they firſt of all have the Peace of* Gaunt *confirmed? I confirmed that Peace. Would they have all the Forts in their own hands? I put them into their hands. Would they have all Foreigners depart? I was contented to be without any Foreign Souldiers. Would they laſtly have an abſolute Flemiſh Government? I did likewiſe ſo far ſatisfie them in that, as retaining hardly the bare and naked title of Governour to my ſelf, all affairs were done by the Councel of State, and all Authority lay in the intire will of the Provinces. So exceeding willing was the King to ſhew his goodneſs and his particular affection towards them. But all would doe no good. And truly, clemencie in Princes ſerves to little purpoſe, when the obſtinacie and diſloyaltie of the Subjects is thereby made the greater. What was not plotted, even from the beginning, to keep me from being received into the Government: and afterwards to drive me out of it? What contempt hath not been ſhewed againſt my perſon? what ſnares have they not laid to take away my life? My retreat or rather my flight to* Namures *doth ſufficiently witneſs it. I confeſs I did not ſo much ſhun death, as the danger of being ſo ſhamefully led to death: For to loſe a mans life in conſpiracie by the hands of murtherers, ought to be reputed as miſerable, as it ought to be eſteemed fortunate to loſe it whilſt one is valiantly fighting*

amidſt



Alexander Farneze Prince of Parma
& Piacenza Governour of ye Lowcountreys.

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amidſt Armies and Batels. After their private, they broke forth into publick conſpiracies. The whole Country roſe up againſt me on a ſudden; and foreigners were called in to aſſiſt their home-forces. And who muſt be the author of the new revolts, but he that was the like of the former? Orange! *that ſeducer of the people; that Architecture of Rebellion: He who plotted treaſon firſt againſt the Church, and then againſt the King: though to ſay truth, he could not fall into the firſt fault, without falling neceſſarily into the ſecond: for the King hath always made the Churches cauſe his own. No Forces can be then more juſt then are theſe of the King: ſince it is apparently ſeen he cannot be more juſtly called to maintain the obedience which is due unto the Church, and that which is due unto his Crown. Every one knows how requiſite a good cauſe is to bring a begun War to a good end. Wherefore ſhould not We then in this behalf augurate good ſucceſs to our undertakings? But our Forces ſhall not prevail more through their cauſe then through their valour. Let every one of you interrogate your ſelves, and call to mind your Military actions, and then let him doubt if he can, whether future victories be not largely to correſpond with thoſe that are paſt. What one ſouldier is there here amongſt you who cannot boaſt of ſome egregious action, upon ſo many occaſions, of either having routed the enemy in parties, or overcome them in battels, or quel'd them in ſieges, or forced by ſome other ſort of loſs to make your victory ſtill the more illuſtrious? On the contrary, the enemies are ſtill the ſame; to wit, tumultuouſly gathered up: governed without any manner of order; without many: full of diſtruſts within themſelves; and with ſuch variety of ends, as branching one cauſe into many, they will not long imbrace or make good any of them. They are now pitched here about* Namures; *and with hardly the name of a ſiege, they keep quiet within their quarters; ſhewing clearly that they put all their truſt in foreign ſuccours, ſince they perceive they can have none from within their ſelves. My purpoſe therefore is to ſet upon them at unawares, and to cruſh them before they ſhall receive their expected ſuccours. This firſt victory will make the reſt more eaſie to us: and which of you is it that have not already dyed your ſwords in the blood of theſe very foreigners, which will now again re-enter* Flanders? *Deſperate hereticks who cannot be at quiet within themſelves, and much leſs amongſt their neighbours: and who not content to make war upon God at their own homes, carry it with all ſort of violence, and execrable impiety abroad to others. Buckle your ſelves then my ſouldiers to the battel: I ask no more of you then your former performances; and am confident to make mine own actions appear ſuch, as that, as my paſt enterpriſes have proved fortunate againſt the* Turks *and* Moors, *they ſhall now be as ſucceſsfull againſt the Hereticks, in this my preſent expedition, and againſt thoſe other rebels that joyn with them.*

Hardly had *Don John* done ſpeaking, when the whole Army filled the air with ſhouts of joy; and gave all ſuch ſignes as might ſhew both will to fight, and hopes to overcome. The Kings Camp marched from their Rendezvous towards *Namures*; and *Don John* advancing himſelf, was the firſt that came to that City; eg'd on by his deſire of knowing the enemies proceedings. To this purpoſe he ſent *Mut. Pagano*, an old ſouldier, towards them with his Company of Dragoons; who brought him certain tidings, that the enemy did already quit their quarters, and did depart from about *Namures*. That never the leſs they ſeemed as if they would make an orderly retreat; and that their intention was to fortifie themſelves at *Gebluns*, a Town upon the Confines of *Brabant*, towards *Bruſſels*; towards which place they had already ſent their baggage. When Armies are near at hand, retreats prove uſually dangerous; and Fortune makes the Commanders vie moſt for valour and induſtry then, whilſt the one ſeeks to retire with honour and ſafety, and the others to beat up their quarters with ignominy and loſs. But the latter have ſtill great advantage upon the former. *Don John* would not therefore let ſlip the occaſion. Count *Peter Erneſtus Mansfield* was Camp-maſter-general of the Army; and *Octavius Gonzaga* General of the Horſe. He ordered *Mansfield* to haſten his march towards *Namures*; and *Gonzaga* to come up ſpeedily with the flowre of his horſe; that he might advance, at leaſt ſome of them, againſt the enemy, and entertain them in the reer whilſt the reſt of the Army might come time enough to give battel, and fare therein according to their hopes. *Gonzaga* readily obeyed; he advanced towards the

enemy

Enemy with nine Companies of Lanciers,and four of Dragoons. At the ſame time came 1500 Foot, moſt of them Spaniards, which *Mansfield* had with all diligence diſpatcht away.

The *Flemiſh* were gathered together in S. *Martins*, a Village between *Namures* and *Geblurs*, where they ordered their retreat with all diligence, that they might not allow the Kings men time to joyn, and to come upon them with the more advantage. They roſe with their whole Camp from that Village the laſt of *January*, and ordered their march thus. They divided their Foot into three bodies, and left the Horſe in the rear, the better to ſecure them behind, and to beat back the Kings horſe in caſe they ſhould fall upon them in their rear as they retreated, as they feared they would. When *Don John* underſtood that they were on their march, he furniſhed ſome advantagious places with Foot, which lay betwixt him and the Enemy; to ſecure the retreat likewiſe of his Horſe,if need ſhould require. He then ſet forward; and they were not gone far when they overtook the Enemy,whoſe Foot could not haſten ſo faſt as did the Kings Horſe. All their Leaders were men of valour and experience: The Lanciers were commanded by *Bernardino de Mendoza*, *Curtio Martiningo*, the two brothers *John Baptiſta*, and *Camillo del Monte*, *Nicolo Baſti*, *Alfonſo di Vargas*, *Ernando di Toledo*, *Aurelio Palermo*, and *Georg Macura*: And the Dragoons by *Antonio Oliviero* Commiſſary-Generall of the Horſe, *Antonio d' Avalos*, *Mutio Pagano*, and *John Alconeta*. The Dragoons came up firſt, and galled the Enemy when they were not far from *Geblures*; and when they had diſcharged their ſhot, they gave way to the Lanciers, who charged them more cloſe and more home. The Enemies Horſe faced about; and boldly receiving the firſt onſet of the Harquebuſiers,they ſeemed as if they would with the like ſtoutneſs ſtand the ſecond aſſault of the Spearmen; but the effect proved otherwiſe. The Prince of *Parma* would be on the head of the Kings Lanciers, and one of the firſt that ſhould charge the Enemy: which he ſo couragiouſly did, and was ſo well followed by the reſt,as the Flemiſh Horſe after having made ſome appearing reſiſtance, gave manifeſt ſigns of yielding. *Don John* came up this-mean while with ſome few Foot,for it was impoſſible to have many time enough to fight. But the Enemy believing that all the Kings men were come up, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, turned their retreat into a downright running away,and ſought only how to ſave themſelves. The Horſe, throwing away their Arms,began to run; and being cloſely purſued by the Kings Horſe, they fell foul upon the rear of their own Foot. They charge, and therewithall confuſion paſt into the body of the Battel, which was likewiſe ſoon diſordered and routed: the Van, which had much advantaged themſelves in their march, received no harm at all. The Enemy being routed, the Kings men fell to execution; but they were ſo few in number, as they could not draw ſo much blood from the Enemy as they would have done. The Enemy fled ſundry wayes, and could not be equally purſued by the Kings men; inſomuch as many of them ſaved their heads by their heels. The report was notwithſtanding,that about 3000 of them were ſlain, and many of them taken priſoners, amongſt which *Il Signor di Goigny*,who was the Enemies moſt conſiderable Commander. There were hardly any of the Kings men ſlain, very few hurt: And truly the Victory was ſuch, as it was doubted whether it were more to be aſcribed to fortune or to valour. *Don John* having got the better of the buſineſs, purſued his victory. He preſently turned towards the Town of *Geblures*, neer unto which the battel was fought: And putting the Enemy to flight a ſecond time; a good many whereof, after their defeat, were got under thoſe wals, and ſeemed as if they would reorder themſelves, he eaſily perſwaded the Townſmen to ſubmit to the Kings obedience. The Kings Camp meeting all here together, the greateſt part whereof, as hath been ſaid, could not be at the battel; *Don John* ſent *Octavio Gonzaga* to take in *Lovain*, and the Lord *Hierges* to recover *Bovigne*. *Gonzaga* met with no oppoſition; and *Hierges* preſenting his Artillery before the walls, he with ſmall reſiſtance reduced that Town likewiſe. But the Prince of *Parma* found harder work at the Town of *Sichen*, to the taking whereof *Don John* had ſent him apart by himſelf. The Town was not ſtrong by nature, nor was it made ſo by induſtry, there was alſo but a weak garriſon in it: And yet the Townſmen and the Souldiers

diers being obſtinate in the defence thereof, the Prince was forced to batter the wal- divers times, and to make many fierce aſſaults; in the laſt whereof the Kings men falling with the Townſmen into the Town, they made great ſlaughter of them, and afterwards plundred the City in hoſtile manner. The Captain of the Garriſon, and ſome of the Souldiers ſaved themſelves in a little Caſtle within the Town, but were forced ſoon after to yield upon diſcretion, and all of them were put to death by the Hangman, for having been more fool-hardy then ſtout, and for having choſen force before clemencie. By the example of *Sichen*, *Diſte*, *Ariſcot*, *Leuve*, *Telemone* and divers other leſs conſiderable places of *Brabant* on the ſide thereof which lies towards *Namures*, came without any diſpute into *Don Johns* hands. *Neville*, one of the beſt Towns in all *Brabant*, lay nearer *Bruſſels*. *Don John* would have taken it by force; but he met with ſuch oppoſition, as he was forced to tarry longer about it then he had thought: He came therefore to batttery, and from thence to aſſaults, which coſt much blood. Monſieur *de Villiers* commanded in chief within the Town, who egregiouſly performed his part, as did alſo all his Souldiers. The Town was not ſtrong notwithſtanding, nor could it hold out long: whereupon the Kings men being much incenſed, and threatening to deal with *Neville* as they had but lately done with *Sichen*, the Townſmen upon better conſideration came to Articles, and reſolved to yield the Town, when the Garriſon ſhould be marcht out with their Arms and baggage. From hence the Army entred into the Province of *Henault*, and without much oppoſition took the Towns of *Reus*, *Gognie*, *Bins*, and *Mabuge*, with divers others of the like condition, which were all but very weak. So as theſe petty victories ſeemed to correſpond but badly with that ſo noble a one which *Don John* had but a little before got at *Geblures*. After the taking of *Nivelle*, *Don John* would willingly have ſtraitned *Bruſſels*, from whence the Archduke *Matthias* and the Prince of *Orange* with evident ſigns of fear were gone to *Antwerp*, to ſecure that City, wherein lay the greateſt conſequence of all the affairs of *Flanders*. But the beſieging of *Bruſſels* would not have been a buſineſs of ſuch diſpatch: For it was a place of large circuit, and greatly peopled, and which might have ſtood out long. Wherefore the Councel of War were of opinion, That it was better firſt to poſſeſs all the Country which lay about *Namures*, to ſecure themſelves ſtill the more of that paſſage, which lay ſo opportunely for the receiving of ſuccours from *Italy*, and which would make the other Paſs over the *Mauſe* at *Maſtrick* the more eaſie; by which Aid in aſſiſtance of the King might likewiſe be brought from the neighbouring parts of *Germany*. Wherefore *Don John* enlarging his Quarters in the two Provinces of *Brabant* and *Henault*, that he might receive his victuals with more eaſe, and in the greater abundance, re-entred into the Country of *Namures*, and reſolved to incamp before *Philippaville*. This is a Town of five royal Bulwarks, which the King fortified, the better to ſecure that Frontier towards *France*, and did therefore honour it with his own name. The Quarters being diſtributed according to the diverſity of the Nations, they began to make Trenches on one ſide: And *Don John* willing to ſhew his ſuperiority as well in pains-taking as in command, applied himſelf with great fervor to ſuch Works as were of greateſt importance. The Prince of *Parma* was alwayes by his ſide: So as by their example every particular Souldier gave himſelf to labour hard in the ſiege. When the Trenches were advanced, ſome Cannon, and Peeces of leſſer bore were planted on that ſide, to bereave the Enemy of defence; and the Kings men coming at laſt unto the ditch, began to lodge there. But thoſe within were not leſs ready in making reſiſtance. *Signor di Glimes* was chief Commander over them, and with him were five Foot-Colours, and one Troop of Carbines on horſ-back: The people were but few in reſpect of the need, and they wanted many things within the Town for their defence. Yet the Enemy ſeeming as if they would maintain it; and encouraged by *Orange*, who promiſed they ſhould within a ſhort time be relieved, they began at firſt to annoy the Kings Camp with frequent ſhot, and by ſome ſallies endeavoured to hinder the working of the Trenches, at leaſt to keep them further off. Being come to fight at nearer diſtance, the actions grew hotter; the aſſailants ſought how to get nearer the walls, and the aſſailed how to keep them further off. But the Kings men did ſo well

well ſhelter themſelves,and did ſo advance with their Trenches and Earth-works, and by their batteries threw down ſo great a part of the Wall, as they prepared to come boldly on to the aſſault, when the Governour reſolved to ſurrender the Town to *Don John*. Some ſuccour was endeavoured to have been brought in, but that failing, the beſieged were much diſcouraged. It was notwithſtanding thought that the Governour was too eaſily perſwaded to ſurrender, being more wrought upon by promiſes from *Don John* then by any neceſſity. And his going over ſoon after to the Kings ſide,turned this opinion into a believed certainty.

When *Don John* was rid of this enterpriſe he reſolved to leave *Gonzaga* with a good part of the horſe, and ſome foot upon thoſe Frontiers of *Hennault* and *Artois*, to withſtand ſome preparations which the Duke of *Alanſon* was making in *France*, againſt *Flanders* on thoſe parts. And *Gonzaga* did luckily defeat ſome Companies of foot who were alreadỳ entred the Country. After this he endeavoured to endamage the Territories thereabouts which were in the hands of the Flemiſh Rebels, by frequent inroads, and eſpecially by deſtroying the corn upon the ground, which was then a ripening. *Don John* ſent the Prince of *Parma* at the ſame time with other Forces to ſtreighen *Limburg*, a Town which gives the name to that Province, and lies near the County of *Namures*, being very commodious for the receiving of aid from *Germany*. At the firſt battery the Town ſurrendred to *Ferneſe*; from whence the Governour retired himſelf into the Caſtle, which is very ſtrong by reaſon of its ſituation, ſtanding upon a very ſteep rock; wherefore he reſolutely prepared to ſtand out. But his ſouldiers were of another mind; for being but very few in number, and having but ſmall or no hopes of being relieved; they would not run the hazard of puniſhment,aſſuring themſelvs that they ſhould eaſily obtain pardon:as they did:for *Ferneſe* ſuffering the Governor to go out free, did not only pardon the other Soldiers, but took them almoſt all into theKings ſervice. This was the proceedings of the Kings Army after the battel of *Geblurs*.This mean while *Norchermes*, Lord of *Selle* was com from *Spain*:by whom theKing had by his Letters ſignified his pleſaure touching the novelties which had happened in *Flanders*. The Contents whereof were, That he would not have the Flemiſh acknowledg any other Governour then *Don John*. For what remain'd,in a language which reliſht both of the ſowre and ſweet, he commended theStates for ſtanding ſo firm in their obedience to him,and to the Church,& aſſured them that whilſt they ſhould perſevere in ſo doing,they ſhould receive all fair uſage from him. And he refer'd himſelf to what the ſame Lord of *Selle* ſhould repreſent more particularly in his name touching the compoſing of the new commotions which were raiſed in thoſe Provinces. But from the time that the States had written unto the King, complaining ſo bitterly againſt *Don John* as we then told you) the affairs on all ſides were ſo imbittered, as there was no means left for any peaceable accommodation. For the States declared themſelves fully reſolved never to acknowledge *Don John* for their Governour. That they had choſen the Archduke *Mathias* to govern them; that therefore they deſired the Government might be left to him; which if otherwiſe, the fault was not theirs, if the ſervice of the Church and King did daily ſuffer detriment. *Selle* procured a Treaty between both parties; but to no end. He then endeavoured that the Prince of *Parma* might negotiate with the States: believing that he, as ſon to the Lady *Margaret*, toward whom the Flemiſh had ſhewed ſo great affection, might be well received by them, and might more eaſily overcome the difficulties which lay on that ſide. But he propoſed that for the Prince his ſecurity, the Prince of *Orange* ſhould the mean while be put into the hands of *Don John*, which made them abſolutely refuſe the Treaty. And for this particular, which had encouraged *Orange*, and ſome others, they grew very jealous of the Treaty mentioned by *Selle*. At this time the Emperour had likewiſe interceded with the Flemiſh, to bring them to ſome good agreement with the King. He had joyned complaints with his exhortations, ſaying, that they had ſtoln the Archduke *Mathias* from him; which action of theirs the King had great reaſon to reſent. But this interceſſion of the Emperours did no good neither: for the Flemiſh lent but little ear to his exhortations; and as for his complaints, they had formerly anſwered them in their juſtifying themſelves in that point. This

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mean while neither ſide omitted the re-inforcing of their Armies: and the States had in particular much ſollicited the haſtning of thoſe Forces which were to come to them from *Germany* and *France*. At this time a Diet of the Empire was aſſembled in the City of *Worms*. Whereupon the States took occaſion, being chiefly councelled thereunto by *Orange*, to ſend the Lord Saint *Aldegonde* to move the Diet to favour their cauſe. He ſpake publickly to this purpoſe, and ſought by all means to exaſperate the Germans againſt the Spaniards, and particularly againſt ſuch actions as had proceeded from the Duke of *Alva*, and which were now diſcried in *Don John*. He demanded aid of the Diet as in a common Cauſe: or that at leaſt they would make ſome favourable Declaration in behalf of the Flemiſh. But not being able to impetrate any conſiderable advantage from that Aſſembly; all their expectations on that ſide lay in the forces which the Palatine *Caſimire* raiſed by means of the monies which the Queen of *England* ſubminiſtred unto him to that purpoſe. Other preparations were at the ſame time making in *France*. But theſe went more ſlowly on; either for that really they met with more difficulties, or that the King and the Queen his mother did cunningly hinder them under hand. *Henry* the third was then King: who in the time of his brother *Charls* the ninth, was called the Duke of *Anjou*; and *Charls* dying without ſons, ſucceeded him in the Crown. *France* had not had a King for many former ages, of greater expectation, and who afterwards made it leſs good. For whilſt Duke of *Anjou*, being made Lieutenant General by his father *Charls* (he being then ſo young as he was hardly able to bear arms) he with ſingular valour had led Armies, won Battels, taken Towns, and by a thouſand other teſtimonies of Military worth, raiſed firm hopes that he was ordained to be the only rooter out of all hereſie: and that chiefly through his means that Kingdom would return to its former ſplendor and greatneſs. And his fame was already ſo ſpread abroad, not only throughout all the corners of *France*, but even throughout all *Europe*, as whilſt he was at the ſiege of *Rochel*, he was with incredible applauſe choſen King of *Poland*. But afterwards leaving that foreign Crown, to ſucceed in his own of *France*, it is not to be believed how much he differred from himſelf on a ſudden; and how ſoon *France* wiſht for the formerly glorious Duke of *Anjou* in their new King. It was then generally held that he with more fervency then ever, would have apply'd himſelf to ſuppreſs the Hugonot Faction by arms; which occaſioned the greateſt misfortunes and calamities to his Kingdom. Nor was there any doubt that the fury of the Hereticks being quel'd (as it was well hoped it would be) by that way, he might likewiſe eaſily have curb'd the ambition of the Catholicks. But inſtead of purſuing War, greedily imbracing peace, and turning that peace into a ſoft and effeminate idleneſs, he ſaw Factions grow greater in his Kingdom; and his own Authority leſs. One of the chiefeſt evils which afflicted *France* at that time, was the variance and diſcord which aroſe in the Royal Bloud. There was none to ſucceed the King but the Duke of *Alanſon*, who was the laſt of four ſons left behind him by *Henry* the ſecond. The Queen Mother did notwithſtanding ſtill live, a woman of a reaching wit, and who long accuſtomed to the ſubtilties of the Court, had no leſs by her induſtry then by her valour, gotten unto her ſelf the chief power of Government, But neither was her cunning, nor the Kings diligence ſufficient to keep the Duke of *Alanſon* from making himſelf ſtill head of ſome one or other Innovation, which ſtill moſt troubled the Kingdom. He was but indifferently indued with parts, either of mind or body; yet his prerogative of being the only brother to the King, and the Kings having no other ſucceſſor, added Authority to his weakneſs, and was ſufficient to give advantage to unquiet minds; that they had ſuch a head for their party.

During the ſo many, and ſo great troubles of *France*, the Flemiſh Rebels could never ingage the King thereof, to ſhew any manifeſt demonſtration of favour towards them. Nay when they offered to put themſelves into his protection, he would not be perſwaded to accept thereof. Applying themſelves afterwards in the ſame kinde to the Duke of *Alanſon*, the King did not only not ſhew himſelf averſe therunto, but thinking it might make much for his advantage, he was tacitely content his brother ſhould accept thereof; to the end that going out of

the Kingdom himſelf, he might likewiſe take many others with him who were raiſers of novelties. This deſign being afterwards publiſhed, the Catholick King complained very much thereof, upbraiding the moſt Chriſtian King how ill this did correſpond to the ſo many aſſiſtances which were given by *Spain* to *France*, ſince that from thence ſo great a fomentation was now preparing to his Rebels in *Flanders*. But *Henry* partly diſſembling, and partly not being indeed able to hinder it, excuſed himſelf, ſaying it was not in his power to withhold his Brother; and that ſince he was not permitted to uſe force to others, he could much leſs uſe it to him. The Duke of *Alanſon* then reſolving to aſſiſt the *Flemiſh* openly by Arms, he had already (as hath been ſaid) ſent ſome Souldiers into thoſe Frontiers of *Flanders* which lie neareſt *France*, and was raiſing as many more as he could thereabouts to that purpoſe. But before he ſhould proceed further in matter of Arms, he thought it neceſſary to juſtifie his action publikely in writing. He therefore publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, the Contents whereof were,

That being oftentimes very much preſt by the Provinces of Flanders *to eaſe them of the oppreſſion which they daily ſuffered more and more by the Spaniſh State-miniſters, He could no longer refuſe ſo juſt intreaties, nor abandon ſo honeſt a cauſe. That thoſe Princes of the Houſe of* Burgony *who had for ſo many years governed thoſe Provinces, were deſcended from the blood-Royal of* France: *That many of thoſe Provinces had been alſo poſſeſt formerly by the Houſe of* France, *and had from thence upon divers occaſions enjoyed thoſe rights and priviledges, which have ſince with infinite violence been taken from them by the* Spaniards. *That the intereſt of* Flanders *with that of* France *was too much concerned in their neighbourhood. That it was the duty of true Princes to protect the innocent and the oppreſſed. That in taking upon him to defend this Cauſe, he was no leſs ſerviceable to the King of* Spain, *then to the people of* Flanders: *ſince it was known that they being already brought to the point of deſpair by the bad uſage of the Spaniſh State miniſters, would at laſt put themſelves under ſome more moderate Dominion, and would by all means poſſible endeavour a more ſupportable condition.*

This mean while the Forces which the Palatine *John Caſimire* had aſſembled together in *Germany*, were already upon the borders thereof. For he being fuller of reſpect, and abounding more in monies by reaſon of thoſe the Queen of *England* had furniſht him withall, might eaſily raiſe an Army, and have it ready to enter *Flanders*. But he would likewiſe firſt honeſt his coming by ſome ſpecious pretence; which was, That he could not deny his aſſiſtance to the *Flemiſh* (who were ſo united to the *Germans*) in ſo juſt a cauſe, as not to ſuffer them to be oppreſt by the *Spaniard*. Having muſtered his men about the end of *June*, at the Rendezvouz appointed to that purpoſe in the Territories of *Zutfen*, beyond the *Rhine*, 'twas ſaid they came to about 16000 Foot and 8000 Horſe, being of divers Nations, but moſt of them *Germans*. The States endeavoured then to draw over unto them all that Country beyond the *Rhine*, eſpecially the Province of *Overiſel*, a good part whereof remained yet in the Kings obedience. The Count *Renenberg* bore Arms for the States there, who did every day ſomewhat advance their affairs, not meeting almoſt with any oppoſition, by reaſon the Kings forces were ſo far off. He had newly taken *Campen*, a place of great conſequence, where the *Yſel* fals into the Sea; and prepared to ſtraiten *Deventer*, which is the chief City of that Province: To facilitate the which, and to make the States Forces greater in thoſe parts, *John Caſimire* reſolved to leave ſome of his men with him. He marched from thence; and advancing with thoſe men which were fitteſt to travel, he ſuddenly paſt over the *Rhine* and *Mauſe*, and within a few dayes entred *Brabant*. He incamped himſelf ſuddenly about *Diſte*, and finding the place but ill provided, made himſelf ſoon maſter thereof; and by the taking of that Town got footing in that Province. The Conditions in this interim were agreed upon, by which the Duke of *Alanſon* and the Rebels of *Flanders* obliged themſelves together in endeavouring thoſe Advantages, which in the Dukes expedition the one part was interchangeably to receive from the other. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable Articles.

That the Duke of Alanſon, *under the title of Protector of the* Belgick *States, ſhould be bound to warfare for a certain time in their ſervice with* 10000 *Foot and* 2000 *Horſe:*



Francis Hercules de Valois Duke
of Anjou Alengon Brabant and
Protector of the Netherlandes.

000 *Horſe: That as much as he ſhould get beyond the* Mauſe *towards* Flanders, *ſhould belong unto the States; and as much as he ſhould win on the other ſide of that River towards* France, *ſhould fall to his own ſhare. That for his greater ſecurity, and the better accommodation of his Army, the Towns of* Landreſey *and* Quiſnoy *in the Province of* Henault *ſhould be aſſigned over unto him, and* Bapalma *in* Artois; *all which places were after a certain time to be reſtored upon certain conditions. That the States ſhould not make any agreement with* Don John *without the Dukes conſent, and the like of the reſt that were joyned in league with them That if there ſhould be occaſion of chuſing a new Prince, they ſhould prefer the Duke before all others: That in the mean while the Government ſhould remain wholly in the Authority of the States, and that the Duke ſhould not innovate any thing therein.*

This Agreement being made, the Duke went preſently to the Town of *Mons*, which is the chief Town in the Province of *Henault*: And here in the name of the States he received a ſolemn Ambaſſie by the Duke of *Ariſcot*, who was attended by many other perſonages of quality. He was ſent particularly to ſollicite the Duke to move with his men, and to enter as ſoon as he could, to the end that the Forces of *Germany* and *France* joyning quickly with the ſelf-Forces of *Flanders*, *Don John* might be the ſooner and more eaſily driven out of the Country. The States had this mean while brought their men to the Rendezvouz about *Lira*, in the bowels of *Brabant*; and Archduke *Mathias* was gone thither in perſon, next whom Count *Boſſu* commanded in chief, he being choſen Camp-maſter General of the Army. Their Souldiery was compoſed part of their own *Flemiſh*, part of Foreigners, and they were chiefly *Engliſh* and *Scots*: Nor were they as then above 8000 Foot and 2000 Horſe. Whilſt ſo great a body of Arms was preparing againſt *Don John* on all ſides, he had likewiſe been diligent in making all neceſſary proviſions on his behalf: He had raiſed as many men in the neareſt parts of *Germany*, and particularly in the County of *Burgony*, as the ſhortneſs of time, and his ſcarcity of mony would permit him to doe: He expected freſh and powerful Supplies ſpeedily from *Italy*, as the King had promiſed him, as alſo to furniſh him with monies to maintain the war gallantly. Having then aſſembled the body of an Army together, which might conſiſt of 12000 Foot and 4000 Horſe, he made no longer delay. Having left the places of greateſt importance which were in his poſſeſſion well provided for, he reſolved ſpeedily to fight the Flemiſh forces, and to doe his utmoſt to break them before the Foreigners were come to them. The *Flemiſh* were come from their rendezvouz, to quarter in a ſtrong and very opportune ſituation near the Village *Rimenante*, not far from the City of *Malines*. *Brabant* is cut almoſt through the midſt by the River *Demer*, which having about the end of its courſe watered the City of *Malines*, fals afterwards into the *Scheld*. The *Flemiſh* were quartered between this River and the Village *Rimenante*; the River ſerved them for a rampier on one ſide, and they were covered on the other ſide by a Wood which ſtood in the neighbouring fields not far from the Village; they were well fortified in all other parts by good Trenches, eſpecially on that ſide where they might be the eaſilieſt aſſaulted by the Kings men. Towards that place *Don John* bent his courſe; and being paſt the Town of *Ariſcot*, ſituated upon the ſame River, he approached orderly towards the Flemiſh quarters. His chiefeſt endeavour was to draw the Enemies out of their Trenches, and to engage them in ſome hot Skirmiſh, which might afterwards bring them to a downright Battel. To this purpoſe he ſent forth a good number of Horſe to provoke the Enemy; but they making only ſuch oppoſition as was needful, would not engage themſelves further. He laboured once more to provoke them, and facing them with his whole Army, boldly bade them battel though ſtill with leſſer hopes to bring them to it; for the *Flemiſh* knew themſelves to be too inferior to the Kings men, both in numbers and in valour. There hapned notwithſtanding a bloody skirmiſh. The Enemy had a place of great conſequence without their Trenches, which was guarded by the *Engliſh* Foot, and who were commanded by Colonel *Norris*, a Gentleman of the ſame Nation, and a Souldier of great experience and courage. *Don John* would try to make himſelf maſter thereof; hoping ſtill, that when they ſhould be engaged in fight, all the reſt of the Flemiſh Camp would be drawn to battel.

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Hee therefore assaulted the English with a number of choice Spanish foot and in their front were placed 200 yet more choice men, of a particular famous Company which *Alonzo Martines di Leva* had brought out of *Spain* to *Flanders* at his own cost and charges. The same *Leva* had a little before quitted the place of General of the Spanish Gallies; and to shew his greater zeal and valour in the Kings service, had by his own monies raised the aforesaid 200 foot, and resolved to lead them to the Kings Army in *Flanders*. There was not any one of them that was not either a Gentleman born, or a souldier of quality: for many that had formerly been Officers in *Flanders*, had put themselves into this Company. The assault was exceeding fierce; but it was no less couragiously sustained by the English who were all of them likewise old souldiers, and who being favoured by the neighbouring Trenches covered by Artillery, did by the advantage of their shot make more lively and more stout resistance. Here the conflict grew greater: according as hope or fear altered on either side, the succours on both sides did likewise alter. But the Kings men fought upon too great disadvantage; for the enemy fighting in sight of their own works, and under the shelter of their own Canon, might easily repress the violence of the Spanish souldiers: whereas the others not having any of those helps, must trust only to their courage, and to their swords. *Don John* knew this very well; and advancing with all his squadrons in order to give battel, he staid a while, to try again whether the enemy would accept of it. But failing in his designe, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and withdrew his foot in good order from the fight. This action was on the first day of *August*; it lasted many hours with equal valour and slaughter; though the Flemish pretended to be victors, and that the Kings men not being able to compass their ends, were worsted. *Don John* departed then from thereabouts and resolved to put himself wholly upon the defensive part, in some strong situation, which might joyn his quarters with the City of *Namures*, hoping that the tempest of so many contrary Forces would soon vanish, and that then he might have his share of the advantage. He considered that though the ends of *England*, *Frrnce* and *Germany* were the same in general, either to make the King of *Spain* lose the Low-Countries, or at least to keep them troubled with war; yet their several particular ends did very much differ. The Queen of *England* aimed at some particular conquest of her own, especially in those Maritine parts of *Holland* and *Zealand*: and she could not any ways tollerate those advantages which were to redound to *France* out of the ruining of *Flanders*. The French on the contrary were very jealous of those aids which were lent unto the Flemish by the English. The Germans ends were rather plunder then purchase; who when they should have overrun the Country, wanting mony to maintain themselves, they would soon be inforced to return to their own homes. Amongst the Flemish themselves *Orange* had likewise his particular ends. The Archduke *Mathias* had his ends also; and the whole body of the Provinces was greatly divided in its parts, as well in point of Religion, as in their obedience to the King. For those parts which were infected with heresie, seemed well inclined totally to throw off the Spanish Government; and those which remained Catholicks, desired to be rid of the Spaniards and other foreigners, but yet still to remain in their obedience to the Crown of *Spain*. So as amongst such diversity of ends, Passions and Opinions, *Don John* verily believed that this machination prepared and plotted against him, would soon dissolve; and that he might afterwards meet with many happy occasions whereby to maintain the cause of the Church and King with honour and advantage. And really at that time the two Provinces of *Hennault* and *Artois* began to fall out with the Province of *Flanders*, and particularly with the City of *Gaunt*, which is the chief Town thereof. The two aboveſaid Provinces had always kept firm to the Catholick Faith, together with the rest of the Walloons Country, which contains all that large Frontier, which lies along the whole body of *Flanders*, towards *France*.

In the Peace of *Gaunt* which was so solemnly concluded by the States General, and which was afterwards confirmed by *Don John* in his agreement with them, the Walloon Provinces had laboured more then all the rest for all advantages to the Catholick Religion; nor were the people thereof ever inclined to

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forgoe their obedience to the King, ſo long as they might enjoy their ancient Priviledges, and he according to the form of their former Government. On the contrary, the two Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* had ſtill fomented the new Sects; and the more the Country was troubled, the more did they labour to make the evil thereof be felt every where. Theſe were *Orange* his inward driſts, and his efficacious Councels. And to his induſtry in knowing how to give them, the favour of the times had added great Authority in him, to make them be received. Briefly his end was to increaſe the heretical faction, and ſtill to alienate the Flemiſh further from the Spaniards, out of thoſe reaſons that we have often mentioned. Wherefore minding the conjuncture of times, he thought it now a very fitting ſeaſon to bring together the two Armies which came from *Germany* and *France*; the one of which was compoſed almoſt altogether of Luthe rans, and the other in a great part of Calveniſts: The Sectaries were not then idle in *Flanders*. Some of them joyned together, and preſented the States with a Petition in the names of them all, wherein under the moſt ſpecious pretences that they could find out, they deſired that liberty of conſcience might be permitted throughout the Country. There wanted not thoſe who oppoſed this requeſt; but the contrary ſide prevailed. Nor had *Orange* forborn tacitly to infuſe a great fear, ſuggeſting, that upon the coming up of ſo many Forces who profeſt the Reformed Religion, it was not good to deny that to the preſſures of intreaties, which might eaſily be afterwards gotten by force of arms. And becauſe the peace of *Gaunt* made againſt this, the ſenſe thereof was ſo wreſted, as that the peace was judged rather favourable, then contrary to this ſort of conceſſion. Yet the Provinces of *Hennault* and *Artois*, and the reſt of the Walloon Countries were firm for the ſole exerciſe of the Catholick Religion. But the Provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders* did for the moſt part give way to the liberty of conſcience. This mean while the Palatine *John Caſimire* was come, as hath beeen ſaid, and *Alanſon* drew ſtill nearer on the other ſide. Whereupon the Sectaries boldneſs increaſing, not contented with many Churches which were aſſigned to them, but reſolute to have the beſt and the greater number, they brought affairs to that paſs, as on a ſudden there was hardly any Churches left for the Catholicks. And becauſe one preſumption uſually cals on another; after they had uſurped the Churches, they came ſoon after to the driving out of Votaries; and their fury and madneſs grew to be ſuch, as there was hardly any ſafety to be found for any Catholicks. Thoſe who had any zeal of true religion in them, were therefore highly ſcandalized hereat: and the Walloon Provinces fell particularly into ſuch commotion by reaſon of theſe novelties, as they began to ſeparate themſelves from the reſt, firſt in their Councels, and then in their executions. The Flemiſh ſouldiery was maintained by the Countries contribution mony. And by the ſame moneys proviſion was to be had in a great part for the pay and other neceſſaries of the foreigners. The Provinces of *Hennault* and *Artois* becoming therefore refractory to this contribution, the States began to be in great ſtraits for money, and to foreſee the diſorders which would quickly inſue hereupon. They uſed all means, induſtry, and authority to overcome the aforeſaid difficulties; but they increaſed rather every day, for the occaſions thereof did ſo likewiſe. The Catholicks in thoſe parts ſtormed mightily, complaining,

That under falſe pretences of liberty, Flanders *was now faln into greater ſlavery then ever. That Arms were taken up for driving out the Spaniards, but not for that the Country ſhould be more tyrannized over by the Flemiſh themſelves, To what other end did* Orange *his ambition tend? What other deſigne had his adherents? That Arms were at firſt taken up in* Holland *and* Zealand *under ſpetious pretences. And finally, it was not enough that the Inquiſition ſhould be hindred, but that in lieu thereof the new ſects of hereſies ſhould have defuſed their venom throughout all thoſe parts, ſhould have alienated thoſe Provinces from the Church, and begun manifeſtly to alienate them alſo from the King. That the former diſobedience made way for the ſecond; the one not being to be ſevered from the other. That in the interim*, Orange *under the name of Governour, did retain almoſt the whole authority of Prince. That by the ſame cunning he had rather forced then gotten the Government of* Brabant. *That now under falſ pretences liberty of conſcience was demanded throwout the whole*

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Country. And with what intent? unleſs it were to make Liberty fight againſt Liberty to wit, the unjuſt Liberty of Hereſie againſt the legitimate Liberty of the Church: to the end that the latter being oppreſt, the people might the eaſilyer withdraw themſelves from their Allegiance to the King. That it was time now to dive into the knowledge of ſuch ends; and not only to know them, but to break them. Let Brabant *and* Flanders *be of another opinion, and let thoſe other Provinces joyn with them: the Country of* Walloons *would ſtill continue in the ſole Catholick Religion, and (with ſafety to its Priviledges) in their ſole Allegiance to the King of* Spain.

Theſe words full of indignation, were ſoon accompanied with acts as angerſom. For the two Provinces of *Henault* and *Artois* would not aſſign over *Landrecy*, *Quiſnoy*, and *Balpema* to the Duke of *Alanſons* men, as was ordered in the agreement made between him and the States; and with the ſame reſolution denied to pay their ſhare for the Souldiery. This commotion of the *Walloons* made thoſe of *Gaunt* rage horridly, as thoſe who were naturally moſt given to revolt, and had more readily received Liberty of Conſcience, allowing all advantage to Hereſie amongſt them, and taking up Armes, they reſolved to uſe force againſt the *Walloons*. *John Caſimire*, after having ſpoken with the Archduke *Mathias* was at this time gone to *Gaunt*. In this his coming his chief aim was to get money for his Souldiers; who not able to move for want of Pay, did not at all advance, but talked rather of mutinying then of fighting. he *Gaunteſes* did in part ſatisfie his deſires; and favoured by him, took ſo much heart againſt the *Walloons*, as they reſolved more then formerly to force them to joyn with them. The Province of *Flanders* is divided into two parts: The one, and which is the greater part, and wherein *Gaunt* and the other chief Towns and Cities are contained, is called by the name of *Flemicant*, becauſe nothing but *Flemiſh* is ſpoken there: The other, which is the leſſer. but which hath in it likewiſe many good Towns, is called *Gallicant*, becauſe the French tongue is commonly uſed there. The former lies towards the Sea, and the other towards the *Walloons* Country. The *Flemicant* part of the Province went hand in hand in all things with the *Gaunteſes*; and the *Gallicant* inclined towards the *Walloons*, as being more addicted to the Catholick religion then to Hereſie. As ſoon as the *Gaunteſes* had taken up Arms, the *Walloons* did the like, and divers acts of hoſtility were committed by both ſides; in particular the *Walloons* entred the Town of *Menin*, ſituated upon the River *Liſa*, which divides the *Flemicant* part of *Flanders* from the *Gallicant*, and here they began to fortifie themſelves, and to prejudice the adverſe Country. The *Walloons* would not notwithſtanding, for all this their difference with the other *Flemiſh*, either acknowledge *Don John* for their Governour, nor any wayes adhere to the actions of the *Spaniards*: which cauſed ſome of them to take unto themſelves the name of *Malcontents* This was a name taken at the firſt by ſome of the prime Nobility; from them it ſpread abroad into divers of meaner quality, and was finally uſed by every one of that Country. Many of them wore a Chaplet of *Pater-noſters*, and of *Ave-Maria's* about their necks, to ſhew that they would keep good Catholicks; and all of them did generally declare, that they would continue loyal to the King when they ſhould be reſtored to their former Government. This was the ſo famous Faction of *Malcontents*, which afterwards proved very advantagious to the Kings affairs, as ſhall be ſeen in the purſuit of this Story. *Orange* was not this mean while ſo blinded in endeavouring his advantage by Hereſie, but that he clearly ſaw how great a prejudice ſuch a diviſion might work: He deſired the Heretick Army might prevail, but yet that the Catholicks ſhould have all their due rites for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that would not abandon them. Wherefore he failed not to uſe all poſſible means, as alſo his own and the States authority to compound the aforeſaid differences. To this purpoſe the Lord *S. Aldegond* went with ſome other perſonages of quality to *Gaunt*: but the people there liſtening more to their Ringleaders, who were ſeditious, and for their own private intereſts more inclin'd to foment then to finiſh the begun differences, would by no means be brought to alter their reſolutions.

Thus ſtood the affairs of *Flanders* when the Duke of *Alanſon* came in with his Army, which was more expected then well received by *Orange* his own faction: for

for he brought not ſo many with him as he was tyed to do, and thoſe but ill provided of what was neceſſary for their own maintenance. *Alanſon* had found it more eaſie to raiſe men, then to raiſe money; for he had little or none of his own. And the King his brother being neither able, nor willing to aſſiſt him openly, for the reaſons touched upon before, his hopes fell very ſhort likewiſe on that ſide. And the King of *Spain* had again renewed his complaints to the King of *France* for this buſineſs of *Alanſon*. He had likewiſe done the like in very ſharp tearms with the Queen of *England*, for the aſſiſtance ſhe had given the Rebels in *Flanders*. And for *Germany*, he complained likewiſe of the Emperour becauſe he had not uſed more effectual means to hinder *John Caſimires* expedition; and all theſe complaints wrought this effect, that expreſs perſonages were ſent from each of them to ſee if it were poſſible to bring the Affairs of *Flanders* to ſome good agreement. The King forbare not to make great preparations for War; but he would much more gladly have ſeen peace in *Flanders*, ſo as it might have been done without prejudice to Religion, or to his honour. Nor were there wanting ſome of his Councellers, who interpreting *Don Johns* actions worſe then before, thought him to be in a great part the cauſe of all the new Tumults which had happened ſince the ſo ſolemn agreement made between him and the Provinces: as if that he had deſired to govern rather armed, then unarmed; and that he believed he might compaſs ſome of his own ends eaſilyer by troubles then by quiet. So as by reaſon of theſe jealouſies which were had of *Don John*, and which had got a little rooting in *Spain*, peace in *Flanders* was the more deſired by the Spaniards. Wherefore about the end of *Auguſt* all theſe Ambaſſadors met in *Antwerp*: The Count *Znarzemburg* from the Emperour, Preſident *Belliure* from the King of *France*; and from the Queen of *England Walſingam*, her firſt Secretary, and with him another called *Cobham*. But it was ſoon ſeen that *Ceſars* endeavours wanted authority; and the reſt candidneſs: For both *England* and *France* did ſufficiently deſire to have the troubles and diſorders wherewith *Flanders* was afflicted, continue. Nor did this opinion prove vain. The meetings were more for ſhew then ſubſtance, and their endeavours ended almoſt as ſoon as they were begun: to boot that in very deed the difficulties which were met with on all ſides were very great. Each party would juſtifie all they had done, and all that they pretended to. Wherefore all Treaty of Agreement being ſuddenly broken, they continued in their former heat of preparing for war. The Flemiſh regained *Ariſcot*, and *Nevile*; and tryed (but in vain) to recover *Lovain*. On the other ſide the French entring into the Province of *Henault*, beſieged *Bins*, and after ſome aſſault, took it, and put it to the plunder. But theſe were buſineſſes of ſmall importance, in reſpect of what the Rebels hoped for from the union of ſo many Forces which they had received, to ſide with them from all parts. *Orange* laboured more then all the reſt to bring them together: and herein his adherents uſed likewiſe their beſt diligence.

Miſerable *Flanders!* every where ſo full of Arms, and ſo lacerated, as it was queſtionable whether ſhe were more afflicted by her own, or by foreign Forces: and whether thoſe or theſe in ſeeming aſſiſtance bore the moſt ſpetious title? *Don John* this mean while kept with his men within his quarters which he had fortified without *Namures*, to withſtand the aſſaults of the enemy. Theſe Fortifications were about two miles and a half in compaſs, and did ſo much the more ſhelter the City; ſo as that paſſage towards *Germany* and *Italy* was very well ſecured, and his Army very well provided of all things neceſſary for the maintenance thereof: Wherefore *Don John* hoped ſhortly both to receive powerfull aid, and to ſee thoſe disband which the enemy had aſſembled together for their ſervice. Theſe were his deſigns theſe were his hopes; when in their very hight he fell ſick, his malady ſo increaſing as he died within a few days. When he was near his end, he ſent for the Duke of *Parma*, and after having in a very affectionate manner recommended the Kings ſervice to him, he ſubſtituted him in his own place not any ways doubting but that by the ſo many Prerogatives both of bloud and valour which met in him, the King would ſuddenly confirm him in that Government.

Thus dyed *Don John*, not being yet full thirty three years old. The Emperour

Charles the Fifth was his Father; and Madam *de Plombes*, a Lady of noble birth in *Germany*, his Mother. The Emperour before his death gave the King his Son great charge of him: who at first had in his private thoughts destin'd him to an Ecclesiastical life; but afterward changing his mind, bred him up in the Military profession. Wherein by three memorable enterprises he eterniz'd his name. In the first, he bridled the *Moors* Audacity; in the second, the *Ottoman* Pride; and in the third, the Fury of the *Flemish*. In each of these his successes did much exceed his years: He overcame the *Moors*, when but yet a Youth; he abated the edge of the *Turk*, at the very entrance into the flower of his age; and he did so master-like suppress the *Belgiques*, as greater skill could not have been shewn by any whatsoever antient and most perfect Commander. He had in him very excellent gifts both of body and mind. In his aspect, Majesty and Grace; strength of Body to undergoe labour: He was affable with the Souldiery, vigilant answerable to his Command; wise in the greatest difficulties, but having a heart much willinger to encounter then to shun them. Many could have desired that he had been less amorous, and not so easie to believe reports. He was so greedy of Glory, as many judged it to be an aspiring after Empire. Which made him at last be envied, and so far suspected, as made his service to the King doubtful; as if from being Governour, he had aspired to be Prince of *Flanders* and that to this purpose he had held private correspondencie with the Queen of *England*, and proceeded more secretly to expres negotiations of Marriage. Which was cause why his death was thought to be rather procured, then natural. But whatsoever the business was, (wherein truth might be overclouded by calumny) He dyed with the fame of singular valour, and great applause: Worthy assuredly to have lived longer, and not less worthy to have proceeded from a Conjugal bed; and to have commanded rather as absolute Prince, then as a subordinate Officer.

Finis Partis Primæ.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Second Part.

BOOK I.

The Contents.

The Prince of Parma *is confirmed Governour of* Flanders *by the King. The Prince thought firſt to draw the* Walloon *Provinces to ſide with the King by the way of negotiation: but in the interim he applies himſelf with all fervor to the management of Arms. He ſtands at firſt upon his defence. The Foreign Forces vaniſh:* Alanſon *returns for* France, *and* John Caſimir *for* Germany. *The Prince hereupon paſſeth from the defenſive part to the offenſive. He reſolves to beſiege* Maſtrick. *The deſcription of that place. The Royaliſts endeavours in oppugning it, and the reſiſtance made by the Defendants. The Royaliſts at laſt prevail, and the Prince is maſter of the Town. An agreement between him and the* Walloon *Provinces. It is endeavoured to reconcile all the other Provinces likewiſe to the King; but in vain. Small ſucceſſes of War on all ſides. The* Flemiſh *think of chooſing a new Prince, and to caſt off their obedience to the King of* Spain. *This is chiefly fomented by* Orange. *Their Deputies meet together in* Antwerp *to this purpoſe, and there is much conſultation about it. Some of the Heretiсks are for the Queen of* England, *other ſome for the Duke of* Alanſon. *The Catholicks opinion in this point. The Aſſembly leans much more to* Alanſon. *The Deputies depart, and return to their own Provinces, to make each of them ſeverally reſolve fully upon the choiſe. The war continues this mean while on both ſides. The King would*

have the Dutcheſs of Parma *return to* Flanders, *and why. She is not well come thither, when ſhe earneſtly deſires to go back to* Italy: *which ſhe obtains leave to do. The whole Government of the Country remains therefore in the Prince her ſon. The Flemiſh Rebels agree in their former reſolution of chuſing the Duke of* Alanſon *for their new Prince. What followed thereupon; and with what conditions.*

1578. THe Kings Army was much afflicted for the death of *Don John*; it is hardly to be believed what ſence of ſorrow was ſhewed for it, for many days throughout the whole Camp. The news thereof coming to *Spain*, the King ſtaid awhile before he would confirm the Prince of *Parma* in the Government of *Flanders*. He very well knew the Prince his Military worth. But then again he feared, leſt that his warlike ſpirit might not rather make him deſire the continuance of the war, then to ſee thoſe Provinces reſtored to peace: which the King deſired above all things; always provided (as hath been often ſaid) that all due obedience were given to the Church, and the like to his Crown. Moreover the King had had it often formerly in his thoughts, to ſend the Dutcheſs of *Parma* back again into *Flanders*, if it ſhould prove needfull to remove *Don John* from that Government. He called to mind what ſatisfaction her former Regency had given unto thoſe people; and to make it prove the better again, he thought to place her ſon the Prince of *Parma* with her for the part of Arms, thinking that the Government being thus tempered, the people would be much better pleaſed, and his ſervice might on all ſides be better done. The King therefore was a while doubtfull what to do in this caſe. But becauſe ſpeedy remedy was to be applyed to the evils of *Flanders*, and for that the King could not doubt but the Prince of *Parma* would with all loyalty and devotion do as he ſhould be by him directed; therefore without more adoe he approved of *Don Johns* Declaration, and confirmed the Prince in the Government of thoſe Provinces. The Kings Army was greatly rejoyced to hear of this choice; thinking that by the proximity of his bloud, and by his greater reſemblance in valour, *Don John* might ſeem to live ſtill in the Prince. Wherefore *Ferneſe* applyed himſelf wholly to the Government committed to his charge. His firſt reſolution was, To endeavour by all means poſſible to draw the Walloon Provinces over to the Kings ſide. He conſidered of what importance it would be to have ſo great, and ſuch Catholick forces within the Country, ſide with the Church and with the King. And that on the contrary, Rebellion and Hereſie could not be weakened by any means better then by this. He therefore began to endeavour this by ſeveral ways. He treated chiefly with the Nobility, who enjoy particular prerogatives in the Walloon Provinces; and to whom the vulgar ſort do uſually adhere, when the States do meet. But notwithſtanding, this overture of a Treaty, did not at all allay his ardency to War. Putting on therefore *Don Johns* reſolution he determined likewiſe to keep within thoſe quarters wherein the Army was fortified about *Namures*; and to expect there, till the enemies forces ſhould vaniſh; eſpecially the foreign aids, which out of the reaſons formerly alleadged, he thought would not be long a doing. Nay his hopes thereof were the more increaſed, for that the diſſentions grew every day greater amongſt the Flemiſh. He therefore attended the guarding of his quarters; the keeping of his ſouldiers in perfect good diſcipline; and did at the ſame time very much ſollicite the King, that he would ſpeedily provide moneys for the neceſſaries of the Army, and ſend over new men. This mean while the diſorders grew daily greater amongſt the Flemiſh Rebels. For, divided in divers ſorts amongſt themſelves, both in affairs of Religion, and in other things which reſpected the State, of one common cauſe, they had made many particular ones; and every Province having its own particular ends, few of them joyned any longer in their reſolutions (as they ought to have done) with thereſt. The chiefeſt conteſtations were between the Walloons and Gaunteſes, as hath been ſaid; nor was it ever poſſible to find any means how to accord them. Whence falling from words

words to blows, neither of them paid their Contributions first agreed upon to the common Cause being kept from doing so by the necessity of converting it to their own peculiar uses.

The Faction of the *Malcontents* grew this mean while still the stronger; for almost all the Nobility of *Henault* and *Artois* had wound themselves thereinto. The *Gaunteses* and their adherents received their greatest indammagements from this Faction; nor could there be a greater contrariety then was between them The *Malcontents* seemed more resolute then ever to continue in their Catholick purity, and their due Allegiance to the King; and the *Gaunteses* shewed themselves full as resolute to have only the contrary exercise in point of Religion, and in all other things shewed their abhorrition of the Soveraignty of *Spain*. So as by reason of this variance between the Confederate Provinces, their first Union was mightily weakned Together with their want of money, they began daily to be wanting in their Souldiers: and not being able to maintain their own home-Souldiers, much less able were they to maintain those very many that they had received from abroad. Wherefore the *French* and *German* Aids did no more service; but instead of easing the Country, ran out licentiously on this side and that side; and failing of their Pay, paid themselves with large usury by Rapine; insomuch that it was doubted whether they might not fall from tumultuary Freebooting to some downright Mutiny. This necessity, and these dangers were represented to the States by *Casimir* and *Alanson*, who desired instant remedy. But such evils could not be helped, unless provisions were had first for the discords which were the occasion thereof, which by reason of the aforesaid difficulties were become irremediable; though the States, and in particular *Orange* used all possible care and diligence to compose them. It was clearly seen, that the greatest novelties arose from the *Gaunteses*: wherefore at the States desire, *John Casimir* went again to *Gaunt*, and used all the most efficacious means he could to reduce the *Gaunteses* to a more moderate sense. But all was lost labour, especially by reason of the obduration of those Ringleaders, who for their own self-interest did the more willingly nourish sedition in that City. This was the cause why *John Casimir*, by *Orange* his advise resolved to go himself to *England*, to perswade the Queen to be more firm in favouring the *Flemish* with her assistance, especially in point of monies. But the Queen, after having received him very honourably, were it either that she would not further offend the King of *Spain*, or that she could not really be at further expences, sent him away with bare terms of good Intention, and with ambiguous hopes, which were soon after resolved to the negative. *John Casimir* being returned from *England* to *Flanders* without any good issue in his Negotiation, found many of his men already disbanded, and the rest ready to doe the like, unless he would reconduct them to *Germany*. *Alanson's* French forces were likewise much lessened; and the Commanders authority on either side did but little avail to retain the Souldiers in their due obedience, when once they failed of their Pay Insomuch as both of them were inforced to return almost at the same time, *Alanson* to *France*, and *Casimir* to *Germany*; leaving it questionable whether of them had with greater hopes undertaken the expedition, or ended it with less good. The Foreign Aids being thus vanisht, the *Flemish* Forces were likewise suddenly dispersed into sundry parts. *Ferneze* dallied then no longer: but thinking that it was now time to pass from the defensive to the offensive part, resolved immediately to take the Field, and to endeavour such success to the Kings Forces, as might most strengthen his Cause. The Enemy had no more Forces to withstand the Royalists in the Field; wherefore *Ferneze* was forced to betake himself to some of their chief Towns, by the gaining whereof greater advantages might derive unto the King. Consideration being had hereupon in the Councel of War, they pitched upon one of two important Sieges; either that of *Antwerp*, or that of *Mastrick*. But there was great opposition in the Councel concerning which of these they should resolve upon. To perswade to the first, it was said,

That the Acquisition of Antwerp *was much to be preferr'd before that of* Mastrick. *That* Antwerp *lay in the heart of the best Provinces of* Flanders, *and for its so many Prerogatives was esteemed the nown paramount of all the Country: that by it the*

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Scheld *was commanded in particular; ſo noble a River, and ſo ſeated, as having its Ebbs and Floods, it may ſeem to partake more of the Sea then of a River. That from thence a man may ſoon be in the heart of* Holland *and* Zealand, *in which two Provinces Rebellion was firſt radicated, and they were the firſt which ought to be reduced to their obedience. That* Antwerp *and the* Scheld *had abundantly furniſht Forces, which had ſo often been imployed by water againſt thoſe Provinces. That* Zealand *was the chief Sea-Fort of* Flanders, *which was by all means to be opened for the receiving of ſuch Aids as were to come by Sea from* Spain. *And that though the ſiege of* Antwerp *was likely to coſt more time, more mony, and more blood, yet all theſe were to be eſteemed but light loſſes, in reſpect of making ſo important and ſo deſireable an acquiſition.*

But it was ſaid on the contrary,

That firſt of all they were to ſecure the Paſs of Germany. *That from thence the Flemiſh Army had alwayes received their greateſt aids: And by what paſs, but by that which by her Bridge over the* Mauſe *the City of* Maſtrick *doth ſo advantagiouſly open and ſhut? How oft had that place been made a Rendezvouz, not only to receive Aid from Friends, but to repulſe the Enemy. That in the ſiege of* Antwerp, *it would prove a very hard buſineſs to maſter the* Scheld *by any whatſoever Bridge, by reaſon of her breadth and depth, and by the force which the ebbing and flowing of the Sea would adde thereunto. And yet that was the firſt thing that was to be done, to cut off the relief which would be hourly brought to the beſieged by that way. That on the contrary, in the higher parts towards* Maſtrick, *the* Mauſe *was neither very large, nor very deep, nor held ſhe any commerce with the Sea: ſo as that River might be ſhut up above and beneath, whereby all ſuccour by water might be cut off from the City; and doubtleſs the Camp would hinder all relief by land. That when this Siege ſhould be ended, there would be much greater hopes of happily effecting the other. And that, finally, the preſent conjuncture of affairs did require, that the eaſieſt enterpriſe ſhould be firſt undertaken; and the Army ſo imployed within, as firſt to ſecure the Aids which might be received from abroad.*

This opinion at laſt prevailed, and was willingly imbraced by the Prince of *Parma*. He ſaw that really the Army was not ſufficiently furniſht with Arms and proviſions to beſiege *Antwerp*: wherefore he bent himſelf wholly againſt *Maſtrick*, reſolving to doe his utmoſt to make himſelf Maſter thereof. This mean while the year 1579. was begun. When the ſharpeſt part of winter being over, the Prince began to aſſemble his Army, and about the end of *March* marched to effect his premeditated deſign. The Kings Army conſiſted of about 15000 Foot and 4000 Horſe, all of them men trained up in war, and much more conſiderable for their quality then for their number. When the *Flemiſh* Rebels had diſcovered the Prince his reſolution, they failed not to provide with all diligence for that City; being as reſolute to uſe all means for the defence thereof, as the others were for the taking it. Monſieur *de la Nue* was then in *Flanders*, with the title of Lieutenant under *Orange*. He was one of the chief Heads of the *Hugonot* Faction in *France*: But that Kingdom being at this time in ſome ſort of quiet, he was come into the Army of the Confederate *Flemiſh*, and had with great eſteem the aforeſaid place conferr'd upon him, and moreover was made Governour of *Maſtrick*. Wherefore he very much laboured the preſervation of that place, which he thought would chiefly conſiſt in procuring ſuccour from without: He therefore thought it not beſt to keep within the Town, believing he might be more ſerviceable abroad. But he did ſo order it, as ſuch Commanders were placed there, as queſtionleſs would make ſtout and manful reſiſtance: Theſe were *Suarzemburg di Herle*, a Dutch-man, and *Sebaſtian Tapine*, a French-man; both of them adviſed and reſolute Souldiers, and who were to expect their fortunes only from the hazards of war. They had with them about 500 Foot, part *Flemiſh*, part *French*, part *Engliſh*; and to them were added a great number of Country-people, who were to be imployed in ſuch manual works as ſhould at any time be requiſite for defence of the Town, to which the Townſmen ſeemed very well diſpoſed. The Kings Army was this mean while drawn near *Maſtrick*; and when the Prince of *Parma* had diſtributed the Quarters, they begon to fortifie them in ſuch order, and with ſuch advantages as are uſed in the beſt regulated and ſtraiteſt

Anno 1579.

Sieges.

ſieges. We have formerly in this our Hiſtory, deſcribed the Situation of this City; but rather in general then in particular: wherefore that you may the better underſtand what is now treated on, it is requiſite that we give you here more particular and more diſtinct knowledg thereof. The City of *Maſtrick* lies on both sides of the *Mauſe*, but not in an equal proportion: it is larger on the left ſide of the River, and not ſo large on the right ſide. The one by reaſon of the largeneſs of its circuit retains the name of the City; and the other being of leſſer compaſs is called *Vich*. The former looks towards *Brabant*, the other towards the State of *Liege*. Yet both theſe ſides are joyned together by ſo large and noble a Bridg, as it is not well diſcerned whether it be of greater beauty, or of greater advantage to the City. The whole compaſs thereof is about four Engliſh miles. But though much of it be inhabited, a great part of it is void ground, eſpecially towards the Walls; which are notwithſtanding well provided with platforms, and may have all requiſite commodity to make inward retreats, or to withſtand outward aſſaults. According to the ſituation, ſo are the flanks; ſome of them being built more after the modern faſhion; and ſome of them being of the more ancient form. Round about the Walls runs a deep ditch. The earth about it is every where manyable, ſo as Trenches may eaſily be made, or any thing elſe which the neceſſity of oppugning requires: yet it is not peopled anſwerable to the circumference of the walls. The people in general partake more of the warlike then of the weak: Though there be many Eccleſiaſticks there, by reaſon of the great revenues which they enjoy in that City. The Government thereof in point of Juſtice, is equally divided between the King, as Duke of *Brabant*, and the Biſhop of *Liege* as he is a Temporal Prince, who extends his Juriſdiction to within *Maſtrick*. But for what concerns the cuſtody of the City and Garriſons, the power lies wholy in the King: it being ſeen upon all occaſions, that the Empire of Arms admits not of a companion; and that two ſeveral Forces cannot continue ſo long together, but that at laſt the weakeſt will be inforced to ſubmit it ſelf to the more powerfull.

Now to paſs to the deſcription of the ſiege. The Quarters being given out by the Prince of *Parma*, the ſouldiers fell to fortifie them; eſpecially towards the field-ſide to hinder the ſending of aid into the City. The Prince encamped himſelf againſt the greateſt incompaſſed precinct; and on that ſide were the other Commanders likewiſe quartered, who held the firſt places in the Army. The Lord *Hierges* in particular was quartered there (who was General of the Artillery) with a mighty Train of great Canon: for on that ſide were the Trenches to be opened, the Walls to be plai'd upon, and ſuch aſſaults to be given as were requiſite for the taking of the City. *Chriſtopher Mandragone* was placed againſt the Burrow of *Vich*: and in a ſhort ſpace all the outward Fortifications towards the fields ſide were brought to ſo good a paſs, as the Royaliſts had little reaſon to fear that the beſieged could be ſuccoured on that ſide. At the ſame time the *Mauſe* was likewiſe ſhut up both above and beneath with two Bridges of Boats, in ſuch ſort as no relief could be brought to *Maſtrick* by water neither. And this ſerved for a double uſe, the better to unite the Army upon both the banks. Here did the Royaliſts begin to advance their Trenches: the beſieged had no great ſtore of men for their defence, wherefore they could not hazard many in making out ſallies: yet did they not forbear to make ſome even from the beginning: and that with ſuch courage, as they more then once retarded the Royaliſts from continuing their works: nor were they leſs diligent in diſturbing them with their Artillery. The Trenches of the Camp opened on two ſides, which were thought the fitteſt to fall into the ditch, and batter the Wall. The one was towards the gate called *Tongres*; and the other over againſt a Curtain which runs between two Ports, called *Hoctor* and the *Croſs*. When the Trenches were advanced, the Lord *Hierges* placed two Batteries on each ſide, by which he annoyed the enemy. The Royaliſts were by this time come to the Ditches mouth; and the ſouldiers working as well as the pioneers, they endeavoured to get thereinto as ſoon as they could, that they might afterwards fill it up, and be the better able by their aſſaults to ſecond the breaches which were to be made by the batteries. From the Fort *Tongres* there was a good Ravelin thruſt out; and upon the top of the Platform

a great Cavallier. The Kings men received moſt diſturbance on this ſide from both theſe Works. Wherefore to be eaſed of this impediment, it was neceſſary to play upon thoſe two places with ſome peeces of greater Canon; which was done, and thoſe peeces plaid ſo furiouſly, as the Royaliſts might ſafely continue their working, and finally fall into the ditch. Here as the beſieged's danger did increaſe, ſo did their courage. As faſt as the Royaliſts ſtrove to lodg themſelves there, the others laboured to keep them out. The labours of the night equalled thoſe of the day: they flock'd to every place, ſtrove who ſhould ſooneſt incounter danger, and it was hard to diſcern, whether the foreign ſouldiers, or thoſe of the Town, or the Country people who were come to defend the City, were more willing to work. Yet the Royaliſts did ſo far prevail, both with their working in the ditch, and with the breaches which their batteries had made in the walls, as they thought they might now fall to aſſault. This reſolution being taken, the Prince of *Parma*, appointed out ſo many ſouldiers as were requiſite to do it. And he chuſe them out of every ſeveral Nation of thoſe that were in the Army; deſirous that each of them ſhould equally partake both in the honour and danger of the imployment. In all new Governments the report goes, be it good or bad, according to the tenor of the firſt ſucceſſes: but eſpecially in the adminiſtration of war, it is not to be ſaid how much fortunate beginnings make for the progreſs of good ſucceſs. This was the firſt enterpriſe which ſince his Government the Prince of *Parma* undertook: wherefore to make the reſt which were to inſue the more ſucceſsfull, he very much deſired he might be fortunate in this. He therefore incouraged his ſouldiers with lively exhortations, to the aſſault: nor ſeemed they any whit leſs ready on their parts to fall on. The batteries had already made great breaches in the walls, and eſpecially upon one ſide: and the Kings men were already ſo far advanced in the ditch, as it was thought high time to come to this reſolution on that ſide. They did what could be deſired againſt the enemies: but they on the contrary made ſuch reſiſtance, as all the aſſailants endeavours proving vain, they were at laſt forced to retire with the loſs of much bloud. This firſt aſſault ſhewed that the breaches in the walls were not yet ſuch as they ought to be: and therefore the batteries were with much violence renewed on all ſides. The works in the ditch were ſtill increaſed; and to theſe were added mines, the ſooner to beat down ſuch repairs as the enemie ſtill renewed. They then prepared for a ſecond aſſault; and it was reſolved to make it on both ſides of the batteries at one and the ſame time: that the beſieged being devided in making their defence, might be the more diſabled to do it. When they came to it, the Royaliſts aſſaulted the enemy furiouſly, and ſtrove to get upon the breach, and to make themſelves fully Maſters of the wall. But on the contrary, the enemy did ſo ſtoutly oppoſe, as it was not for a good while to be diſcerned to which ſide the fortune of the day did incline. On the one ſide *Herle*, and on the other ſide *Tapine* ſhewed all manner of gallantry in their behaviour, and were no leſs ready to act then to order. They with their fervent ſpeeches encouraged the defendants; and ſhewing themſelves forwardeſt to encounter danger, made the reſt the more deſpiſe it. On the other ſide the Royaliſts inraged to ſee the enemy ſo obſtinate in their reſiſtance, did their utmoſt to overcome them. There could not be a fiercer nor a more bloudy conflict. They did not fight a loof off with Musket or Cannon ſhot, but in cloſe fight, oppoſing pike to pike, ſword to ſword, and ſouldier to ſouldier; the better or the worſe conſiſted and lay only in their arms and breſts. Bloud run down on all ſides where ere they fought: all places were full either of wounded or dead bodies; and of weapons either loſt or thrown away; and to theſe were added great ſtones, and inſtruments of artificial fire which thoſe within had powred down upon the aſſailants. And that the action might prove the more horrible, it ſo fell out, that at the ſame time fire tooke in the powder which both ſides had brought that they might have it nearer at had: which was the unfortunate loſs of a great many; the air reſounding with miſerable outcries, and the ground being covered with torn bodies: evidencing how many ſeveral ways fortune doth oftentimes vary the bitterneſs of war, and the tragical ſcenes on which the fatal ſucceſs of Arms are acted. The conflict laſted many hours, and great was the

the mortality on all ſides. But the Kings men were at laſt forced to retire, not having ever been able to advance ſo far as might ſuffice to make themſelves Maſters of the breach; or at leaſt to lodg themſelves, as was their deſigne upon the walls, if they could not wholly drive the enemy from their new rampires raiſed more inwardly. Theſe two aſſaults, together with ſome other skirmiſhes that had preceded, bereft the Army of many Commanders, and of a great number of other valiant Officers and ſouldiers. Of thoſe of the better quality amongſt the Spaniards, there were loſt, *John Manrique*, *Blaſco di Acugna*, *Peter Guſman*, and *Peter Pacecco*: and of the Italians, *Fabio Ferneſe*, *Markantonio Simonetti*, *Guido St Georgio*, the Marquiſs *Conrado Malleſpina*, and *John Grimaldi*. Many Germans and Walloons of good account periſhed likewiſe. But the Spaniards ſuffered moſt, as thoſe who both for numbers and place, had upon all occaſions had the chiefeſt imployments. Particularly in one of the aforeſaid actions the Lord *Hierges* was ſlain, which was a great loſe to the King: for of all the Flemiſh there was not a better ſouldier, nor a more Loyal Subject. The Kings Camp, by reaſon of ſo many and ſo bloudy conflicts, was much weakened, in ſo much as it became the Prince of *Parma* to get new recruits of men. He therefore took as many as he could from all places where the King had any Gariſons; he increaſed the number of Pyoners; and not willing to adventure the flowre of his Army any more in aſſaults, he reſolved hereafter to make more uſe of works then men: and to proceed more ſlowly, to the end it might prove more ſure. But this mean while the incommodities and wants of thoſe within the Town grew proportionably greater: For not having received any relief from without, they were now reduced to great ſcarcity of all things. The moſt of their foreign ſouldiers were loſt, and a good many of the Townſmen, and of thoſe Country people which ſerved for Pyoniers; they wanted Ammunition and Victuals, and to this was added ſickneſs, occaſioned by their inceſſant labour and watching. The Flemiſh Rebels had it often in their thoughts to gather together a good body of men which might be ſufficient to force the Kings Fortifications, and to bring in ſome conſiderable ſuccour into the City. The deſigne was, that Monſieur *de la Nue* ſhould have been their Conductor, and that he ſhould afterwards tarry himſelf in *Maſtrike*, the better to maintain the ſiege. But the diſcords being ſtill greater amongſt the Rebels then their union, they could never raiſe men enough for ſuch a buſineſs. Yet ſtill they fed the beſieged with new hopes, and with great cunning made the effects appear near at hand; wherein *Orange* and *La Nue* did chiefly labour. Wherefore the beſieged ſeemed more reſolute then ever to hold out. The Prince on the contrary ſtill doubling his diligence, left nothing untry'd to bring his enterpriſe to a happy end. One of the chiefeſt diſturbances which the Royaliſts received in their works towards the Gate *Tongres*, proceeded chiefly from that Ravelin which hath formerly been ſpoken of. And though they had endeavoured to beat it down with their Canon, and by all other ways to bereave the enemy of that defence, yet could they never fully effect it. The Prince reſolved notwithſtanding howſoever to gain it. He therefore redoubled the mines, and all the other works in that place which were requiſite to effect it; but on the contrary, the beſieged were no leſs fervent in their works againſt the beſiegers. So as the others could advance but very ſlowly: for they muſt win what they would have by inchmeal, and loſe bloud as wel as time. Here therefore was the hotteſt doings, and hither was the greateſt bulk of the oppugnation brought. But the beſieged were at laſt inforced to yeild; though the Royaliſts ſpent above a month in taking this Ravelin. The Prince raiſed the platform yet much higher, which was turned upon the enemy on that ſide, and began to beat down the City, to boot with the batteries which were every day made againſt the walls, in ſo much as the beſieged could neither find reſt nor ſafety any where; wherefore their hopes of holding out any longer were very ſmall. Yet they ſeemed willing rather to loſe their lives then their reſolution of defence, though they were offered very honorable conditions: when fortune favoured the Royaliſts with an unexpected way how to end the ſiege ſooner then they could have imagined. It was now about the end of *June*, and the great heats made the defendants labours and ſufferings the more inſup-

portable, ſo as they could not make good their Guards as was needfull. The which being diſcovered by ſome *Spaniards*, they would not let ſlip the occaſion; but ſtealing privately into one of thoſe ill-guarded places, they found the Defendants to be very few, and thoſe few, by reaſon of their continual labour and watching, faſt aſleep Whereupon the *Spaniards* being encouraged, drew their ſwords and fell to ſlaughter. The noiſe occaſioned hereby, made many flock ſpeedily thither both from within and from without: And the Royaliſts having already forced the walls in ſome other parts, the City at laſt fell on all ſides into their hands. The Town being taken thus as it were by aſſault, it was impoſſible for the Prince and other Commanders to refrain the Souldiers fury, who fell with exceeding cruelty upon the conquered. Paſſing from anger into rage, and from rage almoſt to inhumanity, they put all to the ſword, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition; and thoſe who did not periſh by the ſword, periſht by the River, whereinto they deſperately threw themſelves, rather encountring thereby death then eſchewing it. Nor was the Victors greedineſs of Prey leſſer afterwards then their thirſt after Blood had been before; for they ſo miſerably plundered the City, as it was queſtionable whether avaritiouſneſs or cruelty was therein the greater. Yet ſuffered they *Tapine* to live, out of the valuation they put upon the great valour which he had ſhewn. The City ſuffered ſo much calamity, as being almoſt altogether unpeopled, it was a long while ere it could be remitted into its former condition.

Whilſt the Prince of *Parma* was thus diligent about *Maſtrick*, he was not idle in the Agreement which was in treaty between him and the Walloon Provinces; and at laſt he came to a happy end therein, though he met with ſuch difficulties as he oftentimes had but ſmall hopes. All the other Provinces oppoſed themſelves againſt this Treaty, and *Orange* in particular with all poſſible diligence endeavoured to croſs it. But the difficulties aroſe no leſs from the ſelf Walloon Provinces, and from the obſtinacie of the Malcontents they perſiſted more then ever in their reſolution of having the Peace of *Gaunt* fully made good, and eſpecially that the Foraigners ſhould again be ſent away; and they would have ſo bounded the Kings authority in other points alſo, as there ſhould hardly have been any the leaſt appearance thereof. They pretended among other things, 'That the King ſhould ſend one of his Sons into *Flanders*, to be bred up there, 'and to be the proper Prince of that Province. They would have it in their power 'to enter into Confederacie again, both at home and abroad, if the King ſhould 'fail on his part in performing the Agreement And their end was in fine, ſo far 'to advance their own prerogatives, as they might never have reaſon to ſuſpect 'ſuch as ſhould be left for the King to enjoy.

The Prince of *Parma* was chiefly troubled to think that he muſt deprive himſelf wholly of all his Foreign Forces, and be inforced to put himſelf into the hands of the *Walloons*. For though their Forces ſhould prove never ſo faithful, they would hardly ever be ſufficient to maintain the Kings cauſe ſo powerfully as it ought to be. But as in *Don Johns* time all the Provinces joyntly would have the ſame Covenant with him, before he ſhould be admitted into the Government; ſo the *Walloons* were now inflexible in their deſire to have the ſame thing done by the Prince in the firſt place; and that in all things elſe, as it was then, ſo now the Peace of *Gaunt* ſhould be made good. The Prince was in a great ſtrait. On the one ſide he knew how requiſite it was to joyn the *Walloon* Provinces to the Kings party; and on the other ſide he feared leſt he might quickly run upon the ſame rocks as *Don John* had done. He therefore wrote to the King to know his direct pleaſure in a buſineſs of ſuch weight: Who after having weighed all things well, reſolved by all means to draw over the *Walloon* Provinces to joyn with him; not doubting but that time it ſelf, together with his good uſage, particularly towards the Nobility, would make the *Walloons* willing to receive again thoſe Forces into their company, which were now to be ſent out of the Country. The Prince this mean while ſtill ſweetned the Malcontents grievances. Amongſt others of their Faction, the Count *de Laleign* Governour of *Henault*, and the Marquis of *Rubais* Governour of *Artois*, who was formerly called Viſcount of *Gaunt*, were in great authority with them. The Prince had endeavoured to win over theſe

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two, together with divers others of the Nobility who were in good eſteem with the *Walloon* Provinces, to the Kings ſervice; and the King himſelf was not wanting in doing the ſame by his Letters, and other carriages towards them. *Matthew Mulart* Biſhop of *Arras* had been very ſerviceable in all the Negotiation, eſpecially with the Eccleſiaſtical Orders of thoſe Provinces. So as coming at laſt to the concluſion of the Treaty, the Deputies of all ſides met in *Arras* about the end of *May*, and made up the Agreement. There were theeein the Provinces of *Henault* and *Artois* together with all the *Gallicant Flanders*; under which are particularly comprehended the Towns of *Doway*, *Lilla*, and *Orſies*. The reſt of the *Walloon* Country were not there, becauſe they were already at the Kings devotion. The chief Articles of the Agreement were theſe.

That the Peace of Gaunt *ſhould be fully performed. That according to the Articles of that Peace, all Foreign Souldiers ſhould be gone out of the Country within the ſpace of ſix weeks, and that they ſhould not return without the expreſs pleaſure of the Provinces. That the mean while an Army ſhould be raiſed out of their own Country by the Kings mony, and by what the Provinces ſhould contribute on their behalf. That all the Magiſtrates and other Officers ſhould ſwear to profeſs only the Catholick Religion. That the Country ſhould without any violation keep all its wonted priviledges, and that the Government in all other points ſhould be maintained in the ſame form as it was in the Emperour* Charles *the Fifth's time. That the King ſhould alwayes ſend a Prince of his own blood to be Governour; and ſhould be pleaſed, if it might be, to confirm for the preſent the Archduke* Mathias *in the Government. That he would be pleaſed to give ear unto their earneſt deſires, whereby they beſeeched him him to ſend ſome one of his Sons, as ſoon as conveniently might be, to be bred up in thoſe Provinces, who might afterwards ſucceed his Father therein.*

Thus was the Agreement made; at which it is not to be ſaid how much *Orange* and the reſt who were of a contrary opinion ſtormed. At the ſame time that this Agreement was in agitation, and was concluded on apart with the Walloon Provinces, other greater practiſes were had to make a full and general Accommodation between the King and the other Provinces alſo. To this purpoſe the Emperor was not only reſolved to uſe, as formerly, all the means he could, but Pope *Gregory* the 13. had ſhewed the like deſire of uſing all diligence on his behalf, that *Flanders* might be brought to return wholly to the Catholick unity, and to their former obedience to their natural Prince. The City of *Colen* was judged a fit place to treat in of ſuch an important buſineſs. For the better to facilitate the event, the Elector of *Colen* had offer'd to interpoſe his endeavours, as alſo the nearer Elector of *Treves*. The reſolution being taken to go on with this endeavour, the Pope determined to ſend *John Baptiſta Caſtagna* Archbiſhop of *Roſſano*, to be preſent there on his behalf: A man of great fame for the many Nunciatures which he had with much reputation diſcharged: Who was afterwards created Cardinal by the ſame *Gregory*; and after *Sextus Quintus*, aſcended, though but for a very few dayes, to the Popedom. *Otto Henrico*, Count of *Suarzemburg*, was by the Emperor deputed to this Negotiation, together with two other Commiſſioners. And the King himſelf would likewiſe ſend ſome Perſonage of quality thither, which was *Charles* of *Aragon* Duke of *Terranova*, one of the chiefeſt and moſt eſteemed Subjects of *Sicily*; and joyned ſome Flemiſh Deputies with him. The Duke of *Cleves* and Biſhop of *Liege*, by reaſon of their neighbourhood, ſent likewiſe particular Deputies on their behalfs to the ſame Treaty. All theſe together with the two aboveſaid Electors, met about the beginning of *May* at *Colen* to treat of the aforeſaid buſineſs. The Heretical faction of the Flemiſh Rebels were unwillingly brought to liſten to this endeavour; and they, particularly *Orange*, uſed all poſſible means to diſturb it; for they feared that ſuch Mediators would favour much more the Churches and the Kings cauſe, then theirs. But becauſe the Catholick part was as yet maintained by the Rebels, the contrary part could not ſufficiently withſtand the neceſſary deputation to the Treaty. Wherefore by authority of the Archduke *Mathias*, as Governour of the Confederate Provinces, and chiefly by their own, a good many Deputies were choſen to this purpoſe, and the Duke of *Ariſcot* for their Head; and theſe met at the appointed time, and in the ſame place with all the reſt. There was great expectation had of

this Treaty; but it was ſoon known that the event would not be anſwerable: For coming to the Treaty, they fell upon the ſame difficulties which were formerly met withall, when the Emperor likewiſe interceded in the Conference at *Breda*. Nay, they were the greater on the Rebels behalf, for that they thought they had got advantage by the ſince ſucceeding novelties. They therefore appear'd more reſolute then ever in point of Religion, that they would have Liberty of Conſcience, eſpecially in *Holland* and in *Zealand*, which were already the Heretick Sanctuaries. And for what concerned their obedience to the King, they would mingle ſo much of advantage therein for themſelves, as the Government ſhould partake much more of a Commonwealth then of a Principality. And even then it was ſeen, that the common ſenſe of the Rebels was, to bring themſelves to that form of Free-government which now the United Provinces of thoſe Countries enjoy, after having totally withdrawn themſelves from the obedience of the Church and King. Thoſe who intervened in the Treaty uſed all diligence to moderate the difficulties, and to bring them to ſome fair agreement: but all was but loſt labour, eſpecially for what concerned Religion; for the ſtiffer the Deputies of the Flemiſh Union were for the Liberty of Conſcience, the more reſolute were the Royaliſts in not admitting that any Religion ſave the ſole Catholick ſhould be profeſſed throughout the whole Country. For all things elſe, the King would have been willing to have uſed thoſe ſame favours towards ſuch Sectaries as would depart the Country, which were ſo largely offered in the Conference at *Breda*. But the contrary Deputies, ſometimes cunningly dodging, ſometimes plainly denying, and moſt commonly turning the Propoſals into bitter complaints againſt the former Spaniſh Governours, and againſt the whole proceedings of that Nation, ſhewed apparently at laſt that the Rebels would by no means be drawn from their former reſolutions. Wherefore there being no hopes of agreement, the Treaty after ſome moneths broke up. In which becauſe the ſame things were treated of which were diſcuſt formerly in the Conference at *Breda*, and afterwards in *Gaunt* in the Peace concluded amongſt the Provinces, and laſtly with *Don John* in what was lately eſtabliſht between them and him; therefore to ſhun the prolixity of ſaying the ſame things over again here, we have only given you an incling of what may ſuffice to know what was done in this new Meeting at *Colen*. Yet in it the Kings cauſe was greatly juſtified, in that the Duke of *Ariſcot* reſolved to take part no longer with the Rebels, as did alſo ſome of their Commiſſioners, eſpecially thoſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Order; who at laſt diſcovered plainly, that *Orange* and the other Fautors of the Heretical faction would have beaten down too much the Kingly Authority, together with the Catholick Religion.

Whilſt they were in *Colen* upon the Treaty of Peace, they did not any whit omit the managing of Arms in *Flanders*. The Prince of *Parma* had ended the Siege of *Maſtrick*, as you have heard. Upon the which he got another conſiderable place, which was *Malines*. This City was in the Rebels hands, but therein was a great diſſention amongſt the Citizens; ſome of which, won by the Prince, wrought it ſo as they conveyed in ſome of the Kings men by ſtealth, and drove out the States garriſon. The Village of *Villebruck*, which the States had fortified, as being a place of importance between *Antwerp* and *Bruſſels*, fell likewiſe into the power of the Prince. And on the contrary, the Rebels grew every day ſtronger beyond the *Rhine*. The Count of *Rinemberg* commanded for the States in *Frieſland*: Who not only in that Province, but every where elſe thereabouts, endeavoured the advantage of the Flemiſh Union. *Deventer* in the Province of *Overiſel* was fallen into his hands; and afterwards *Groninghen* more luckily. And on this ſide, the *Gaunteſes* in their particular war againſt the *Malcontents*, had by ſurpriſe recovered the Town of *Menin*: And the *Malcontents* had made themſelves maſters of *Alſt*. Inſomuch as the Hoſtility grew hotter then ever on each ſide. The Agreement being made between the Prince of *Parma* and the Walloon Provinces, and all the Foreign Souldiers being ſent out by the Prince according to the Articles, the Kings Forces were ſo weakned, as the Prince could no longer be Maſter of the Field, nor beſiege any conſiderable place. The *Walloons* laboured to gather men together who might be ſufficient for their numbers

bers to prevail over the Enemy: But neither had they ſufficient monies for their expences, nor other ſuch preparations as their need required; there was particularly ſuch wants in point of the Cavalry, as the Prince was inforced to keep ſome Italian horſe, called *Albanois*, under the name of his Guard; to which the *Walloons* had given way, till ſuch time as they could raiſe ſo many of their own men. But howſoever, the contrary Forces were no whit the ſtronger: For the *Flemiſh* having likewiſe caſhier'd their foreign Aid, their Forces were but weak, and thoſe without any Commander in chief of their own Country. The Count *Boſſu* was dead a little before; and the other principal *Walloons*, who were moſt conſiderable next to him, had imbraced the Kings ſide: Archduke *Mathias*, young in years, and yet younger in experience, could only undergoe a titular Command; and *Orange*, who was wholly taken up with Civil negotiations, could not take upon him the Military government. So as the management thereof lay chiefly on Monſieur *de la Nue*, a French-man, and Colonel *Norris*, an Engliſh-man; but the authority and eſtimation of the former was much greater then the others. Their Forces being of this condition, the military affairs proceeded but very ſlowly on both ſides. Each of them could rather withſtand then overcome, and each of them hoped for better ſucceſs in time.

The year 1580. came now in, which brought with it one of the moſt memorable events that ever the war of *Flanders* produced; through the reſolution which the Rebels then took of chuſing a new Prince, and of continuing no longer under the King of *Spains* obedience. The Prince of *Orange* had driven on this deſign before now; and being between Deſpair and Hope, he could no longer reſiſt their violences. On the one ſide deſpair aſſailed him, ſetting before him all the greateſt and moſt dreadful dangers which could be expected from the wrath and power of the King of *Spain*, being then made greater by the acceſſion of the Kingdom of *Portugal*. And on the other ſide he was highly invited by hope, deſire making him believe that new greatneſs would be added to his fortune by a new Principality. He argued within himſelf, *Anno* 1580.

'That at leaſt the two Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* would be well-nigh 'wholly at his diſpoſal And wherefore in ſuch a caſe might not greater good 'fortunes befall him? ſince it might eaſily happen, that the *Flemiſh* being again 'angry at, or weary of a foreign Prince, might at laſt reſolve to chooſe one of 'their own Nation? And if ſo, wherefore ſhould not he hope to be preferr'd 'before all others?

He then without any further delay, having firſt prepared mens minds in every Province, by his Adherents, of which he had great ſtore in each of them: He, I ſay, cauſed the propoſition of change of Prince be put; and made all ſuch things be ſuggeſted as might facilitate the buſineſs. The Rebels had no more weighty affairs at this time then this was. Therefore that they might treat and reſolve thereof with ſuch maturity and honour as was needfull, it was thought neceſſary to call a meeting of the States Generall, wherein they might afterwards come to ſuch a reſolution as might be beſt for the whole Country. This advice was chiefly given by *Orange*, and *Antwerp* appointed for the place of meeting. Here then about the beginning of the aboveſaid year, the Deputies of the Provinces met, and *Orange* was there himſelf ſo they began to fall cloſe to the buſineſs. The Heretick Deputies, of which the greateſt part of the Aſſembly did conſiſt, (ſuch induſtry and means had *Orange* uſed in cauſing them to be choſen) inclined to chooſe a new Prince, as alſo ſtill to ſtrengthen Hereſie. Yet they differed within themſelves in their votes; ſome of them were for the Queen of *England*, and ſome for the Duke of *Alanſon*; the one holding they might receive more advantages from *England*, the others from *France*. The City of *Gaunt* in particular was much inclined to the Queen of *England*, which was the chief City of all thoſe that then followed the rebellion of the Confederate Provinces. Wherefore *James Tayard*, the Deputy thereof, together with ſome others who repreſented the peculiar Province of *Flanders*, that is to ſay the *Flemicant* part; one day, when the buſineſs was hotteſt in agitation, ſpake thus.

When I conſider (moſt worthy Deputies!) how much France *is at this time divided and afflicted within it ſelf, I confeſs I cannot be perſwaded to preferrre the Duke*

of

of Alanſon *before the Queen of* England, *in the ſubjecting of our Provinces under a new Principality. Every one knows what the unhappy agitations of that Kingdom at the preſent are; it totters on all ſides amidſt mighty dangers: The ſeveral Factions ſtrive who ſhall rend it moſt. The King hath only the ſhew of a King, and is forced to uſe intreaties much more then commands. How often, and with what prejudice to his authority hath he been inforced rather to yield to the will of others, then to uſe his own? So perverſe under the variety of their ſpecious pretences are they ſometimes grown who favour the Catholick religion, and ſometimes they who follow the Reformed, in cauſing one revolt after another, all tending to the great diminution of the Royal majeſty and ſplendor* France *being then in ſo low a condition, what eaſe or advantage can* Flanders *expect from thence? Our end is to put our ſelves under a Prince, who who may by his Forces ſtrengthen ours, that we may the better defend our ſelves againſt ſo powerful and ſo bitter an Enemy as is the King of* Spain. *Then tell me, I pray you, what State, what Forces, what advantages can the Duke of* Alanſon *bring with him, that ſhould make him be deſired for our Prince? Doth he enjoy any thing elſe in* France, *ſave the bare Title of being the only Brother to the King, with other ſuch Prerogatives much greater in ſhew then ſubſtance? Hath not the King treated him ſometimes more like a Priſoner then like a Brother? hath not the Duke ſometime gone from Court in form of a Fugitive, endeavouring by all means to protect Faction, but rather to receive aſſiſtance from thence then to give it? To boot, his being the Kings only Brother, bears with it a condition which we may very well ſuſpect: For if he, when he ſhall be our Prince, ſhall peradventure ſucceed his Brother who is childleſs, in what condition ſhall we be then? What dangers will our Provinces be then again in? we ſhall be under ſo great a King, who peradventure may treat us ſo much worſe then the King of* Spain *now doth, by how much the Forces of* France *are nearer us, and more ready to oppreſs us. From what I have ſaid againſt* France, *I ſhall now come to what may be taken into conſideration as making for* England. *States doe then moſt flouriſh, when they are moſt quiet: which may eaſily be ſeen by the happineſs which that Queen now enjoyes. Her Kingdom enjoyes full Peace; and her people ſtrive who ſhall moſt witneſs their obedience to her. An obedience notwithſtanding which ſhe hath very well deſerved of them: For what Princeſs was there ever ſeen of a more maſculine ſpirit? who indued with more excellent vertues? She hath nothing of woman but the appearance. She is born to Empires; and to command thoſe chiefly, which require moſt merit to enjoy them. It is confeſt, her Kingdom is yet a little divided in point of Religion: but the Catholicks are ſo few, and brought ſo low, as they can in no ſort weigh againſt the Reformed: She maintains theſe, and by theſe is ſhe maintained; her pleaſure is, that only their Religion ſhall be profeſt in* England, *according to the cuſtom of that Country: and with this her pleaſure hath the Authority of the Eſtates general met in Parliament often joyned. And how much doth this make for our advantage? For the moſt of us having reſolved to imbrace the Reformed religion, doubtleſly the Queen of* England *will in that reſpect much more concur in our defence then will the Duke of* Alanſon, *who is a profeſt Catholick. Together with this advantage in matter of Religion, we ſhall alſo receive from her all other things which we ſtand moſt in need of: her Kingdom abounds in People, nor wants ſhe Mony proportionably. How much ought we to eſteem her ſo near, and ſo potent Maritime forces? We may by that means expect at all times all manner of Aid in a very few houres; and by that means that Country will be joyned to ours as well as if we were both one firm land. And how much is* England *and our Province already joyned in Commerce? May not the* Engliſh-Houſe *here in* Antwerp, *be envied by their own Chamber of* London? *And if we conſider the Form of Government, how much more conformable to ours is that of* England *then that of* France? *For in* France *the Kingly power may be ſaid to be almoſt abſolute; whereas in* England *it is ſo limited, as in al affairs of greateſt weight the Princes there can reſolve of nothing without the ſupreme authority of Parliament. Which ought to make us expect a much more moderate government certainly from the Queen of* England, *then from the D. of* Alanſon, *who hath already too much drunk in the too haughty and Kingly ſpirits of* France. *This my ſhort comparing of the preſent condition of theſe two Kingdoms, doth ſufficiently diſcover my opinion touching the buſineſs now in hand. Yet all private opinions ought to ſubmit to the publike intereſt: And ſo*

ſhall

ſhal I do, when the contrary ſhal be approv'd of by this moſt wiſe Aſſembly: for I have no conſideration of any foreign good, which is not altogether ſubordinate to what concerns our ſelves. This diſcourſe wrought very much upon the Deputies. But the Lord of St. *Aldegonde*, one of thoſe that was deputed for the Nobility, one of the beſt eſteemed amongſt all thoſe of the Flemiſh Union, took upon him to defend the contrary opinion. And ſpake thus,

I wiſh it had pleaſed God (moſt worthy Deputies) that our calamities had not clearly taught us what the remedy is to free us thereof. This remedy conſiſts in having one for our Prince, who being amongſt us in perſon, may rather with a Fathers, then Princes affection, imbrace, maintain, and govern the concernments of theſe our Provinces, as if they were altogether his own. And to paſs by the more ancient examples; let each of us conſider what happineſs they enjoyed in more modern times. 'Tis very well known to all how they flouriſhed under the Houſe of Burgony. *And that out of no other reſpect, but for that the Princes did then of themſelves, and in their own perſons ſteer the Government: and ſhewing themſelves from time to time in almoſt every of our Provinces, did both give and receive ſuch ſatisfaction as was moſt to be deſired by each in each of them. The Government then altered, and began to grow worſe under the Houſe of* Auſtria: *nor was it to be otherwiſe expected, by reaſon of the many States and Nations, which fell under the Empire thereof. A great bulk cannot long maintain it ſelf; and when one part thereof is wreſted, all the reſt are uſually out of frame. So in States which are too far divided aſunder, the good of Government not being able to be joyntly united in them all, the moſt remote muſt needs ſuffer therein; and afterwards thoſe that are neareſt joyned will reſcent it. But notwithſtanding, in the times of* Maximilian, *of* Philip *the firſt, and of* Clarls, Flanders *enjoyed ſuch a ſhare of their own perſonages and preſence, as look how much it ſometimes ſuffered by reaſon of their abſence, it reaped other whiles as much advantage by their being preſent. And each of them did ſtill retain as well the ſence, as the blood of* Germany *and* Flanders: *Countries, both of them almoſt alike ſeated, and of the ſame nature. The now King being afterwards born in* Spain, *and being become a Spaniard more by will then by birth, he reſolves to keep there, and not to abſent himſelf in any manner from thence. What our miſeries have been ſince then, and what thoſe in particular which we have ſuffered through the pride and cruelty of Spaniſh Governours, we may all very well know, ſince we have all too well tryed it. Then to conclude, as I ſaid at firſt, that the only help for theſe our Provinces conſiſts in having here a Prince of their own to govern them, I confeſs I cannot ſee who can be fitter for that purpoſe then the Duke of* Alanſon. *The Dukes of* Burgony *deſcended, as it is well known to all, from the Royal blood of* France; *then ſince Fortune preſents us again with a new Prince of the ſame blood, wherefore ſhould not we greedily imbrace the occaſion of receiving him? would not the very Government be by this means rather continued, then any other of a different Form inſtituted? How great a part of our Provinces do yet retain the French tongue? and the Cuſtoms more then the tongue? Are not all the confines of the Walloons, and half the Province of* Flanders *it ſelf called more by the word* Gallican, *then* Flemican? *ſo as in reſpect of the conformity of nature, 'tis clearly ſeen that the French are much more conformable to us then the Engliſh, who had never any dominion over us. That* France *is now in great turmoyls cannot be denyed; but what better remedy then this can be found out to rid her of them? to wit, by drawing* Alanſon *himſelf out of her, and with him ſo many others who at the preſent do moleſt that Kingdom? In which caſe it is not to be doubted but that the Duke will abound ſufficiently in Forces; and that the King his brother will largely maintain them in ſo juſt a Cauſe. Every one may clearly ſee how much better theſe of* France *will be, then thoſe we ſhould receive from* England. France *doth over-abound with people every where; eſpecially in gallant Cavalry. The coming from thence into this our Country can receive no impediment neither by the ſeas nor wind; ſince both their confines by land joyn together. And how opportune for us ought their neighbourhood now to be thought? ſince almoſt the whole Walloon Provinces, being re-united to the King of* Spain, *the French Forces will prove very commodious on that ſide to force that Country to return to their former Union with our other Provinces, and to joyn with us in chuſing the Duke of* Alanſon *for our Prince. For what concerns all the other rubs, me thinks they may be eaſily removed. As for the Kings having no children, his age is ſuch as may tertainly promiſe enough. The mean while the Duke his brother will likewiſe marry, and have ſons of his own to ſucceed him: but ſay that the Duke were to ſucceed un-*

to the Crown; wherefore may not We in ſuch a caſe oblige him to leave us one of his ſons to be our Prince in his ſtead? As for Religion, every one knowe how great a freedom France *enjoys therein. Wherefore it is not to be doubted but that the Duke will allow a greater liberty therein in* Flanders. *For though our intentions be that the Reformed Religion ſhould be the moſt prevalent. yet it will behove us to allow of the Catholick; there being ſo great a part of our Provinces which is obſtinate therein; and chiefly the Walloon Countrys; to the regaining whereof we muſt with all our induſtry apply our ſelves. And as for what authority the Duke may aſſume unto himſelf, by the example of what the Kings of* France *enjoy in their Kingdom: May not we limit it as we ſhall pleaſe? ſo as he may know he hath the Flemiſh to Govern, and not the French? and that he muſt uſe our Laws only, without any participation of theirs I therefore conclude that all the reaſons conſidered in this preſent affair, make much more for the French then for the Engliſh. And this is likewiſe my opinion. The which I am not notwithſtanding ſo far in love withall, but that I ſhall be ready to quit it when I ſhall hear a better. None ſhall be more ready then I to adhere unto the ſence of this moſt vigilant Aſſembly; nor be more willing to endeavour the fulfilling thereof after it ſhall be maturely adviſed upon.*

This opinion of *Aldegonds* bore great weight with it. And to enjoy a Prince who was in his own perſon to ſuſtain the Government, and the Intereſt of the Provinces was a buſineſs exceedingly conſiderable. This ſo important buſineſs was not agitated without the Catholick Deputies. For though thoſe of the Walloon Provinces were wanting, and that there was no reſpect at all had to the Eccleſiaſtical Orders; yet were there a great many Catholicks in the Provinces, who leaned more to hereſie: wherefore in this Aſſembly there were divers Catholick Deputies choſen together with the Hereticks. The Propoſitions which were made by the others, were generally very ill reſcented by theſe. For though they did likewiſe greatly hate the Spaniards, yet they thought it a too deſperate buſineſs to treat of changing a Prince, and almoſt altogether Religion. They ſhewed,

'How much the King would be irritated by both theſe. That if he would 'never tolerate any liberty at all of conſequence in *Flanders*; how much leſs then 'would he ſuffer hereſie to domineer every where. And what more unworthy 'thing could there be, then to make Religion ſubſervient to the State? the anc'ent Church to the new Sects? and the Piety for ſo many years profeſſed in thoſe 'Provinces, to reſcent Doctrins, which had involved almoſt all *Europe* in mighty 'troubles? To this injury which ſhould be done to the Church, and which cer'tainly the King would own as his own; how much would the other add, which 'belonged wholly to himſelf; of bereaving him of his due ſoveraignty? which 'after ſo long a ſucceſſion of his anceſtors was p. ſt into him? and ſo ſtrictly ac'knowledged, and ſolemnly ſworn unto by the Provinces? That therefore it was 'to be beheved he would reſcent both theſe injuries with the whole Forces of his 'Kingdoms. That his Forces had been formerly formidable; but how much 'more now that he had gotten the Kingdom of *Portugal*? That there could no 'relyance be had upon thoſe of *France*, by reaſon of the diviſions by which 'that Kingdom was at the preſent ſo terribly rent in pieces. And ſay the King of '*France* could, he would not aſſiſt his brother, leſt he might thereby draw upon 'him the Forces of the King of *Spain*. That the Catholick Faction in *France* 'held already great correſpondency with the King of *Spain*. And now, having 'ſo juſtifiable a pretence, how much more might that King foment it? and how 'many foreign evils might he add to thoſe home-bred ones? That from *Eng*'land they could not receive the benefit of a Prince of their own. So as the ad'miniſtration muſt paſs by the hands of Governours And what certainty was 'there that the Engliſh would give better ſatisfaction then the Spaniards? eſpe'cially in a new Principallity, wherein they would never proceed ſo far by fair 'means, but that they would much more uſe force. That the ſame King had 'great commodity of making diverſions likewiſe againſt the Queen; and to in'cite *England* to ſome inſurrection, either by open war or under-hand practiſes: 'and much more eaſily *Ireland*; a Country which was almoſt altogether Ca'tholick, greatly devoted to the Church, and well affected alſo to the Crown of

Spain.

'*Spain*. And thus the Provinces having no foreign helps, would be wholly expo-
'sed to the indignation and forces of a potent and injured enemy: from whom
'they were afterwards to expect the greater punishment, in that they had given
'so just an occasion thereof.

For these reasons the Catholick Deputies past on to this opinion.

'That above all things, an agreement between the Provinces should be endea-
'voured: for that if they were well united, their own union might furnish them
'with sufficient Forces, at least to defend themselves. That they should never
'lay down their Arms, till the ancient form of Government were first restored
'by the King. That touching Religion, the peace of *Gaunt* should be observed,
'which was so maturely handled and concluded by the full consent of the Provin-
'ces. That if things should be brought to that necessity as that the Provinces of
'*Flanders* must needs be severed from the Crown of *Spain*, they should procure,
'as it was most reasonable, a Prince of the House of *Austria*, or one of the Kings
'sons, if he should have more then one, or some other body who should marry
'with a daughter of the Kings, upon whom the Dominion of those Provinces
'might be transferred. And that at last, if they should fail of all these means,
'the Provinces should take the Soveraignty into their own hands. In which case,
'it was not to be doubted, but that they should have a much better Cause, more
'justifiable to the world, better made good by their people, and more favoured
'by their neighbours.

But the Hereticks did so far prevail in this Assembly, as there was little regard had to this opinion of the Catholicks: so as the question remained between the other two. But at last that which *Aldegonde* had maintained in the behalf of *Alanson* was preferred. *Orange*, out of some private considerations of his own, to boot with what concerned the Publick, leaned more willingly likewise to this side. For his Principality of *Orange* lay in *France*: his wife was at that time of French bloud. And great correspondency was had, as had always been, between him and the chief of the Hugonot Faction in that Kingdom. Yet by reason of the weight of the Affair, the ultimate conclusion was not at that time taken: but the Deputies departed that they might first acquaint each Province with their Opinions: and to bring from thence an integral resolution. This mean while the business of War past on but coolly on both sides, as hath been said. To say truth, the Walloons could not shew more willingnesse to defend the Kings Cause; but they had not Forces answerable to their wills. Wherefore the Prince of *Parma* made no considerable progress. He took *Cortray* by surprise; a Town of some moment in the Gallicant part of *Flanders*. But Count *Egmont*, who had laid the plot, was soon after taken prisoner by the enemy: who entring by stealth into *Nienove*, where he recided with his wife and a brother of his, they seased upon them all, and took them into their own power. The Walloons took likewise *Mortagne*, and St *Amonde*, places of but small concernment; and overrunning the Territories of *Torney* and *Cambrey*, they endeavoured to streighten both those Cities of victuals, that they might the more easily bring them into the Kings power. *Cambray* looks upon the Frontiers of *France* more towards the extream on that part; and *Torney* lies more inward, towards the Gallican part of the Province of *Flanders*. They are both of them principal Cities, and *Ferneſe* desired very much to recover them; for only they two in all that Tract of the Walloons Country adhered to the Flemish Rebels: and he feared moreover lest *Issy* Governour of *Cambray*, might put that City into the hands of the French. But the Prince having not as then Forces sufficient to besiege either of them, he suffered the Walloons only to annoy them with inroads. On the other side the City of *Malines* fell again into the hands of the Rebels. For the heretical part prevailing lately there, they brought the enemy in; who meeting with little resistance, made themselves easily Masters thereof; and in hostile manner plundered it. They took likewise *Diste*, *Sichem*, and *Ariscot* in *Brabant*, rather by Treaty then by force. But at the same time the Marquis of *Rubays*, who had the chief command over the Walloons, much to his praise, deprived the enemy of one of their prime leading Commanders. He had intelligence that Monsieur *de la Nue* was gone with a good body of men to surprise *Lilla*, and that failing

thereof, he returned to his former quarters. *Rubays* not letting ſuch an occaſion ſlip, ſet upon *Nue* at unawares, as he retired, and purſued him into his quarters: where *Nue* made what reſiſtance the time and place would permit him. But ſuch was *Rubays*'s violence, and eſpecially that of the *Albanois* horſe, as *La Nue* was at laſt forced to yield himſelf, with ſome other perſonages of quality, and was brought priſoner into the Caſtle of *Limburg*, where he was kept for many years; and during his impriſonment, compoſed the greateſt part of thoſe his Politick and Military Diſcourſes which are of ſuch eſteem in *France*: For which he receives this praiſe from his Nation, That he knew as well how to handle his pen as his ſword, and to be as worthy in peace as in war. The ſame *Rubays* endeavoured under-hand to ſurpriſe *Bruſſels*: but becauſe his practices were mingled with deceit, they proved fruitleſs. The Signor *di Selle* had worſe ſucceſs in his plots againſt *Boucain*, a conſiderable Town upon the *Scheld* between *Valentiennes* and *Cambray*: For being come near unto the place, he was by double dealing taken priſoner, together with divers others. But the *Walloons* ſoon after beſieged the Town, reduced it to a neceſſity of ſurrendring, and much to their advantage took it.

The King, as we told you before, had it in his thoughts to ſend back the Dutcheſs of *Parma* into *Flanders*; intending that ſhe ſhould have the total adminiſtration of the Government, and that the Prince her Son ſhould have the particular charge of the *Militia*. And although the King had afterwards confirmed the Prince in *Don Johns* place, yet his mind ran ſtill upon it. And reſolving at laſt to doe it, he had by his own Letters, and by his Agents in *Italy* acquainted the ſaid Dutcheſs with his intention herein, and had earneſtly deſired her that ſhe would again take upon her the Government of thoſe Provinces. She was much troubled hereat: She was beſet on one ſide by a deſire to ſatisfie the Kings pleaſure, as alſo to procure new glory to herſelf; and on the other ſide by her deſire of ſeeing her Son more glorious in the full Government of thoſe Countries. But in fine the Kings preſſures were ſo inſtant, as ſhe could not keep from condeſcending thereunto. Wherefore beginning her journy, and leaving *Italy*, ſhe came to *Namures*: where ſhe ſtaid, and would go no further, till ſhe might more fully underſtand the Kings pleaſure. She found that the affairs of *Flanders* were in a very troubleſom condition; that ſhe herſelf was well advanced in years, and therefore much fitter to deſire her quiet, then to thruſt herſelf into new troubles; that the Prince her Son was in the full ſtrength of his age, and had given ſuch proof of his wiſdom and valour in this the beginning of his Government, as that the like progreſs was undoubtedly to be expected. Her motherly affection was ſo much the greater in her, by his being her onely Son. So as ſetting aſide all ſelf-reſpect, ſhe turn'd all her endeavours to the King as ſo many interceſſors in his behalf. He went immediately to *Namures* to meet her, and to pay her ſuch affection and reverence as in duty he was bound to doe. But being alſo full of generous thoughts, he could not well endure that his Government ſhould be any way diminiſhed, after having had ſo full Authority therein, and ſo proſperouſly exerciſed it. The Mother thought this her Sons reſentment very juſt, which confirmed her the more in her own opinion. Wherefore ſhe reiterated her deſires to the King, and wrote him a Letter, the Contents whereof were theſe.

How ready I have been to obey your Majeſty by returning into Flanders, *your Majeſties ſelf hath vouchſafed to witneſs, by being graciouſly pleaſed to like well of it. Now that I have obeyed your Royal commands in this behalf, I ſhall, for what concerns the Government, humbly lay before you again my ſenſe thereof; and that the more freely, for that it ſhall clearly appear I aim only at your Majeſties ſervice therein. I came not long ſince to* Namures, *as I quickly ſignified unto your Majeſty. And though whilſt in* Italy, *the troubles of theſe Countries were not unknown unto me, yet I confeſs I find them now, as an eye-witneſs thereof, to be much greater then I had conceived them. Which inforceth me humbly again to beſeech your Majeſty, as I did in* Italy, *to conſider how little available my ſervice will be unto you in this Government. Here is no more way left for fair means; all hope of accommodation is loſt; the Rebellion grows every day hotter: This wound muſt be dreſt by the ſword,*

ſword, and cured by fire. Since then this Government is wholly to conſiſt of Force, your Majeſty cannot chuſe but ſee how much fitter my Son is to ſerve you therein then my ſelf. He is in the full ſtrength of his age: After having ſpent his younger years in your Majeſties royal Court, he hath imployed the reſt either in the Theory or Practice of Arms; and as yet he hath ſo managed them in Flanders, *as every day greater additions may be hoped for to your ſervice. His loyalty unto your Majeſty is anſwerable to mine: nor ſhould he be of my blood, if he were not of my opinion. To boot that he cannot but be the more like therein of himſelf, in reſpect of the ſo many gracious favours which your Majeſty hath pleaſed to confirm upon him. The height thereof will now be in your being pleaſed to leave the Government of theſe Provinces wholly to him alone, and that he may bear the ſole weight thereof, which is to conſiſt in Arms, wherein my company can be of no advantage at all unto him. I humbly beg this of your Majeſty, with as much affection and reverence as I am able. Quiet better becomes my age: And not being able to doe more, I will continually ſend my wiſhes from* Italy *into* Flanders; *and we will both at the ſame time conſpire to ſerve your Majeſty, I with my Prayers, and my Son with his Forces: Nor can we doubt but the one will be heard, and the other proſpered by God; ſince the war firſt begun here, hath hitherto been continued, and is now proſecuted more then ever, more for the glory of his Name, then for any ſelf-intereſt of your Majeſties.*

The King at laſt granted the Dutcheſs her deſire. Whereupon ſhe returned to her former peaceable condition into *Italy*, and the Prince her Son remained in his former full Command of *Flanders*. The Flemiſh Rebels had this mean while fixt upon their reſolution of changing Prince; nor were the Catholicks able to counterpoiſe the Hereticks. Yet to ſatisfie the Catholicks, *Orange* had procured that the Treaty concluded in favour of *Alanſon*, a Prince who profeſt and who might give hopes of favouring the Catholick religion. And to ſay truth, the Queen of *England* little valued his being preferred before her: For ſhe conſidered very wiſely the uncertainty of ſuch a purchaſe, and how certain ſhe had been on the other ſide to draw upon her the revenge and Forces of the King of *Spain*. Wherefore ſhe in deep wiſdom did rather favour the canvaſing for *Alanſon*; judging that it would make much more for her ſecurity, that the Forces of *France* ſhould be waſted bootleſly in the wars of *Flanders*; that the King of *Spains* Forces ſhould be likewiſe conſumed at the ſame time; and that by the almoſt neceſſity of thoſe two Kings going to war with one another, it muſt come to an open feud between them: Nor did ſhe deſpair, but that the Low-Countries more involved in troubles then ever, the Flemiſh would at laſt have recourſe to her protection; that ſhe might then draw from thence ſuch advantages as time and occaſion ſhould offer her. When then the Provinces had reſolved to transfer their Government upon the Duke of *Alanſon*, they failed not to chuſe a noble Embaſſie out of ſome of their Deputies, to acquaint him with the reſolution which they had taken; the chief whereof was the Lord *Aldegonde*. They began their journey in *Auguſt*, and paſſing into *France* found the Duke at *Tours*, where they diſcharged their Commiſſion to him. The Duke accepted of his new Dominion; and upon the ſame Conditions which he was to obſerve on his part, if he would enjoy it. Which were theſe:

'That the Belgick States choſe *Francis* of *Valois*, Duke of *Alanſon* and of '*Anjou*, with the uſual preheminencies and titles, for their Prince. That in caſe 'the Duke ſhould have more Sons lawfully begotten then one, the States might 'chuſe which of them they ſhould like beſt for their Prince; and that if he ſhould 'be a Child, they were to appoint him a Governour, and that in the interim they 'themſelves ſhould adminiſter the Government of the Provinces. That if 'the Duke ſhould die without heirs, it ſhould be lawfull for the States to 'chuſe a new Prince. That the Duke ſhould inviolably maintain the Priviledges 'of the Country, and call together the States-Generall at leaſt once every 'year; in whoſe power it ſhould be howſoever to aſſemble themſelves together 'upon any needfull occaſion. That the Officers of War, Councellors of State, 'Governours of Provinces and Towns, ſhould always be choſen by him, with the 'approbation of the States. That the Duke ſhould reſide in the *Low-Countries*; 'and upon any occaſion of going from thence, ſhould leave ſome Nobleman of

'the Country Governour, with the participation of the States. For what con-
'cerned Religion, that the Duke ſhould not have power to innovate any thing,
'but ſhould equally protect both the Catholick and the Reformed religion. That
'*Holland* and *Zealand*, in point of Religion and Government, ſhould continue
'in their preſent condition; ſubmitting notwithſtanding together with the other
'Provinces unto the Duke, in point of concurring to the neceſſity of Contributi-
'ons, and in the coyning of monies. That the Duke ſhould procure all help and
'aſſiſtance from the King his brother, and from *France* againſt the common e-
'nemies; carrying it ſo as the War ſhould be made joyntly between them; yet
'ſo notwithſtanding as the Low-Countries ſhould not be underſtood to be incor-
porated into *France*. And that the Low-Countries ſhould furniſh him with
'240000 pounds a year for neceſſary expences. That all former Confederacies
'ſhould be renewed; and that the Duke ſhould not make any new ones, nor treat
'of any alliance, without the conſent of the States. That all foreign ſouldiers,
'yea even the French ſhould quit the Country when the States ſhould deſire it.
'That if any other places of the Country would joyn with the States, and be
'under the Duke, they ſhould be comprehended within the preſent Treaty. That
'ſuch places as the Duke ſhould take by force, ſhould be by him diſpoſed of, with
'the approbation of the States. That if the Duke ſhould fail in the things pro-
'miſed and ſworn unto, the States ſhould be underſtood to be free from all ſub-
'jection. And for what concerned the Archduke *Mathias*, who was called into
'the Low-Countries, and had plaid his part ſo well, the Duke and States ſhould
'give him all convenient ſatisfaction.

Upon thſe Conditions the Provinces of the Fremiſh Union, agreed to come under the obedience of their new Prince. An obedience notwithſtanding which bore with it ſo much of command, as certainly they were much more free then ſubject. In fine, the Duke poſſeſt almoſt nothing of Principality but the title. Nor could he exerciſe any other Authority in the Country, then what belonged to the bare Governour of a Province: to boot that in *Holland* and *Zealand* the whole Government was to be in the Prince of *Orange* apart. The King of *Spain* quarrelled very much with the King of *France* for this action. Who ſeeming not to blame it, excuſed himſelf notwithſtanding for the aforeſaid reaſons, as not able to hinder it. For as for the reſt, he confeſſed he very well knew how much the Rebellion of the Hereticks in *Flanders*, might aſſiſt that which the Hugonots had ſo often raiſed in his own Kingdom of *France*; where he ſhould more ſuſpect their ways then ever. *Alanſon* his new principallity being proclaimed throughout the Provinces of the Flemiſh Union, when their Deputies were returned: the King thought it was no longer time to defer the utmoſt reſcentment of his indignation againſt *Orange*, who was the framer, and chief contriver of this action. And therefore by his Royal Proclamation in print, he declared him to be the Author of the troubles in *Flanders*, the Seducer of thoſe people againſt the Church and againſt their Prince; and therefore guilty of High Treaſon, both Divine and Humane, and to be a publick Rebel in both thoſe reſpects; and that as ſuch a one, he deprived him of all Dignities, Goods, and Honours, condemned him to the moſt capital puniſhments: and ſet 25000 crowns upon his head, to be given to whoſoever ſhould bring him to him either alive or dead, together with other greater rewards. *Orange* anſwered this Writing, with another very long one, in print alſo; and endeavoured therein to juſtifie whatſoever he had done. And for the better confirmation thereof, made it to be underwritten and confirmed by the States of the Provinces: exagerating again therein rather in an invective then bemoaning manner, the ſame things, which had been ſo often before both ſaid. written, and printed by him and his followers, againſt the King, againſt his Miniſters of State, and againſt the Spaniſh Nation.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Second Part.

BOOK II.

The Contents.

The War proceeds on ſeveral ſides with diverſity of ſucceſs. Ferneſe *beſiegeth* Cambray *at a diſtance; but* Alanſon *by mighty Forces, ſuccours and ſecures it. Whereupon* Ferneſe *prevails with the Walloons to give way to the returning of Foreign Forces. The mean while he beſiegeth* Torney, *and takes it. The Archduke* Mathias *departs, and goes to the Emperours Court. The Duke of* Alanſon, *the new Prince comes from the Court of* England *into* Flanders *His reception in* Antwerp. Orange *is treacherouſly wounded by a muſket ſhot in the face: but the wound proves not mortal. The danger which* Alanſons *French men run thereupon.* Ferneſe *is better encouraged by the daily increaſe of his Army. He begirts and takes* Odenarde, *and gets many other advantages. The Rebels ſtorm thereat, and complain of their new Prince. A Noble combate between the Royaliſts and the Enemy under the Walls of* Gaunt. Alanſons *expected men come at laſt. The opinion of the French Commanders to make the Duke lay the ground-work of his new Principallity upon arms. Their Councel chiefly to ſurpriſe* Antwerp. *They com to the execution thereof; but the ſucceſs is not anſwerable. The Confederate Provinces are hereat greatly offended. And though* Orange *re-unites them and* Alanſon, *yet great diffidence is had on both ſides.* Alanſon *reſolves therefore to return to* France. *And ſoon after his men do the like. By this means* Ferneſe's *advantages increaſe.* Orange *endeavours again to reconcile the Flemiſh and the French. But in the mean while* Alanſon *dies: and ſoon after* Orange.

THeſe were the novelties which *Flanders* was threatned withall from *France.* But in the mean while thoſe were no leſs felt, under which the Country already laboured; and though the Kings Forces were very weak, as were alſo thoſe of the enemy, yet ſuch endeavours were had on both ſides, as ſtill ſome atchievement, or loſs of importance was had and made by each of them. The Rebels took *Conde*, a Town of ſome moment in the Province of *Henault*, towards *Flanders*: But the Royaliſts ſuddenly recovered it: and each time that it was taken, it was miſerably pundered. The Walloons this mean while

while continued their inrodes into the Countries of *Tornay* and *Cambray*: And the Prince of *Parma* reſolved to beſiege *Cambray* at large at the preſent, till he ſhould have ſufficient Forces to beleaguer it nearer hand. That place gave him particular cauſe of jealouſie, out of the aforeſaid reaſons; and howſoever, he would have been willing to have bereft the *French* of ſo commodious and advantagious a place of receipt.

This year there was nothing elſe of importance done on this ſide *Rhine* towards the Provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders*: but there was ſomewhat done on the other ſide which was very conſiderable. *Ferneſe* endeavoured to advance the Kings affairs by the way of Treaty, as well as of Arms. He had ſecretly drawn over the Count *de Berg* to the Kings ſide, who was *Orange* his Couſin, and Governor of *Ghelderland* for the States. But *Orange* diſcovering the practiſe, was ſo much the more incenſed, as he leſs lookt for ſuch an action from one ſo near allied unto him: He made him be deprived of his Government, and ſought how to trouble him divers other wayes. Nor was this of any great conſequence to the Kings affairs out of any ſelf-conſideration of the Count; for he was not verſt in the Military profeſſion, and was much more reſpected for his Houſe ſake then for his own Perſonage. Yet it made for the King by the acquiſition which he thereby made of his Sons, who were many, and who all proved valiant men, and were much imployed in Arms. Another ſuch like buſineſs fell out more luckily to *Ferneſe* at the ſame time, being of more advantage to the Kings ſervice. The Count of *Renemberg* was Governor of *Frieſland* and of *Groninghen* for the States, and he had done them very good ſervice in thoſe parts, as you have heard before: But reſolving at laſt to adhere unto the Catholick cauſe, and to the King, and being hereupon privately agreed with the Prince of *Parma*, he waited to declare himſelf by ſome act of conſequence, which might render his merit the greater with the Church and King. Yet could not this be ſo cloſely handled, but that *Orange* got ſome incling of it. The States therefore prevented him, making themſelves ſure of the Caſtles in *Leverden* and *Harlinghen*, which were kept by the Counts ſouldiers. Wherefore the Count fearing leſt they might doe the like in *Groninghen*, reſolved to be beforehand with them there, as he luckily was: He made thoſe that ſided with him within the City take up Arms, and made ſome other of his Followers that were without enter at the ſame time; and poſſeſſing the Town and Gates, made himſelf wholly ſure of that City. *Orange* was much enraged at this news: He made no delay, but raiſing ſuch ſtrength as he could in thoſe parts, he ſent the Count of *Hollack* away with them to recover *Groninghen*; who ſate down before it, bnt rather with a ſlow then ſtrait ſiege, by reaſon of divers difficulties which he met withall at the beginning. But his men increaſing every day and coming to make Batteries, the beſiegers began to hope better, by reaſon the Kings forces were ſo ſmall, and ſo far off. *Martin Schinck* had won great renown in the wars, and more particularly on the other ſide of *Rhine*. He was of *Ghelders*, of no very great family: Quick of wit, and hand; and ſuch a one in dangers, as it might be queſtioned whether he were better acquainted with them, or valued them leſs; and therefore whether he ſhewed himſelf more cautious, or leſs circumſpect in his military actions. Amidſt theſe contrary mixtures, after having paſt through the common degrees of the *Militia*, he came to others of better quality. He then having by orders from *Ferneſe* gathered together ſome of the Kings *Germans* who were yet in thoſe parts of *Frieſland*, and aſſembled a good many of the ſelf *Frieſland* Souldiers reſolved to relieve *Groninghen*, and to that purpoſe marched thitherward. *Hollack* would not wait this aſſault underneath the City-walls, for fear that at the ſame time he might be ſet upon by thoſe within the Town. Wherefore marching to meet *Schink*, who was fewer in number then he, he endeavoured to break him, at leaſt to keep him from his deſigned ſuccour: but he found the contrary; for coming to battel, after a fierce fight, *Hollack* was routed, the City freed from the ſiege, and *Schink* greatly renowned for this action. *Renemberg* being hereupon encouraged, marcht towards the Town of *Delfeziel*, and after ſome oppoſition took it. He afterwards upon a great encounter routed *Hollack*, and recovered the Town of *Coverden*, which a little before was fallen into the States hands: And carried on by one ſucceſs unto another,



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another, he beſieged *Stenwick*, a place of importance. The year 1581. was this mean while begun; and the Colds being very great, the Enemies endeavoured divers times to relieve the Town by Ice, and were divers times beaten back. But Colonel *Norris*, an Engliſh-man, who commanded there in chief, and by whom this Relief was chiefly managed, having gotten more men, *Renemberg*, after he had maintained the ſiege three moneths, was inforced to riſe, and marcht away in good order with all his Camp. Nor was it long after, whilſt purſuing ſuch like actions, and whilſt he raiſed expectation of greater, he dyed; to the great grief of the Prince of *Parma*, who hoped for great good to the Kings ſervice from his fidelity and valour. The Prince made *Francis Verdugo*, a Spaniard, Governour of the Kings forces in *Frieſland*; who was equally good at councel, and action. At which *Sebinck* was not well pleaſed, who aimed at that place; and he was the more offended, for that he did not look that a ſtranger ſhould be choſen thereinto. Wherefore for that and ſome other new occaſions, he after a while paſt over to the contrary part. But whilſt he continued yet in the Kings ſervice, he met with another occaſion of making himſelf famous: For he routed the Enemy who beſieged *Goer*, doing great execution upon them, and taking many of their chief Commanders priſoners. *Verdugo* this mean while began his Government alſo with good ſucceſs: For he preſently took *Embden*, a place thereabouts of great moment; and coming afterwards to grapple with the Enemy, he defeated them, and got thereby a notable advantage. But he could not get *Newziel*, which he afterwards beſieged; for the place was well guarded within, and opportunely ſuccoured from without.

At this time there happened a very conſiderable ſurpriſe in favour of the King on this ſide the *Rhine* in *Brabant*. By intelligence with ſome Catholicks, *il Signor d' Altapenna* was privately brought into the Caſtle of *Breda*; and entring from thence into the Town, he made himſelf wholly maſter of it, and the Prince of *Parma* placed a good garriſon there. *Orange* was hereat mightily diſpleaſed, for that Town was his own, wherefore he eſteemed the loſs to be wholly his. *Altapenna* by the like intelligence endeavoured afterwards to get by ſtealth into *San Getremburg*, and into *Heusden*; but he failed of both. As the States did likewiſe in the ſurpriſing of *Baldnke*, which was endeavoured by *John Junius* Burgomaſter of *Antwerp*: who afterwards in his return took *Eindoven* and *Elmont* by ſudden aſſault, both of ſmall conſequence. Whilſt they proceeded thus on both ſides of the *Rhine*, the Prince of *Parma* had at large beſieged the City of *Cambray*. He would very willingly, for the aforeſaid reaſons, have ſate down before it with a Royal ſiege, to force it to return to its former obedience to the King; and the whole Country of the *Walloons* joyn'd with him in this deſire: but he had not ſufficient Forces. Wherefore the Prince, after having infeſted that City with continual incurſions, and endeavoured ſtill to bring it to a greater ſcarcity of victuals; finally with ſome Forts from a certain place where he might moſt moleſt it, he was come ſo near it, as there was already great ſcarcity of all neceſſaries in the Town. In former times that City depended wholly upon the German Empire: but of later times, having always ſhewed great affection towards the Princes of *Flanders*, it at laſt permitted the Emperor *Charles* the fifth to build a Citadel there, that he might keep it ſo the better from ever falling into the French mens hands. It had ſtill kept in the ſame devotion to the King his Son. But in theſe laſt revolts, Signor *d' Inſy*, the Governour thereof, being deſirous to adhere unto the *Flemiſh* Inſurrection, the City was likewiſe induced by him to doe the ſame. The *Walloon* Provinces being afterwards reconciled unto the King, the Flemiſh Rebels could not provide ſufficiently for it, by reaſon of the impediments cauſed by the ſame Walloon Country, lying between thoſe parts which favoured the Rebels, and *Cambray*. The Governour therefore ſeeing it in ſo great ſtraits, and being of the ſame mind with the Rebels in favouring the Duke of *Alanſon*, he addreſt himſelf to the ſame Duke and earneſtly deſired ſuccour of him proteſting that otherwiſe the City would ſoon fall into *Ferneſes* hands. The Flemiſh Rebels and *Orange* in particular had likewiſe with great fervencie intreated the ſame of the Duke. Wherefore he thought he muſt by no means loſe ſuch an occaſion to bereave *Spain* of ſuch an advantage, and to turn it to the benefit of *France*. The

Dukes

Dukes deſigne of ſuccouring *Cambray*, together with the hopes of winning it, being known in the King his brothers Court, the Nobility ran from almoſt all the parts of the Kingdom to be with him upon ſuch an occurrancy. Wherefore the Duke having in a ſhort time gathered together a gallant Army of 12000 foot, and 3000 horſe, he marched towards *Cambray*, to relieve it, and free it from the ſtraits wherein it was. *Ferneſe* knew he could not withſtand ſo powerfull a ſtrength; having ſo few Forces as he could neither incamp himſelf in face of the enemy, nor ſufficiently fortifie himſelf about the walls of the City. Wherefore forgoing the Forts, he reſolved to retreat. Some ſlight skirmiſhes happened upon this occaſion between the two Camps; and the Country being finally left wholly free to the French, the Duke had leaſure to relieve the City, and to furniſh it aboundantly with all things neceſſary. He himſelf entred thereinto, and being ſolemnly received, he made a large Declaration, that he was come into it, as into a City of the Empire, and that as ſuch a one he would keep it and defend it: He upon this occaſion took likewiſe the Caſtle of *Cambreſis*. From hence he ſuddenly returned to *France*; though he was earneſtly deſired by the Flemiſh Rebels, who were now become his Subjects, to come further into the Country, and make good uſe of the ſo many Forces as he now had, upon that occaſion. But becauſe they were really to be eſteemed rather lent Forces, then any of his own, being haſtily, and tumultuouſly gathered together; and he not having monies to maintain the Army any longer at that time; he could not ſatisfie them in their deſires, but made ſuch excuſes as were neceſſary. He aſſured them notwithſtanding that he would be ſuddenly with them with good Forces. And that to that purpoſe, he would not only uſe all poſſible dilligence and induſtry with the King his brother, but go himſelf, if need ſhould be, into *England*, and uſe all other efficacious endeavours with his neighbours.

Theſe Forces of *Alanſons* being vaniſhed ſooner then it was believed they would be, the Walloons took courage again, and hoped for good ſucceſs. Yet was the Prince of *Parma* very much troubled within himſelf, as well by reaſon of his retreat from *Cambray*, as alſo for that he verily thought he ſhould never do any thing of conſequence by the ſole help of thoſe Countries who kept loyal to the King. He had upon divers occaſions endeavoured to make this known to thoſe who were of greateſt power amongſt the Walloons; and had dexterouſly ſuggeſted unto them, how much they themſelves ought to deſire, not only for the Kings ſervice, but even for the good of their own Country, that the foreign ſouldiers might again return. But he could not ſo repreſent the neceſſity thereof, but that they had their equal jealouſies: for all the Country deſired very much to be free of Foreign Forces. The Prince found not therefore ſuch a diſpoſition in them thereunto as he deſired. The Marquis of *Rubays* was in great eſteem amongſt the Walloons, as you have often heard. And doubtleſly he deſerved to be ſo, by reaſon of his bloud, valour, and adherency of friends. The Prince had contracted a particular friendſhip and truſt with him: wherefore he reſolved to uſe all the means he could to draw him over to his opinion of fetching back the Foreign Souldiers into *Flanders*. He therefore took him one day by the hand, and after a Flemiſh familiarity, joyn'd with a Military Authority, he ſpake thus unto him.

How weak the Forces are (moſt valiant Sir) which we have now here in the Kings Service, cannot be better known to any then to your ſelf, who have ſo great a ſhare in the Command thereof. The Agreement made with the Walloon Provinces hath certainly been of great advantage to the Kings Affairs. It is every day ſeen that their Forces can neither be more faithfull nor more valiant: But every day likewiſe confirms that which was then feared; that their forces alone would not be ſufficient to carry on the Warre. And to deſcend to particulars, tell me, I pray you, What thing of conſequence have we done, ſince the taking of Maſtrick, *wherein the Foreign Souldiers did intervene? Have we ever been able to take the field with any conſiderable Army? or by any ſufficient Siege forced any place of importance? rather how ſhamefully have we been compelled to riſe from before* Cambray? *and alſo with how much loſs? The French before our eyes have not only relieved the Town, but fully taken poſſeſſion thereof: which was the ſtrongeſt out-work your Countrey had towards*

towards their Frontiers. How much is the union of the Rebels alſo encouraged by our weakneſs? Is not their raſh perfidiouſneſs come now to the greateſt height? What more execrable thing could they deviſe to do, then ſo affrontedly, and by their own ſole authority to chuſe unto themſelves a new Prince? Then ſince reaſon requires that ſuch enormous faults ſhould be puniſhed, and that this cannot be done by the ſole forces of the obedient part of the Country, why ſhould it not be thought neceſſary to be done by ſtrangers? Why ſhould not the former ſouldiery be ſuffered to return again, and an Army be thereby made which may be worthy of our King, worthy of the Cauſe which he maintains, and by which this ſtill renewing Hidra of Rebellion may be tamed? When this wicked Monſter ſhall be corrected, and Peace and Loyalty ſhall be every where eſtabliſhed throughout the Country, it is not to be doubted but that the King will preſently of his own accord remove all foreign ſouldiers, and leave the Cuſtody of the Country to their own Militia. And thus when the Kings forces ſhall be returned hither in their former vigour, how great ſhall our advantages be together with his? Then, when we with a flouriſhing Army ſhall be able to be Maſters of the field, ſtorm all places, win all battels, and compaſs all our deſires; I, who am the Commander in chief, and you who next to me have the chiefeſt Command, what ſhall our ſhare of glory be in all theſe ſucceſſes? what rewards are not we to expect from the Kings bounty and goodneſs? and how triumphant ſhall we be in the Church by ſuppreſſing Hereſie? Out of all theſe conſiderations, Sir! I moſt heartily deſire you, that you will be pleaſed particularly to interpoſe your endeavours, and your Authority where need ſhall require it, that the foreign ſouldiery may return hither again with the good will of the obedient Party. Your deſert was certainly highly valued by the King, when you reconciled your Provinces to his Royal Crown; but how much will it now be increaſed? and how glorious ſhall I make it appear? And I already pawn my faith unto you, that if this may be done, the King ſhall acknowledge it chiefly to be your work; for what remains, you know the friendſhip that I have promiſed you: which you may be ſure ſhall be inviolably obſerved by me: in fine, either I ſhall be of no power in this Government, or your part therein next mine own ſhall be the greateſt.

Rubays was much moved at theſe words. He thought himſelf too much obliged by the confidence which the Prince ſeemed to put in him; and he deſired to ſignalize himſelf as much as he could in the Kings ſervice. He conſidered moreover that the ſervice of the Walloon Countries was ſufficiently joyned to his good, ſince if they would not admit the company of foreigners who were their friends, they ran hazard of being inſlaved by their ennemies, who were likewiſe foreigners; or under the like of their own Flemiſh Hereticks, or that of their Chieftain *Orange*; whoſe chief end was to abaſe the Nobility, and by the favour of the multitude to build up a Tyrranny to himſelf. Wherefore wholly inflamed, both with devotion to the King, and affection to the Prince, *Rubays* anſwered him in reſolute terms, that he would do all that lay in him, to effect the Prince his deſire. *Rubays* being won, it was not hard for *Ferneſe* to draw the reſt to be of the ſame mind, who were the chiefeſt either amongſt the Nobles, Eccleſiaſticks, or Commonalty. So as the buſineſs was ſuddenly ſo well carried on by all ſides, as the Walloon Provinces inſtead of hindring it, reſolved to facilitate it as much as they could; and not only to give way for the return of the Foreign Militia, but by a particular perſon of their own, to deſire it of the King. The Flemiſh Rebels were by this time come to the proclaiming of their new Prince. To which purpoſe a General Aſſembly being called in the *Hague*, the firſt by a long writing in Print, Declared, That the King of *Spain* had forfeited his Soveraignty over thoſe Provinces, and ſtrictly commanded that no further obedience ſhould be given him. And the reaſons which they alleadged for this were, Becauſe he went about to oppreſs the people in their conſciences, and by open force to violate their priviledges. Then the Aſſembly being fully informed of all that their Deputies had reſolved in *France* with the Duke of *Alanſon*, they publickly gave out that he was now their Prince, and reſolved to receive him, and acknowledge him as ſuch a one with all greateſt ſolemnity. And being ſtill fuller of hopes, by reaſon of thoſe advantages which *Alanſon* had ſo luckily atchieved by the relieving of *Cambray*, and taking of *Cambreſis*, they did verily believe that he

would very ſpeedily ſend the people that he had promiſed, and would come quickly himſelf to take poſſeſſion of his new States. They notwithſtanding did much ſollicite him to haſten them both. But he ſaid, that he muſt needs firſt goe into *England* to ſpeak with the Queen, and that the Queen her ſelf did much deſire he ſhould doe ſo. And indeed it was true: For ſhe did deſire to engage him ſtill more and more in the revolts of *Flanders*, for the aforeſaid reaſons. And ſhe carried the buſineſs on with ſuch cunning, as ſhe fed him with hopes that ſhe would marry him. Which hopes were notwithſtanding judged to be but vain, by reaſon of the inequality of their ages; he being very young, and ſhe already inclining to old age. Moreover every one knew, that when ſhe was of a fitter age for marriage, ſhe being of a maſculine ſpirit, and very deſirous to govern, had always refuſed to take any for a Companion into her bed, for that ſhe would have no Companion in her Princely government. But howſoever the Duke was not diſpleaſed with this deceit; for he turn'd it to his advantage with the Flemiſh, by making his expectation the greater amongſt them, and by giving the greater cre- to his Forces. Which proved notwithſtanding ſo weak, as he could not as then ſend any conſiderable ſtrength to the Rebels.

Wherefore *Ferneſe* having this advantage, and encouraged the more by the ſpeedy return which the foreign Forces were to make, he reſolved to beſiege *Tournay*, wherein the obedient Provinces joyned fully with him. The City of *Tournay*, together with the Country of *Tourneſis*, hath a particular Government of its own; which was then adminiſtred by the Prince of *Eſpenoy*, who adhered to the Flemiſh Union. It lies upon the Gallican ſide of the Province of *Flanders*: wherefore the *Walloons* deſired very much to take it, ſo to reunite that tract of ground which joyns upon their Country, to its allegiance to the King. The Prince of *Eſpenoy* was not at this time in *Tournay*: but his wife *Maria de la Laigne* was there; A woman of great ſpirit, and who performed in this Siege (as ſhall be ſhewn) whatſoever could be expected from her husband. *Tournay* may be numbred amongſt the nobleſt Cities of *Flanders*, as well for its antient foundation, as for being amply furniſhed both with people, trafick, and edifices. It is every where ſurrounded with fruitfull and pleaſant fields; and through the midſt of it, under divers bridges runs the *Scheld*, a River which begins there to ennoble it ſelf, not being well navigable before. Whilſt this City was under the *Engliſh*, in the time of *Henry* the 8. they built a good Caſtle there, eſteemed ſtrong in that Age, but not to be compared to the latter Royal Fortifications: It is only flanked with Towers, after the old faſhion; and the antient walls of the City have the ſame imperfection, yet theſe are in ſome parts helped by Ravelins raiſed after the modern faſhion. On the lower ſide the *Scheld* joyns to the Ditch, which on the upper ſide is wholly dry. In lieu of the Prince of *Eſpenoy*, *il Signor d'Etrael*, his Lieutenant, governed the City at this time: but he had but a ſmall Garriſon in the Town; for *Eſpenoy* being buſie with the Prince of *Orange* about ſome other imployment, had carried away with him many Souldiers who formerly belonged to that Garriſon. But the Inhabitants, who were for the moſt part Hereticks, ſupplied the defect of the Garriſon; who were therefore ſo bitter againſt the Kings party, as they could not appear more alienate from the one, nor more affectionate to the other: They had unarm'd the Catholicks, as not confiding in them; and in all other demonſtrations ſhewed themſelves ready to ſtand upon their defence. On the other ſide, *Ferneſe* was not ignorant how weak they were within, and how ſmall hopes they had to be relieved from without. Wherefore without any longer delay he marched with his Army, and about the begining of *October* drew near to *Tournay*, and began to order his Quarters. His Camp was not then very great, but he hoped to have it ſpeedily ingroſt by ſome *Germans*, which by his directions were raiſing in thoſe parts near *Flanders*. And the Abbot of *St. Wedaſto* being ſent from the *Walloons* into *Spain*, to ſollicite the King to ſend ſome new Forces again, as ſoon as might be, into *Flanders* from *Spain* and *Italy*; *Ferneſe* was in great expectation of having ſhortly one of the moſt flouriſhing Armies that was ever ſeen in thoſe Provinces. Having then ordered his affairs, and ſecured his quarters, the Officers of the Army conſulted on which ſide they ought to make their batteries: The opinion was, that they ſhould play

play upon one of the longeſt and worſt flankt Curtains on that ſide where the Ditch was dry. This ſpace lay between two gates, the one called S. *Martins*, the other *Valentiennes*. A good Ravelin was thruſt out for the defence of the former, and a great Platform ſtood over the other. Yet theſe two Defences were ſo far from another, and the Curtain which ran betwixt them bowed ſo far outward, as neither could the one defend, nor yet ſee the other. Wherefore to make good this defect, there was a great Cavallier of Earth raiſed about the midſt of the Curtain. But howſoever all that ſide was ſo imperfect, as the Prince of *Parma* judged it moſt advantagious for him, and therefore turned the ſtrength of his ſiege upon it. The Kings men coming before it with their wonted Trenches, they began to plant three Batteries, to deprive the beſieged of the three aforeſaid Defences. They within were not wanting this mean while on their parts. They with frequent ſhooting annoyed thoſe without, from the aforeſaid Works; and oppoſed themſelves unto them nearer hand by ſtout Sallies, though they were ſparing therein by reaſon of the paucity of their Souldiers. The Princeſs of *Eſpenoy* with great gallantry did herſelf encourage them; and with incredible vigilancie performing all the manlike actions which her husband could have done, exhorted ſome, intreated other ſome, uſed ſometimes threats, ſometimes a more moderate power; ſhe herſelf did ſometimes execute her own orders; and in fine ſhe omitted not any thing which might make for the ſuſtaining of the ſiege. On the oher ſide *Ferneſe*, having his eye every where, and playing himſelf alſo the part of a private Souldier more then of a Commander, did con inually ſollicite all the Works, even the furtheſt off, that he might come the ſooner to thoſe that were nearer hand. So as within a few dayes the Trenches were ſo far advanced, as they might come to the Batteries, upon each of which were many Pieces of great Cannon placed, and they began to thunder apace upon the Enemies works. The Kings men were not long in falling into the Ditch; the which being dry, they might the more eaſily come to the wall, and by their Mathooks and Mines the ſooner throw it down. Yet thoſe within were not at all diſcouraged; but with inceſſant labour both by day and night, repaired the wall where it was moſt needfull, and prepared for every other part of greateſt danger. The Siege paſt on quietly ſome dayes amidſt theſe leſs noiſefull endeavours But the Kings men renewing their batteries more hotly then ever, as alſo their works in the Ditch, they made ſuch breaches in the wall, as they thought they might by aſſault make themſelvs maſters of it: wherefore with a great deal of courage and alacrity they prepared for it. The beſieged were no leſs couragious, nor no leſs reſolute to defend themſelves. Great therefore was the fierce and bloody Conflict, when they came to it. Many of the beſt of both ſides were ſlain; and Fortune ſmiling alternately, ſometimes on this, ſometimes on that ſide, their hopes did accordingly vary. In the very heat of the fight the Princeſs ſhewed miraculous courage; and throwing herſelf where the danger was greateſt,

Am not I here (ſaid ſhe) *my ſelf? Doe not I here in mine own perſon repreſent the Prince my husband? I am here no leſs ready then he to deſpiſe death, that I may, as we all ought, be ſerviceable to the Country. Let us therefore reſolve, my ſouldiers, rather to loſe our lives then our ſtation: Let us undauntedly make it good, as we have done hitherto. The Enemy muſt at laſt yield: And the winning of this Battel, will ſecure the like ſucceſs unto us in all others.*

She accompanied theſe her words with no leſs manlike actions; for thruſting herſelf into the crowd, whilſt ſhe either fought herſelf, or encouraged others to fight, ſhe was wounded in the Arm. The Defendants ſtill more ſet on fire by ſuch an Example, continued making ſo ſtout reſiſtance, as the Royaliſts were at laſt forced to give over, and retreated with the loſs of many of their men. Beſides many Captains and other Officers, the Count *Bucquoi*, the Signor *de Gloine*, and *de Bours*, periſht in this aſſault; and the Marquis of *Barambone*, *John Baptiſta di Monte*, Signor *di Montigni*, and the Baron of *Bigli* were wounded. From the very beginning of this Siege, the Duke of *Alanſon*, who was then in *England*, had encouraged the beſieged, and aſſured them that he would undoubtedly ſoon relieve them, either by coming to them himſelf in perſon, or by ſending ſuccour. Wherefore they betook themſelves the more boldly to this defence.

Orange had fed them with the like hopes; and more then all others their own Governour *Eſpenoye*. But ſeeing that there came no men from *Alanſon*, and that the Flemiſh Rebels did nothing to relieve them, their former vigour leſſened with their hopes. Yet was not the Princeſs wanting in keeping their hopes alive as much as ſhe was able. And *Etreel* the Lieutenant did the like. And ſome days after the aſſault, Colonel *Preſton*, a Scotchman, forcing his way through ſome German Companies of the Kings Camp, got with ſome horſe into the City; the beſieged were at firſt ſomewhat inheartned by this ſucceſs; hoping that after this ſmall relief, ſome greater would ſhortly appear: But when they underſtood by *Preſton*, that there was no tidings heard any where of the coming of any French into *Flanders*; and that there was no appearance of any ſuccour from the Flemiſh, the beſieged loſt all hopes of being further able to continue their defence. The City was of a large circuit; the men in pay but few in number; nor were the Inhabitants ſo many as were any ways able to ſupply all neceſſary occurrences: beſides, many of both ſorts were periſhed in the actions; and they began already within the Town to have ſcarcity of many things. On the contrary the Kings Camp was increaſed by Germans. And *Ferneſe* encouraged by his expectation of having more men ſpeedily from *Burgony*, as alſo from *Spain* and *Italy*, renewed all ſuch works as were neceſſary for the taking of the City, and ſpeedy reducing it to the Kings obedience. There were notwithſtanding ſome amongſt the beſieged, who blinded with rage, and deſirous to confound the privat with the publick evils, would have had them ſtand it out till the laſt gaſp: but at laſt the more adviſed Councels prevailed. For the City having no hopes of ſuccour, they foreſaw it would be taken by force, and like *Maſtrick*, plundered, and put to fire and ſword. They therefore thought of a Parley, wherein they might have the beſt conditions they could get. The Princeſs was akin to the chiefeſt of the Kings Camp; particularly to the Marquis of *Rubays*. Wherefore ſhe by their means agreed to ſurrender up the City upon ſuch conditions, as more honourable could not well be had. The Town was ſurrendred the laſt day ſave one of *November*; and the conditions were theſe.

That the City ſhould receive a full pardon from the King. That the Citizens ſhould return to the true obedience of the Church and King. That thoſe who would not live after the Catholick profeſſion, might enjoy their goods any where out of the Country, That the ſouldiers ſhould be ſuffered to march out with their Arms, bagage, and Colours flying. That the City ſhould pay 20000 *pound to keep from being ſackt. And that the Princeſs of* Eſpenoy *might be ſuffered to go freely whether ſhe pleaſed with all her wealth, goods, ſubſtance and family.*

Thus was T*ornay* yielded; and the Princeſs at her coming forth, was received with ſuch applauſe in the Kings Camp, as it might be judged ſhe came forth not as Conquered, but as Conquereſs: The news this mean while continued that the Duke of *Alanſon* would be quickly in *Flanders*; and that without returning to *France*, he would come directly from *England*, and land in *Zealand*. The Archduke *Mathias* had till this time kept in the Low-Countries, and agitated with many hopes, could never fix upon any. From the beginning he could not be Governour there by the Kings approbation. He had enjoy'd nothing but likelyhoods in the Rebels Government; and nothing but the Title in the management of the Militia: yet he thought he merited by ſuffering. Wherefore diſcovering the Rebels reſolution of changing Prince, he flattered himſelf mainly upon that occaſion, with new and ardent hopes. He omitted not to make thoſe things be ſuggeſted which might make moſt for his advantage: and particularly his Auſtrian bloud of *Germany*, which for ſo many years, and with ſuch ſatisfaction to the people had Governed *Flanders*. But being but little liſtned unto, and leſs conſidered, and afterwards excluded out of all, he was fain to be content, and to return to his friends, and former condition in *Germany*. VVhen therefore it was noiſed that *Alanſon* was in *England*, and that he would be ſpeedily in *Flanders*, *Mathias* tarryed no longer, but going by *Cullen*, paſt over the *Rhine*, and returned to his uſual abode in the Emperours Court. This year ended with his departure, and with the *Signior d' Altapenna's* indeavour to ſurpriſe *Bergen ap Zome*; which Town he was very near ſurpriſing: for he and his men had

had already won one Gate, and were begun to get more inward; when the Garison betaking themselves to their Arms, and the people flocking from all parts, the Royalists were forced to go out, many of them being slain, and many wounded. In the beginning of the year 1582. certain news was brought to *Flanders* at last, that the Duke of *Alanson* was departed from *England*, with intention of landing in *Zealand*. After having been entertained many days, with much feasting and honourable treatment, he went from *London*, and within three days came to *Flushing*. The Queen made him be attended with a great Fleet of her ships which were commanded by *Charls Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, and would have him waited upon by divers of the chiefest Lords of her Kingdom amongst which was the Earl of *Lester*, who was then in great Authority and favour with her. When *Alanson* was come to *Flushing*, he was received by *Orange*, *Espenoy*, and a great many other personages of quality who were come thither to that purpose. They brought him from thence to *Middleburg*, where staying a few days, he came to *Antwerp* attended by above 50 Flemish ships gloriously trimed; he landed upon the banks of *Scheld*, near the Citadel, and was met with an incredible applause, and concourse of people. After the wonted ceremonies of interchangeable oaths, he entred on horseback into the City, which was every where set out with triumphant Arches, and other publick demonstrations of joy for his arrival. *Alanson* being thus brought into his new Principality, it was not long ere he began to know that hardly was the appearances or shadow thereof left unto him. On the other side, the Flemish began quickly to comprehend that he had brought with him nothing but the outside of vain hopes, and of spetious titles. He could not obtain any Forces of consequence from the King his brother; and from the Queen of *England* such and so many only, as by his means the Dominion of those Countries might rather be taken from the King of *Spain*, then enjoyed by himself. Wherefore the heat of that first welcome quickly cooled; and the Inhabitants of *Antwerp* began to take some distaste at the Duke in point of Religion. The Heretick were already so prevalent there, as but very little share of exercise remained for the Catholicks; who had recourse unto the Duke to remedy the oppression which they received. On the contrary, the others endeavoured by all means to continue their advantages; and though some satisfaction was at last given to the Catholicks, yet were not they therewithall quieted, nor did the Hereticks on their sides seem to be satisfied. But an untoward accident which happened not long after, had likely to have given him an ill favoured welcome, and to have indangered his life. Which was this, A young Spaniard of mean birth in *Biscay*, having resolved to kill *Orange*, and taking both time and place fitting for his purpose in *Orange* his own house, discharg'd a musket in his face, and wounded him so as at the first he was thought to be dead. The noise being heard, many hasted thither, and astonished at the spectacle, without further adoe slew the offender. The news of this flew suddenly from the house to the Piazza, and from the Piazza to every least corner of the City. Nor is it to be said what a commotion it caused amongst the people. Every one ran with anxiety from one place to another to know the truth thereof; and lamenting one another, and as if not only the Father of the Country, but even the Father of every particular Family had been slain, they bewailed the privat and publick misfortune which they thought had befaln them. In this agitation it was whisper-ed that the French had been the authors of this misdeed, that they might rid their hands of *Orange*, and thereby make the Duke of *Alansons* Authority the more free. The baser sort of people turning their commisseration into fury, ran headlong to *Alansons* house intending to kill all the French that they should find there, and peradventure not to spare his own person. In this interim the first fear was seised in *Orange* his house, for the wound being searched, was found not to be mortal: the bullet had only past through both his cheeks, beaten out some of his teeth, and occasioned the loss of much bloud, which for a while hindred his speech. But when he knew it was a Spaniard who had shot him, and heard what danger the French were in, and even *Alanson* himself, he writ some Tickets with his own hand, and sent abroad divers in his own name, who cleared the business, and freed the multitude of their suspitions. When all tumults were ceased, they fell

1582.

fell to ſearch into the fact, that they might make the juſter reſentment. The moſt common opinion was, that the *Biſcheyard* to gain the fine that was ſet by the Kings Proclamation upon *Orange* his head, and out of hopes of greater rewards, had raſhly reſolved to undertake the buſineſs. One *Jaſpar Annaſtro*, a Spaniſh Merchant had a ſhare therein, but he was broken, and therefore gone from *Antwerp*. And one *Antony Venero*, and a Votary of St *Dominicks* called *Antony Timmermanno* were put to death, and cruelly torn in pieces as complices in the miſdeed.

This accident cauſed a great commotion in the Confedrate Provinces: And the Prince of *Parma* hoping that thereby ſome advantage might reſult to the Kings affairs, was not falling on his behalf to doe what was fitteſt upon that occaſion. But *Orange* being quickly out of danger, and afterwards perfectly cured, all fear ceaſed amongſt the Rebels, and they continued more firm then ever in their former reſolutions. Whilſt theſe things paſt thus in *Antwerp*, the Forces of both ſides were not idle, though they did but little. *Verdugo* had made ſome further proceedings on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, and had taken ſome Towns in *Frieſland*, and in the parts thereabouts. And on the contrary, the States had better ſecured the Towns of greater importance, and ſtrove to preſerve thoſe advantages which they had got on that ſide. And they got one advantage of great moment at that time, by the taking of *Sehink* priſoner as he returned from *Germany*, being ſent thither by *Ferneſe* to raiſe more Horſe. On this ſide the *Rhine* they had at unawares aſſaulted the Town of *Alſt* with ſome of their men, and taken it. And the *Walloons* had done the like to *Gaeſbeck*, a Town not far diſtant from the other. But this mean while *Ferneſe* growing ſtronger in men, and yet more ſtrong in hopes after the ſucceſs of *Tornay*, and after the accident which had befallen *Orange*, reſolved to beſiege *Odenhard*, one of the beſt eſteem'd Towns in the Province of *Flanders*, both for its ſituation, traffick, and people. *Odenhard* lies upon the *Scheld*, almoſt in the mid-way between *Tornay* and *Gaunt*. It is begirt with a good Wall, and the Wall with a large Ditch: within the Walls it is furniſht with good Platforms; but it hath never a Royal Bulwark without, and therefore is but imperfectly fortified every where: It hath on one ſide an eminent Riſe, which commands the whole Town. *Ferneſe* incamped himſelf before it; but firſt he ſeemed as if he would beſiege *Menin*, ſo to draw the greater number of the Enemy thither, and that *Odenhard* might be thereby the more weakned. And the effect did correſpond with the deſign: For there were not left above 500 Souldiers in *Odenhard*, but under a very gallant Commander, called *Frederick Borch*; as he together with the Garriſon made it appear to the very end of the Siege. The Kings Army having taken up their Quarters, *Ferneſe* quickly poſſeſt the Riſe, and from thence began to play upon the Town with his Canon: he then came to the working of Trenches, and preparing of Batteries. The Prince was deſirous to ſpare as much as might be the blood which is uſually ſhed in Aſſaults; wherefore his intentiou was to make a leſs bloody, but more ſecure Siege. Yet a great breach being made in a Ravelin which fenced the Gate, they made an Aſſault; but the event proved not fortunate: For a Bridge which was to ſerve for paſſage over the Ditch, and ſo to get upon th Breach, not being ſo long as was requiſite, was with great diſorder thrown down; and thoſe within made ſuch reſiſtance, as the Royaliſts were forced to give over the attempt. Wherefore *Ferneſe* was the more confirmed in his former opinion of proceeding with greater caution, and in lieu of Aſſaults to uſe the Pick-axe and Mines. This Siege did very much vex the Flemiſh Rebels: wherefore muſtering a conſiderable ſtrength of Foot, which were almoſt all of them *Engliſh* and *Scots*, under Colonel *Norris* and Colonel *Seaton*, together with a good number of Rutters, they ſent them into the Province of *Flanders*, and diſpoſed of them about *Gaunt*, intending to adde thereunto, and to endeavour the freeing of *Odenhard*. But *Ferneſes* Forces being likewiſe Increaſed by *Germans* and *Walloons*, and expecting the aforenamed others, he fortified himſelf ſo well on that ſide, as the Enemy could never bring in any the leaſt ſuccour into the Town. This mean while a Mutiny hapned in the Kings Camp for want of Pay, amongſt ſome of the *Germans*; and the Enemy both within and without hoped to reap ſome advantage thereby. But the Mutiny being

being in a few dayes quieted, and the Prince having by the punishment of some made the rest more obedient, the Enemy despaired of holding out longer. The Siege lasted notwithstanding from the beginning of *April* till almost the end of *June*: And the Town was surrendred upon such Conditions, as the Garrison marched out honourably, and the Townsmen were contented. Soon after the Royalists took *Lira* also, a great Town in the bowels of *Brabant*, not many houres march from *Antwerp*, and therefore very proper to annoy that City. There was in it, amongst others, Captain *William Simple*, a Scotch-man, with his Foot-Company of the same Nation. *Simple* holding secret intelligence with *Altapenna*, he under some other colourable pretence brought him in by night, and driving out the rest of the Flemish garrison, put the Town into the hands of the Royalists. The Flemish seeing these continual losses, not any assistance appearing as yet from *Alanson*, and not being very well satisfied with him before his coming to *Flanders*, they could no longer forbear breaking forth into sharp and spitefull speeches against him.

Where are (said they) *these so many promised Forces? Where the Armies which would suddenly fall from* France *down into* Flanders? *and where the helps which should also come from* England? *That upon these assured hopes the* Flemish *had chosen, declared, and received him for their Prince; and that in lieu thereof what had he brought them save only vain Titles, and all other vain Appearances? That his so many in vain reiterated promises were every day renewed by him, but no performance seen. That this mean while their losses were still increased, and consequently the Enemies atchievements. That by the taking of* Tournay, *the Prince of* Parma *had gotten the whole Country of the* Walloons *into his hands. That from* Odenhard *he might goe even to the wals of* Gaunt, *and from* Lira *to the wals of* Antwerp. *That his Army was already ingrost with* Germans; *that he expected Recruits from* Burgony, *and soon after from* Spain *and* Italy: *So as now how did* Flanders *swarm with Foreigners? and in what danger were the chiefest Cities of the* Flemish *Union? That their new Princes succours would come just then, when they should make not the strength, but the scorn of his new Principality the greater.*

These and the like Complaints did the *Flemish* make against *Alanson* and the *French*. Nor did they spare *Orange* himself, complaining that under pretence of procuring the publike felicity of the Country, he had rather minded his own private advantages. He was not ignorant of these the passions of the Commonalty; but knowing very well how to make use of them, he was not offended that the vulgar should vent them; and maintaining such correspondencie as was needful with the graver sort, and minding with them the carrying on of the common designs, he slackned not a whit from his fervencie in advancing *Alansons* affairs. When the first Ceremonies of the new Principality were ended in *Antwerp*, *Alanson* past by Sea with *Orange* into the Province of *Flanders*, and made his solemn entry first into *Bruges*, and then into *Gaunt*. Here they stayed, expecting the Forces which were to come from without, and to reinforce those that were within. Those Souldiers which were first sent to succour *Odenhard*, were now almost within sight of *Gaunt*. But *Fernese* being past from hopes to manifest effects, had received the Militia which was expected from farthest abroad; which consisted of two Brigadoes of Spanish Foot, under the Camp-masters *Christopher Mandragone*, and *Peter Paze*,; and of two other Italian Brigadoes, under the Camp-masters *Camillo de Marchesi del Monte*, and *Mario Cardoine*; together with many Troops of Horse of both those Countries: He then delayed no longer; but picking 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse out of the Army, he went to find out the Enemy. His Quarters were (as hath been said) near the wals of *Gaunt* in a Village well intrenched. At first the Enemy seemed not to refuse battel; they drew out in good order, but went not far from their Trenches, nor from the shelter of the wals of the City which were well furnisht with Artillery. Yet did not the Royalists cease advancing, but skirmisht with the Enemy; hoping that as the skirmish should grow hot, they might be brought to a full battel. But the Enemy making valiant resistance, and yet loth to lose his advantage, kept still in good order, till at last they resolved to draw nearer to the wals of *Gaunt*, as to a place of more safety. The Kings men advancing charged the Enemy very fiercely;

fiercely; and they, fating about, and ſuſtaining the Charge with their Horſe, retreated very valiantly and in good order to where they would be. *Alanſon* and *Orange* ſtood upon the wals looking upon this action, and encouraging their men without, and aſſiſting them with the Artillery from within, they made their Retreat the more noble, and the more ſecure. This Combat laſted many hours, being much more then a bare skirmiſh, and much leſs then a joyn'd Battel. The Kings men loſt moſt; and of the *Italians*, *Ferrante Gonzaga* was in particular grievouſly wounded. Of the Enemies, amongſt others, Monſieur *de Sanſoval* and Monſieur *de Rochepot* won great praiſe; both of them being French Gentlemen that were come with *Alanſon*. The Enemy being retreated, *Ferneſe* did for a while keep his men in good order, that he might to their faces taxe the Enemy for refuſing battel all that day, and challenge them to it again: But ſeeing they did not ſtir, he reſolved at laſt to retreat alſo, and to bethink himſelf of ſomwhat elſe. 'Twas ſaid that thoſe Forces which were to come from *France* into *Flanders* to ſerve *Alanſon*, were a gathering up about *Cambray*. *Ferneſe* therefore turn'd his men thitherward to oppoſe them: But underſtanding afterwards that the ſaid *French* were reſolved to enter by *Dunkirk*, he being more at liberty, begirt the Caſtle of *Cambreſis* and took it. He then threatned to beſiege *Cambray*, but they were only threats: For winter now drawing on, hindred him from proſecuting his deſign; and moreover neceſſity called upon him to oppoſe the Enemy elſwhere; who ſeeing *Ferneſe* ſo far off, and hoping thereby to reap ſome advantage, aſſaulted and took *Gaesbeck* in *Brabant*, and ſoon after they likewiſe took the Town of *Mega* upon the *Mauſe*. But *Ferneſe* returning ſpeedily upon them, he retook *Gaesbeck*, took *Nuenove*, and ſecured *Lira*, which was in ſome danger. *Verdugo* this mean while continued making further progreſs on the other ſide the *Rhine*: He had tryed the Town of *Lochem*, and had lain ſome moneths about it; but not being able to get the Town by ſiege, he eaſily took *Stenwick* afterwards by ſurpriſe. On the contrary, the Enemy had ſtormed the Town of *Haſſelt*, ſituated upon the River *Haa*, and much advantaged their affairs on that ſide. But the whole body of both Armies was reduced to this ſide the *Rhine*: And now after ſo long expectation, *Alanſons* men were come. They were not in all above 3000 *Switzers* Foot, 2500 *French* Foot, and 1000 *French* Horſe. Their Leaders had brought them into *Flanders* by the way of *Dunkirk*: And becauſe winter was already begun, 'twas fitter thinking of putting them into garriſons, then of drawing them into the field. Their chief Commander was the Duke of *Mompenſiere*, a Prince of the blood-royal; and with him was the Marſhal *Biroun*, a very gallant Gentleman, and who was highly eſteemed throughout all *France* for his valour in war. The men were diſtributed to winter in *Dunkirk*, in *Newport*, in *Oſtend*, in *Bruges*, in *Dixmund*, and in *Terramonde*, and in ſome other part of the Country of *Vas*; all which were garriſons within the Province of *Flanders*. *Alanſon* having been ſolemnly received in *Bruges* and in *Gaunt*, was come to *Antwerp*. Here all the other French Commanders that were newly come, ſtaid with him. But when they ſaw how little account was made of *Alanſon*, that he hardly enjoyed the bare title of Soveraignty, that the Government was wholly in *Orange* his hands, that the *Flemiſh* did already diſcover themſelves not very well minded towards the *French*, and that in effect they did not pay the Duke the monies which they had promiſed him for the maintenance of his men, nor did adde ſuch men of their own as were needful to his: It is not to be expreſt how much the Marſhal, amongſt others, fretted within himſelf, as alſo did the other Commanders that were come with him. Thoſe who were of beſt eſteem with the Duke, and who were come firſt in with him, were likewiſe ſenſible of the ſame ſhame and anger, inſomuch as ſome of the forwardeſt of them could no longer contain themſelves. Entring then into a very ſecret conſultation, they reſolved to perſwade the Duke to ground his new Principality upon Arms, ſince the other Form of exerciſing it, which was preſcribed him, was altogether vain and unworthy. Monſieur *de Fervaches*, a Gentleman of a very Noble family, very diſcreet, and ſtout, and who during the Civil wars of *France* was alſo made Marſhal of that Crown, was in great favour with the Duke. This man eaſily arrogating unto himſelf the chief place in this deſign, took upon him the care of pro-

propounding it to the Duke; and taking a fitting time ſpake thus unto him.

How much (moſt gracious Sir!) had we who have the honour to enjoy the prime places in your Highneſs his ſervice, rather never have come into Flanders, *then in coming hither find the Royal blould of* France *ſo much vilified? conſider, Sir! your birth; and then ſee whether your preſent condition here doth correſpond therewithall or no. You the only brother of the King; you the Dolphine of* France; *you who are likely every hour to ſucceed to the greateſt Monarchy of* Europe: *in what poſture, I beſeech you, are you now here in* Flanders? *You the Ruler of theſe Countries? You the Duke of* Brabant? *Earl of* Flanders, Holland *and* Zealand, *and Lord of theſe Confederate Provinces? 'Tis true theſe are your Titles: theſe are your appearing greatneſſes; but ſet theſe vain ſhadows aſide, tell me I pray you, what do you enjoy here which makes you not rather ſubject to obey, then to Command? You cannot ſay a word but* Orange *muſt firſt put it into your mouth: you can frame no deſigne whatſoever, which muſt not firſt be aſſented to by the Soveraignty of the States General, nay by the particular States, not only of every Province, but of every City and meaneſt Town therein. And where are the monies they promiſed you? where are their paid men? where ſo many other conditions ſo ill made good by them? 'Tis* Orange *then that is rather the true Prince. And he will have the people to be their own Soveraigns, to allure them ſtill more with the bait of Liberty, that he himſelf may hereafter the more eaſily invade it, and reduce it to final ſlavery. And truly what honour is not given to him even before your face? whether doth not his opinion reach? and the authority of his name? And will your Highneſs ſit down ſtill by ſuch aſcorn? will you forget your ſelf, your Royal blond, and your glorious Nation? how much better will it become you to accompany your right with force of Arms? there is no ruling without Forces. Nor was the bare conſent of the people ever ſufficient to make a Princes Government ſo ſecure as it ought to be. The people alter hourly: and who hath had better tryal hereof then your ſelf? hardly was the Ceremonies of your firſt reception over, when out of a ſlight ſuſpition of the common people, you and all yours ran hazard of your lives Little leſs then 6000 choice foot, and 1000 choice horſe are brought hither for your ſervice: to boot with a great number of other French horſe and foot who are here in ſervice under the Union of the Confederates. The former are diſpoſed of in divers of the chiefeſt Towns of* Flanders. *Wherefore then do not you reſolve to make your ſelf Maſter of all thoſe places at once? but chiefly why do you not make this City of* Antwerp *your own? when you ſhall have made your ſelf Maſter of theſe places, as you may eaſily do; how can you doubt but that all* France *will be ſuddenly up in arms, and that the whole Kingdom will come in to your aſſiſtance? and that the King your brother will endeavour by all means to procure ſo fair an acquiſition to his Crown? an acquiſition of Countries, which your Royal blond hath in former times in a good part governed and enjoy'd? you will then be Prince of* Flanders *indeed. Then muſt* Orange *and the reſt receive Laws from you, and not you from them. And your new Empire being thus grounded upon force, you may afterwards as you ſhall pleaſe, uſe that other way of intreaties. It is not raſhly nor unadviſedly that I give you this Councel. It is the common opinion of all the beſt Commanders of your Forces. We all ſtrive who ſhall contribute moſt to your greatneſs, and raiſe up your honour as much as it is now abaſed here. I who am the firſt to adviſe you hereunto, will be one of the firſt who ſhall help to bring it to paſs: and ſhall account it my greateſt glory either to live to ſee this done, or to die in the endeavouring of it*

At the hearing of this Diſcourſe *Alanſon* was much more confuſed then perſwaded. On the one ſide the difficulties appeared to be very great which this advice brought with it; which he could not ſufficiently diſcern. And on the other ſide, he deſired it might be effected; but was not ſo reſolute as he ought to have been to go about it. After awhiles wavering within himſelf, he (as was his cuſtom) left himſelf to be diſpoſed of as the reſt ſhould pleaſe. Wherefore his anſwer was, 'That *Ferraches*, and the reſt of the Commanders ſhould do what they 'thought beſt for his ſafety and advantage.

They were not long about it. The reſolution was, That upon a certain prefixt day, (which was appointed to be the 17 day of *January*) all the Dukes ſouldiers ſhould take an occaſion to mutiny in the ſeveral places where they were quar-

tered, and ſhould drive the Flemiſh Gariſons out of them. The greateſt difficulty lay in the making of themſelves Maſters of *Antwerp*. They could not do it by open force, the City being ſo great and populous. And if they ſhould go about to ſurpriſe it, they might likewiſe meet with many impediments: yet neceſſity pleaded for the latter: but becauſe neither could it be done by ſurpriſal, unleſs at the ſame time that force ſhould be begun to be uſed within the City, another ſufficient force might be without; it was reſolved that a good ſtrength of the Dukes horſe and foot, ſhould be brought at the time appointed into ſome Villages near the Walls of the City, as if it were by the way of paſſage. The new year 1583 was then begun, and the colds were exceeding ſharp. The States therefore hoped by means of the Ice, which makes the low fields of *Frieſland* more paſſable then any other time of the year, to do ſomewhat for their advantage in thoſe parts. Wherefore they deſired the Duke to go with ſome good forces into *Ghelderland* to increaſe their other forces on the other ſide the *Rhine*; and to this end they had made certain ſums of mony be payed unto him. Nothing could have faln out more fortunately for the French then this. So as about the midſt of *January* all their men ſave ſuch as were to ſtay in their Gariſons in the Province of *Flanders*, to make themſelves Maſters of thoſe Towns as was reſolved upon, were in the Villages about *Antwerp*; this mean while there were many French with the Duke in *Antwerp*, and particularly the chief of the Nobility; as well for the honour which they rendred unto his perſon, as for ſome other feigned occaſions which the Duke had purpoſely cauſed ariſe at that conjuncture of time. Yet few were acquainted with the deſigne, which was thus ordered. On the 17 day the people which were lodged about the Town, were to be ſtirring early in the morning, as if they were to march towards *Frieſland*. The Duke was to go out by St *James* his gate, which was the neareſt, as if he were to make the ſame journy; when he ſhould be gone out, thoſe that remained behind were ſuddenly to poſſeſs themſelves of that gate. Another gate near unto it, called *Ceſars* gate, was ſuddenly to be poſſeſt alſo. The Curtain which runs between theſe two gates, being eaſily won, the Artillery which were upon it, were to be turned upon the Town, for the greater terror of the Inhabitants: the ſouldiers that were without ſhould ſuddenly enter the City and joyn with thoſe that were within the Town. And for a token to know themſelves the better by, the Dukes ſouldiers ſhould cry,

The Town is taken, may the Maſs proſper.

and particular order was taken that above all things the French ſhould not be ſuffered to plunder the City, leſt the ſouldiers might through avarice be diverted, and ſo the Inhabitants be the more incenſed to riſe up againſt them. In all ſurpriſes ſecrecy is of mighty importance, to have them ſucceed well, they muſt be done before they be declared. But it is often times found, that many orders cannot be executed becauſe they are not underſtood. And thoſe being confuſed, the whole deſigne muſt needs ſuddenly vaniſh. The buſineſs coming to the birth, the Duke, according to the agreement, went on horſeback from his houſe, and with many others in his company, rid towards St *James* his gate, ſo to get out of the City. When he was gotten out, thoſe that ſtaid behind ſeemed to fall together by the ears, and laying their hands upon their ſwords, turned upon them that kept the gates; and killing ſome, and driving away the reſt, they were eaſily maſters of the Gate. The people flocking together at the noiſe hereof, were much confuſed at ſuch a novelty. The *Antwerpians* were not at this time free of ſuſpition, ſeeing ſo many French men amongſt them; yet could they not fear ſuch a thing as this. They were in ſome poſture of taking up arms, upon any occaſion of tumult that might ariſe. The French this mean while poſſeſt themſelves eaſily likewiſe of the *Caſarean* gate, and of the aboveſaid Curtain. Hereupon the novelty appeared the greater on their ſide, and the commotion much greater on the behalf of the Inhabitants; and chiefly when the French began to run up and down the ſtreets, and in a loud and hoſtile manner to pronounce theſe words,

The Town is taken, may the Maſs proſper.

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At the ſame time 15 Foot-Companies, and 10 Troops of Horſe entred the Town; and the *Switzers* being further off then the reſt, were the longer in coming. In this interim their happened an accident which much diſordered the French-mens buſineſs. S. *James's* Gate had a Percullis to ſhut out all entrance when need ſhould require, upon a ſudden. Were it either that the *French* had not thought upon it, or that they had neglected it, there was none of them that took care of it. Which the *Antwerpians* failed not to make uſe of; for they threw down the Percullis, and ſo inhibited all entrance at that gate. The French-men were entred by this gate, and by this gate were the *Switzers* alſo to enter. The Inhabitants were this mean while ſtill in greater commotion, and had better armed themſelvs; they were at this time very numerous, and by the ſo long experience of war, and their own ſo many ſufferings, well verſt in Arms. The French-men at firſt had the better: But having had the firſt ſlaughter of the people, believing that they ſhould not afterward meet with any conſiderable reſiſtance, and that their fellows that were without would ſhare with them rather in the prey then in the peril; neglecting, or peradventure not having received the Orders from thoſe few that were within, they fell immediately to plunder. The people then incenſed with anger and fury, joyned their Forces together, and behaved themſelves valiantly againſt the *French*: The love of their Country, Children, Parents, ſubſtances, and of themſelves, added to their ſtrength; but when 'twas known that no more of the Dukes men could come in by S *James's* gate, the *Antwerpians* were ſo encouraged, and the *French* diſcouraged, as the faces of affairs began wholly to alter. The *Antwerpians* without any further delay recovered the *Caſareaa* gate, and then ſetting upon thoſe that guarded the aforeſaid Curtain or Line, drove them eaſily away, and threw many of them down from off the wall; deceiving thoſe that were without, who thought it to be an effect of the ſurpriſe. This being done, the *French* that were within the Town could not much longer reſiſt the Townſmen, they were every where encompaſt by them. Of the Citizens, thoſe that were not armed, joyn'd with thoſe that were armed; and even the women with the men, to make at firſt the better defence, and afterwards to take the better revenge. So as the French-men having no whither to fly unto in the City, and not receiving any ſuccour from without, for any thing that the Duke and the other Commanders that were gone forth with him could doe, they were all at laſt either wounded, ſlain, or taken priſoners. About 1500 were ſlain, and of thoſe ſome of the beſt both for birth and valour. Thoſe that were wounded and taken priſoners were almoſt as many; and theſe were alſo likely to have periſhed, had not *Orange* by his authority interpoſed and ſaved them. Of the Townſmen not many more then 100 were ſlain, but a great many more hurt. *Orange* had ſome occaſions which kept him from waiting upon *Alanſon* out of the Town, as otherwiſe he had in honour been bound to doe. And becauſe he lay in the Caſtle, which ſtands a pretty diſtance from the moſt frequented part of the City, he could not come in ſo ſoon as was needful; beſides, he thought it at firſt to be but ſome ſquabble between the looſer ſort of the People and the Souldiers. Notwithſtanding there were ſome who ſuſpected his carriage in this buſineſs, as if he had had a hand in the ſurpriſal. But how was it poſſible to believe, that changing his principles, he ſhould deſtroy his firſt ends, and ſerve in ſtead of commanding? And therefore it was rather to be believed, that when he underſtood the truth, he thought it better to quiet the minds on all ſides, and not to break off the Agreement, which after ſo long, ſo many, and ſo doubtfull endeavours had been made with *Alanſon*. Thus ended the intended ſurpriſal of *Antwerp*. The common opinion was, that the Duke of *Mompenſier*, and the Marſhal *Byronne* were averſe to this deſign; and that judging it not feaſible, as partaking more of raſhneſs then of ſtoutneſs, they had oftentimes endeavoured to diſſwade the Duke from it, but ſtill in vain; for that the reſt who were the authors of it, and who were more in favour with him, had made him too fond of it. The ſurpriſals of *Dunkirk*, *Dixmund*, *Terremond*, and of ſome other leſs conſiderable places, ſucceeded better. In the other Towns of greater conſequence, were it either that the *French* were too inferior in numbers to the *Flemiſh*, or that Fortune was more favourable to the latter then to the former, they took no effect at all. The Duke much

much confuſed, and not knowing what to doe, went from the walls of *Antwerp* to *Terramonde*, and from thence by letters, meſſages, and particularly by *Orange* his interpoſition, he began to uſe all means to return again to his former good intelligence and agreement with the Flemiſh. This ſo unexpected deſign of the French againſt the Flemiſh being divulged, it is not to be ſaid how much the Confederate Provinces were troubled at it. But the Province of *Flanders* was moſt troubled, wherein the deſign was laid, and in a good part effected. In ſo much as *Gaunt*, *Bruges*, and generally all the Flemicant part of the Province, broke forth into grievous complaints againſt the Duke, and ſeemed to be fully minded no longer to endure *Alanſons* Principality. The reſt of the Provinces were of the ſame opinion. But *Orange* his ſole power was ſufficient to make his ſenſe prevail over all thoſe who were of a contrary mind. At firſt he did very much blame this action of the French, that he might be of more credit afterwards in excuſing them. He laid the fault much more upon the Adviſers, then upon the Duke; alleadging,

'That of his own nature he was a Prince of great goodneſs; and that he was 'rather inforced by the others. then adviſed to do what he had done. That an a-'greement ſhould not by any means be broken which had formerly been ripened 'by ſo many conſultations, and at laſt through ſo many difficulties eſtabliſhed. 'That it was apparent, if it ſhould be broken, their affairs would be in worſe con-'dition then before. For *France* would be thereby alienated and offended, where-'as otherwiſe they might receive favour and advantages from thence. That ſome-'times a great diſorder proves very beneficial. That therefore it was to be belie-'ved, that the French by this raſh action would learn to be better adviſed in their 'future proceedings: and the Flemiſh on the contrary would better ſatisfie their 'duties on their behalf. And finally that by all means it was neceſſary to piece up 'with *Alanſon*: ſo to get the French out of the places which they were poſ-'ſeſſed of by way of Treaty; ſince that to go about to get them by force, would 'be both a bloudy, difficult, and uncertain buſineſs: and that the mean while the 'King of *Spains* forces would the more freely, and with the more advantage o-'verrun all places.

The *Antwerpians*, and all the reſt being wrought upon by *Orange* his Authority, and by reaſon, liſtned to a new agreement with *Alanſon*. He firſt excuſed himſelf, and by expreſs Meſſengers, repreſenting the wrong that was done to his men by not paying them; and that afterwards it was not in his power to hinder them. Proceeding from hence to Treaties, 'The Duke obliged himſelf to re-'tire for the preſent to *Dunkirk*, taking with him but a reaſonable number of 'horſe and foot; to leave the other Towns free to the Flemiſh; taking a new 'Oath to imploy all his ſouldiery in all faithfullneſs in the common ſervice of 'himſelf, and of the Provinces. On the other ſide, the French priſoners were ſet 'at liberty; the Dukes men had ſome moneys paid them, and he was promiſed 'that they ſhould be well treated in all other kinds afterwards. And ſo affairs 'returned to their former condition between the Duke and the Provinces: but 'rather in a feigned, then real way of Demonſtration; for indeed there never paſt 'any good correſpondency betweem them afterward, though the King of *France* 'by very efficacious endeavours, and by Agents of his own, had ſtrove to appeaſe 'the Flemiſh, and to confirm them in their former favour to his brother.

The Prince of *Parma* hoped ſome notable advantage might accrue to the Kings ſervice, from this occaſion which had ſo exaſperated the Flemiſh againſt the French. To this purpoſe he opportunely moved the chief Cities of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, which were alienated from the King; thinking that if he could reduce thoſe two important Provinces wholly to their allegiance, the reſt might the more eaſily be reduced afterwards either by the way of Treaty or force. But theſe his endeavours wrought no other effect, then the others had done which he had uſed when *Orange* was wounded. He therefore reſolved wholly to uſe force; wherein he found himſelf already ſo far to exceed the enemy, as he doubted not but that by this means only he might promiſe unto himſelf all good ſucceſs in the Kings affairs. Before *Alanſons* Frenchmen had endeavoured the aforeſaid novelties, Monſieur *de Bonivette*, one of their Commanders, had at unawares taken

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the Town of *Eyndoven* in *Campigni*, which is a very conſiderable part of *Brabant*. Which *Ferneſe* was not ſlow in regaining; to which purpoſe he diſpatched away Count *Charls Mansfield* towards it with good forces. On the other ſide, the Confederate Flemiſh deſired greatly to keep that Town in their hands; wherfore after their agreement with *Alanſon*, they carried it ſo as ſome of his men went thitherward to make *Mansfield* raiſe the ſiege. But he had already ſo fortified himſelf about it, as thoſe within not receiving any relief from thoſe without, they were at laſt forced to yield. The French which were in *Eyndoven* went to joyn with the other French which were with Mariſhall *Byronne* in *Brabant*; on that ſide which lies neareſt *Holland*. Here he ſtormed the Caſtle of *Woude*, and took ſome other places thereabouts. On the contrary part, *Turnault*, *Hoſtrat* and *Diſte* fell into *Mansfields* hands, with ſome other places of leſs moment. This mean while *Ferneſe* arrived, who preſently marched towards *Byronne*. The French had fortified themſelves towards the Town of *Roſendal*: but yet the Prince aſſaulted them with ſuch reſolution, as they thought it their ſafeſt courſe to retreat to within the Town; which they could not do in ſuch order, but that what by ſlaughter, running away, and by being taken priſoners, they loſt a great many of their men, and *Byronn's* ſelf was hurt in the foot. *Ferneſe* reſolved afterward to take *Herentale*, and therefore incompaſſed it with conſiderable forces. But underſtanding that the Duke of *Alanſon* either for the ſmall ſatisfaction he received in *Flanders*, or for ſome other affairs in *France*, was gon from *Dunkirk* to *Callis*; *Ferneſe* changing his mind, marched ſuddenly with all his Camp towards *Dunkirk*, to recover that Town which ſtands upon the Sea, and which for other conſiderations is of very great conſequence. There was but a weak Gariſon in it, and the Townſmen could not be worſe minded towards the French. The States got *Bironne* to go with thoſe French which he had with him to ſuccour it. But ſuch was the abhorrition which the Flemiſh had for the French, as they could effect nothing in time to any purpoſe; wherefore *Ferneſe* within a few days recovered that Town, ſuffering the French to march out with all honourable conditions. He likewiſe recovered *Newport*, a Town of great conſequence likewiſe upon the ſea-ſide. And from thence he tryed to take *Oſtend*, a Town upon the ſame level: but he found it ſo ſtrongly ſituated, and ſo well provided of men, as he would not ſpend any long time in beſieging it; and leave ſo many other happy opportunities which preſented themſelves unto him in divers other parts. Having ſoon recovered *Dixmund*, he beſieged the City of *Ypri*; and ſet divers other practiſes on foot in *Gaunt*, *Bruges*, and other Towns in the Flemican part of *Flanders*, to draw that whole Province again to the Kings obedience. This mean while the year 1584 began; nor did the Winter hinder the continuance of the ſiege before *Ypri*. The Rebels endeavoured oft to relieve it; but being either hindred or defeated, they could never effect it. The ſiege endured till the middle of *April*; and the City was ſurrendred vpon almoſt the ſame conditions as *Tornay* had formerly been. The Prince of *Parma* fared as fortunately in the getting of *Bruges* by intelligence. The Prince of *Semay*, eldeſt ſon to the Duke of *Ariſcot* was in it. The father adhered unto the King, but the ſon changing ſides upon various pretences, adhered afterwards to the States. And the Flemican part of *Flanders* was governed by him in their names, and in the name of *Alanſon*. The ſon being ſollicited by his father to come poſt to *Bruges*, obeyed him: for he knew how fitting an opportunity this would be to make amends for his former error, and to reingratiate himſelf with the King, by reducing ſuch a City as this under his obedience, and himſelf again under his ſervice. They came then to conditions; and the largeſt which upon ſuch an occaſion could be demanded were granted, relation always being had to their giving due obedience to the Church and to the King. This hapned in *May*: and this helped to further the Kings affairs in many other things in the ſame Province. At the ſame time *Verdugo* had very much advanced the Kings affairs on the further ſide of the *Rhine* by the taking of *Zutfen*. He got this Town of ſuch importance by ſurpriſe. And the enemy immediately endeavoured to regain it; wherefore Count *Hollach* was ſent thither with good forces, and was ſate down before it. *Verdugo* being thus begirt, craved relief, and *Ferneſe* knew very well how

Anno 1584.

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needfull it was to ſend it him. But being buſied in ſo many other affairs on this ſide the *Rhine*, which grew every day more ripe, he could not aſſiſt him ſo ſoon nor with ſuch Forces as he willingly would have done, or as the occaſion required. Count *Aremberg* was at this time about the *Rhine*, being ſent thither by the Prince of *Parma* with a conſiderable ſtrength of Foot and Horſe, to aſſiſt *Erneſtus* of *Bavaria*, newly choſen Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and to exclude the former Archbiſhop *Truxes*, who was depoſed for having gone about to marry, and for ſuſtaining his Apoſtaſie from the Church by favour of the Heretical faction thereabouts. The good cauſe prevailed at laſt: wherefore *Ferneſe* ordered *Aremberg* to go either with all, or a good part of his Forces to the relief of *Zutfen*. And this fell out ſo luckily likewiſe, as *Hollack* was forced to raiſe his ſiege, and to retreat. In this interim *Bironne*, with the reſt of the lately come French, was gone from *Flanders*, the *Flemiſh* having afforded them commodity to do ſo by Sea, for they could not without great danger have gone by Land. Diffidences and diſtaſtes did ſtill increaſe on both parts. Nor was *Orange*'s authority at laſt ſufficient to reconcile *Alanſons* affairs, though he ſtill laboured to doe it; by reaſon of the news which was come from *France*, that the King had declared himſelf much more freely in his Brothers behalf, in his intereſts of *Flanders*; and that he was much better pleaſed with him then he formerly had been. *Orange* took occaſion hereby to induce the States to ſend the Signor of *Schonowel* purpoſely to congratulate with *Alanſon* for this; endeavouring by this means the more to engage both parties in the formerly eſtabliſht reſolutions. But ſoon after came other news, that *Alanſon* was dead in the Caſtle of *Tierry*, after a long ſickneſs, with ſome ſigns that poyſon had been alſo uſed.

Thus he dyed, not being above 30 years old. He was a Prince, of whom it might be queſtioned whether he had been the cauſer of greater troubles in *France* or in *Flanders*. He was alwayes more ruled by others then by himſelf, wavering in all his actions, were it either out of weakneſs of underſtanding, or eaſineſs of nature. Suffering himſelf therefore in *France* to be carried away ſometimes by one Faction, ſometimes by another, and afterwards abandoning them with equal eaſineſs, he applied himſelf again to the Court-Faction, there to receive more ſcorn then reſpect. Wherefore either weary of expecting, or deſpairing of atchieving greater preferments in the Kingdom, he with the like fickleneſs was perſwaded to ſeek for them abroad; and therefore paſſing into *Flanders*, he carried Forces with him thither, and with thoſe Forces new Troubles. For what remains, his Conditions both of body and mind did no wayes correſpond with his Birth: He was low of ſtature, and not very well ſhaped; he was notwithſtanding of a gracious and lively aſpect: Nor were his actions ſo altogether worthy of blame, but that they were in many things praiſe-worthy; he was kind, liberal, not much given to pleaſures, and naturally inclined to follow the beſt advices, unleſs his Favourites prevailed too far with him to imbrace the worſt. He dyed, when together with his years his hopes did moſt flouriſh: For the King having no hopes of Iſſue, he did not only promiſe to himſelf to enjoy the Principality of *Flanders*, but by a greater fortune to ſucceed to the Crown of *France*.

His death was accompanied by the like of *Orange*: *Alanſon* dyed the begining of *June*, and *Orange* left this life in the beginning of *July* following. The manner thus. One *Baldaſar Serack* a Burgonian, a man but of mean birth, but of ſome natural endowments, had wrought himſelf into his acquaintance, and more domeſtically into that of his Followers, with an intention to kill him. *Orange* was then in the Town of *Delf* in *Holland*, about divers publike affairs; one of the chiefeſt whereof was, the better to reeſtabliſh the affairs of *Alanſon*. *Sirack* taking his opportunity, and coming to *Orange* in his chamber under pretence of ſome important buſineſs, he ſhot him with a Piſtol in the flank, and inſtantly ſlew him, he not being able before his death to ſpeak any one word. Then taking himſelf to his heels, he was got ſo far before he was overtaken, as he was already gotten upon the Town-wall with intention of throwing himſelf down into the Ditch, and ſo ſwim out, when he was overtaken by thoſe that followed him, who took him alive, and delivered him up to the hands of Juſtice. They endeavoured by moſt cruel torments to draw from him the reality of the act; and the common belief

was,

was, that he would have confeſt he had received orders for it, and that he expected a reward from *Spain*. But they could never get any thing from him, ſave only that he had ſlain *Orange*, moved thereunto only by himſelf, and to merit much more thereby from God then from the King. He was afterwards condemned to die, and ſuffered death by the moſt cruel puniſhments that might be. Thusdyed *William* of *Naſſaw* Prince of *Orange*, in the 52 year of his Age.

He was a man born certainly for very great renown; if contented with his own peculiar Fortune, he had not through precipices ſought after a greater. The Emperour *Charles* the 5. and his Son *Philip* the 2. did undoubtedly alwayes acknowledge him to be their chiefeſt Subject in all *Flanders*: and each of them ſeemed to ſtrive with the other which ſhould moſt favour him. or put a higher eſteem upon him. He was notwithſtanding ſtill in the condition of a Subject; but he had ſo high-pitcht thoughts, as would not ſuffer him to be at quiet under the condition of a Prince. He aſpired therefore to raiſe himſelf thereunto, as hath been ſeen, by the Revolts of *Flanders*. And the heat of his ambition being ſtill carried on by the ordering of his deſigns, he had brought his ends to that paſs, as had he lived, there was little doubt to be made but that he would at leaſt have been Prince of *Holland* and *Zealand*. Vigilancie, Induſtry, Liberality, Eloquence, and a quick inſight into any buſineſs, did vie in him with Ambition, Fraud, Audacity, Greedineſs, and with an application of himſelf to all Natures. And theſe his good and bad Qualities were accompanied with all others which the moſt skilfull School of Ruling could teach. At all publike Meetings, and in all other kind of Negotiations, no man knew better then he how to diſpoſe of mens minds, how to wheel about opinions, how to colour pretences, how to haſten buſineſs, or how to prolong them; nor in brief, how more artificially to take his advantage by all other means. He was therefore thought much better at the government of Civil affairs, then at the Military profeſſion. He altered his Religion, according to his Intereſts. Whilſt he was a Child in *Germany*, he was a *Lutheran*: Paſſing into *Flanders*, he ſeemed to be a Catholick: At the begining of the Revolts, he declared himſelf to be a favourer of the new Sects, but not an open profeſſor of any of them; till at laſt he ſeemed to follow *Calviniſm*, as that which of all other Sects is moſt contrary to the Catholick religion, which is maintained by the King of *Spain*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Second Part.

BOOK III.

The Contents.

In this Book the memorable Siege of Antwerp *is described. The Prince of* Parma *resolves upon this enterprise the rather, because* Orange *is dead, and by reason of the great perturbancie of the Confederate Provinces. He sits down before that City. Its great advantages both in situation, and in all things else.* Ferneſe *in the first place treats of shutting up the* Scheld, *to hinder all succour on that side. To this purpose he designs a Bridge, and the difficulties in making it are mentioned: However it is resolved to be made.* Ferneſe *begins it: He raiseth a Fort-Royal at each head thereof; and these greater Forts are accompanied here and there with lesser. Oppositions made by the besieged. Their chief Fort at* Lillo *upon the* Scheld. *By this means the* Antwerpians *receive great Aids from the* Hollanders *and* Zealanders; *and therefore they pass freely up and down the River.* Ferneſe *causeth a Navigable Ditch to be cut, the better to bring the materials which were requisite for the Bridge. Hereby the labours are increased.* Ferneſe *endeavours likewise to keep the Enemy from succour by* Lillo *on the Land-side: And therefore secures himself still better there by a Counterdike. What is to be understood by a Dike and Counterdike.* Rubais *takes the particular care of the Bridge, and of some men of War to oppose those of the Enemy. The* Antwerpians *begin to be troubled: They use divers means both in* France *and in* England *for succour. The Lord of S.* Aldegonde *endeavours by a perswasive Oration to encourage them as much as he can. They therefore resolve to make all manly resistance. Divers of their preparations to that purpose. They build a Ship vastly great. Their Fire-ships. They first make use of them to the prejudice of the Bridge, which is already perfected; but doe no great good thereby, nor doth the great Ship prove more fortunate. They try their Fire-ships again, but still to no purpose. Then they bend all their might to prejudice the Counterdike, and hope by that means to bring in succour. Their first Assault does no good: They with better order, and greater*

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Maurice of Nassau Prince of
Orainge Count Nassau; Governour
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Forces try a ſecond Aſſault. A bloody buſineſs thereupon. Fortune varies the dangers, and at laſt gives the victory to the Royaliſts. The Antwerpians *treat of a Surrender, and after many difficulties deliver up the Town.*

NEver was the loſs of Father, Benefactor, or Prince ſo bewailed, as was *Orange* his death by thoſe of the Confederate Provinces. And ſince they could no longer enjoy his perſon alive, they without any manner of delay ſubſtituted his ſon *Maurice* in his place, a Youth but of 16 years of age, conferring all thoſe ſelf-ſame honours and offices upon him, which they with ſo liberal a hand had beſtowed on his Father. Count *Buren*, *Orange* his eldeſt ſon, was ſtill detained in *Spain*, being ſent thither by the Duke of *Alva*, as hath been ſaid: And therefore the Confederate Provinces choſe *Maurice* to ſucceed in his Fathers commands. This *Maurice* was *Orange* his ſecond ſon, and by his ſecond wife, *Anne* of *Saxony*. They gave *Maurice* the Count of *Hollack* for his Lieutenant, and to be aſſiſting to his youth in the Government of Arms. The Prince of *Parma* hoped that this novelty might occaſion ſome great commotion in the Confederate Provinces, which would make for the Kings advantage; judging that having loſt ſuch a Governour, as their councels were thereby weakened, ſo would their courages be alſo. And truly ſo it fell out with many particular men. But in the generall, this action did ſo inhorrid and ſo incenſe the people, as they reſolved to continue their former reſolutions more obſtinately then before, and to keep dead *Orange* his ſenſe ſtill alive. Wherefore *Ferneſe* ſoon ſaw that he was to place all his hopes in Arms. He had then a very ſtrong Army; and ſuch were his advantages over his Enemies, as he thought he might aſſuredly hope yet for much greater every day. From the time that he had beſieged *Maſtrick*, he had ſtill had a great deſire to begirt *Antwerp*. But the then difficulties, and thoſe which every day aroſe, would never ſuffer him to undertake a buſineſs of ſo great conſequence. But all things ſeeming now to ſmile upon ſuch a deſign, he would no longer delay the doing of it. We therefore will here proceed on to the deſcription of this Siege: which we will doe with all brevity, and yet with great diligence; that by the one we may ſhun the tediouſneſs of trivial things, and by the other preſent you as punctually as may be with ſo cry'd up an enterpriſe. And doubtleſly ſuch and ſo memorable was this action, as by the common opinion it was ſufficient of it ſelf alone to make *Alexander Ferneſe* his merits be very highly valued by the Church and King, and his honour immortalized by the world.

Antwerp lies on the right ſide of the *Scheld*, and extending its walls for a long ſpace on that ſide which looks towards the River, it afterward makes a great compaſs toward the other which commands the Fields. That River cannot be maſtered by a more noble City, nor that City watered by a more noble River. Every one knows how *Antwerp* flouriſht before the wars, both in the number of Inhabitants, in the beauty of buildings, and in merchandizing: But howſoever, ſtill afterwards one of the greateſt Commerces of all the Northern parts is in it. Which is chiefly occaſioned by the commodiouſneſs of the *Scheld*, it being a River of ſo great a breadth and depth, and ebbing and flowing ſo far into the Sea, as it is there capable even of the greateſt Veſſel which ſails upon the Sea. Towards the fields ſide the City is invironed with one of the ſtatelieſt Wals that can be ſeen, as well for the breadth of the Platform within, as for the noble Baſtions without; and the Ditch is every where anſwerable. On the other ſide towards the River, the River it ſelf ſerves for a defence, and therefore on that ſide there is only a ſingle wall. The platform of the wall towards the fields is of ſuch a breadth, as many rowes of Trees ſtand round about it, ſo as it ſerves no leſs for delight then for defence. The Citadel enjoyed formerly alſo its praiſes apart: But being fallen into the Rebels hands, thoſe ſides of it were only maintained by them which lay towards the fields, and all the reſt which lay towards the City were ſlighted. *Antwerp* is in, or to ſay better, joyns upon *Brabant*; of it ſelf making one of the ancient 17 Provinces, by the name of the Marquiſat of the ſacred Empire. The Province of *Flanders* joyns upon the contrary ſide of the

River, which therefore partakes thereby of all the advantages afforded both by ſo large a River, and of a City of ſuch Merchandizing. Here therefore had the Flemiſh placed the ſcene of all their moſt weighty negotiations; and the ſituation of the City, and its other advantages to withſtand all ſieges being conſidered, they could not dream of ever loſing it by ſiege, but rather be confident of always preſerving it. On the lands ſide, ſo ſtrong a Wall promiſed them all ſafety. And as for ſhutting up the River, and keeping the City from being relieved by water, they thought *Ferneſe* would never be able to do it, both in reſpect of the nature of the River it ſelf, and by reaſon of their Naval power, whereby they were wholly Maſters of it. Theſe difficulties were not unknown to *Ferneſe*; but yet he thought them not to be ſuch but that they might be overcome. He ſaw that in the firſt place all ſuccour muſt be cut off; and that conſequently the River was to be blocked up, whereby it might continually be ſupply'd. And therefore laying aſide all thought of aſſault, he reſolved to beſiege the City, and to build ſuch a bridge over the *Scheld*, as might maſter the violence of the River it ſelf, as alſo the enemies ſhips. When he ſhould have bereft them of relief by water, he doubted not but that he might much more eaſily do the ſame by land, ſince he was ſo ſuperior in forces, as he might at his pleaſure be Maſter of the field every where. About three leagues beneath *Antwerp* the *Scheld* makes a great Arch: and here the ſhips do uſually alter either their ſails, or their courſe, and oftentimes do make ſom ſtay: wherfore that place is very opportune either to facilitate or to hinder the navigation of the River. The enemy had at this time two forts upon the banks of that Arch; the greater was called *Lillo*, being the name of a neighbouring village: and the other on the oppoſite bank was called the Fort of *Lifechenſuch*. *Ferneſe* therefore firſt of all endeavour'd to take both theſe at unawares, that he might make his advantage thereof in the ſiege. The Marquis of *Rubais* did ſo furiouſly aſſault that of *Lifechenſuch*, as within a few hours fight he took it; *Chriſtopher Mandragone* had the charge of the other, who did likewiſe manfully aſſault it. But the enemy made ſuch reſiſtance, both through their ſouldiers worth, and the Forts condition, as he was inforced to retreat. He afterwards returned unto the ſiege; and *Ferneſe* this mean while went to beſiege *Terramonde*, in the Province of *Flanders*. This Town is ſeated upon the *Schelds* ſide, almoſt midway between *Gaunt* and *Antwerp*. Wherefore it afforded great communication between theſe two Cities. It is a Town greatly peopled; and was then ſo well fortified, as it was thought it would have held out longer then it did. The Kings Camp drawing near it, they began to play fiercely on the Town, & came afterwards with no leſs fierceneſs to the aſſault. The beſieged withſtood the firſt aſſault with much gallantry; but ſeeing themſelves threatned with a ſecond, and conſidering the danger of not being able to withſtand it; and that then the Town would be put to fire and ſword, they reſolved to yield: and thus within little leſs then a week, the Prince ended this enterpriſe. It coſt notwithſtanding the loſs of ſome bloud; and in particular *Pietro di Paez*, one of the Spaniſh Camp-maſters, and a greatly reputed ſouldier, periſhed in this action. *Ferneſe* having taken *Terramond*, he continued to begirt the very City of *Gaunt* with a ſiege at diſtance. *Antonio Oliviera*, a Spaniard, who was Lieutenant General of the horſe, had formerly much annoyed that City by making incurſions into all the Countries thereabouts; ſo as it began to ſuffer great ſcarcity of all things. But the Prince not content to reduce only the aforeſaid City to ſtraits, he endeavoured to make *Bruſſels* and *Malines* ſenſible of the like. He therefore made himſelf maſter of the moſt frequented paſſes, by which victuals were brought; and in particular he took *Villebruch*, and *Villeford*, two of the chiefeſt of them. And ſcouring the Country all thereabouts with his horſe, he ſoon reduced both *Bruſſels* and *Malines* to ſuch ill condition, as they were afterwards forced to ſurrender, during the ſiege of *Antwerp*; which *Gaunt* did likewiſe much ſooner, inforced by the like neceſſity. But we will give you a more particular account of theſe paſſages when we ſhall have ended the ſiege of *Antwerp*, the narration whereof was not to be interrupted by any other diverſion, but ought to be diſplaid in one continued narrative.

After the taking of *Terramond*, the Prince returned to before *Antwerp*, and knew how hard it would be to bereave the enemy of the Fort of *Lillo* by way of aſſault,

aſſault. They had already munited the Fort by way of the River (which was commanded by their Veſſels) with all things that were at that time needfull; and by the ſame way they might at all times continue the ſuccouring thereof. And though *Ferneſe* ſhould have been maſter of it, yet might acceſs have been had unto the enemy by the River, ſo far diſtant were the banks of the one and the other Fort, ſo ſtrong was the ruling Tide, and ſo bootleſs would it have been, at leaſt by night to have ſhot at the ſhips which ſhould have been ſent to bring ſuccour to the City. 'Twas therefore concluded as neceſſary, that the *Scheld* muſt be block'd up by a bridg: and that this being to be done in ſome fitting place between the City and the Fort, they were not to loſe any time in getting the latter but that howſoever it was much better to bend all their forces againſt the former. It was therefore thought that it would ſuffice ſo to begirt the Fort on the land ſide, as that the enemy might be kept from making excurſions that way. *Mandragone* took the particular care of this, who ſtill kept his quarters thereabouts during the whole time of the ſiege, as you ſhall upon all occaſions hear. They came then to conſult about the bridg. And in taking the buſineſs more ſeriouſly into conſideration, ſo great difficulties began to appear, firſt in what concerned the making of it, and then much greater touching the keeping of it when it ſhould be made, as many openly oppoſed it, ſhewing that it could never be ſucceſsfully done. Theſe ſaid,

That an immence quantity of Wood was to be had for ſuch a Fabrick: and that when means ſhould be found where to have it, there would be no means found how to have it brought. That this was not to be done by land; and that there was little or no hopes of doing it by water, ſince the enemy did fully command all the River about the banks of Antwerp, *and that between thoſe banks all the materials were to be brought which were to make the bridg. That it was impoſſible ever to find rafters of ſuch a length as might ſuffice to block up the deepeſt part of the River, as well for the natural depth thereof, as for the excreſcency which the uſual tides added thereunto, So as in this only reſpect all thought thereof would be but in vain. Nor would the difficulties be leſs if they ſhould go about to make a bridge of boats. That the Kings Army wanted all materials for theſe alſo; and that theſe were likewiſe to be brought through the enemies ſhips, and under the walls of* Antwerp, *before they could come to the place where the bridge was to be built. But when the River ſhould be block'd up either by the one or the other way, what hopes would there be to keep it? it was to be preſuppoſed ſo difficult a ſiege would be of long durance; in which time why ſhould it not be feared that the full and impetuous tides ſhould not bear down the bridge? or that this might not be done by the enemies ſhips by annoying it hourly on all ſides? or finally the river being ſo often frozen over in the winter, why ſhould not the ice when it is broken and carried down by the violence of the tide, indanger the ruining of the bridg?*

But on the contrary, thoſe that were for the making and maintaining of the Fabrick, reply'd,

That as for the firſt Objection of finding, and of fetching materials, there was no doubt at all to be made of it. That the Kings Army was every where Maſter of the field. That Terramond *was already taken; and that in all likelyhood* Gaunt *would be preſently ſurrendred. By theſe ſucceſſes the* Scheld *would be free for the Kings occaſions even almoſt to the walls of* Antwerp. *Wherefore by the vicinity of ſo large a Country, and of ſuch Cities, it would be no hard matter to get timber enough, and by ſuch means as neceſſity would inſtruct, to carry it where it ſhould be requiſite. That in the mean time to make the way more paſſable, they might raiſe divers Forts on both ſides of the River, and thereby either keep the enemies ſhips from troubling them, or at leaſt make their hindrance the leſs. That they might place their Summers in the parts neareſt the banks, and where the River was ſhalloweſt, and in the middle where it was deepeſt, their boats; which were neither to be ſo many, nor of ſuch a condition but that they might be eaſily found. So the ice which the winter ſhould occaſion in the river, the force whereof would certainly be greateſt in the middle, where the tide runs ſtrongeſt, might paſs through the void places between the boats, and no ways prejudice thoſe parts which ſhould be filled up with the rafters and ſummers of wood.*

That then the Bridge being thus varied, and defended, and ſuch things done in the advantage thereof as daily experience would teach, why ſhould it not be built and maintained? And thus they might happily end their Siege, which otherwiſe could never be either begun or ended.

The neceſſity of blocking up the River was ſo apparent, totally to cut off all ſuccours, as the Prince of *Parma* not liſtening to any thing that made againſt it, reſolved immediately to have the Bridge made, and to divide it into rafters and Boats in form aboveſaid. And as for the place where to build it, it was thought fitteſt to be almoſt juſt over againſt two Villages, upon the two ſides of the River, the one called *Ordam* on *Brabant* ſide, the other *Calle* on the other ſide of *Flanders*. Here the Channel was ſomwhat narrower, and ſeemed to bend alittle, ſo as the Enemies Barks could not inveſt the Bridge on that ſide in a direct courſe. This place was ſome two leagues diſtant from the City; and it was judged fitteſt likewiſe for other works which were to be done, particularly for thoſe Forts which were to be made on both ſides. The Bridge being thus deſigned, the Prince betook himſelf with all ardencie to the putting of it into execution. He forthwith raiſed a Fort-royal on each ſide the river; and called that which was on *Calle* ſide S. *Mary*, and the other S. *Philip*. Theſe two chief Forts being raiſed, and well furniſht with Artillery, they began to build the Bridge, though but ſlowly at the firſt, there not being yet ſuch preparation had of things neceſſary for the building of it, eſpecially of rafters, as was requiſite for the work. Great diligence was therefore made every where thereabouts in gathering together what greateſt quantities all places either champian or chiltren could afford. The taking of *Terremonde* made much for this; and afterwards the taking of *Gaunt*, which hapned at this time: For all manner of commodities were to be had in this ſo great City, and ſo full of all things, firſt to begin, and afterwards to finiſh the building of the Bridge. The *Scheld* paſſeth through that City, as doe alſo ſome other Rivers which cut through it in divers places. The *Scheld* continues its courſe from hence to *Terremonde*, which was very convenient for the conveying of rafters and all other neceſſaries for the aforeſaid work. But as they came near the banks of *Antwerp*, the Enemies ſhips did ſo oppoſe the paſſage, as many of the Kings Barks were often endangered, and often ſunk. Therefore to ſecure the paſſage the better, ſome other Forts were added to the former chief ones of S. *Mary* and S. *Philip*. But the proof did not anſwer the deſign; for notwithſtanding any ſhot that could be made from the Royal Forts, the Enemies ſhips had ever the better of the buſineſs. For this ſo great difficulty this remedy was thought on. They made a great Cut in the bank of *Scheld* on *Flanders* ſide near to the Village *Burcht*, which lay higher then where the Bridge was made; and by means of that Cut they drowned all the neighbouring Country even to *Calle*, where by another opening of the bank the water paſt again into the River a little above the Bridge: and ſo the neceſſary preparations for the fabrick were at laſt brought with more ſafety. The adverſe ſhips ceaſed not notwithſtanding to moleſt that ſituation likewiſe; but to make the greater obſtacle, they raiſed a Fort on one ſide of the Cut, to the which the Kings men oppoſed another on the other ſide, but with little advantage, for it did not ſufficiently bridle the Enemies Fort; ſo as their ſhips keeping ſtill thereabouts, were always prejudicial to the Prince his Barks. The Bridge went therefore but very ſlowly on; the which did as much glad the *Antwerpians*, as it did trouble the Prince. Great numbers of Boats appeared daily from *Holland* and *Zealand* with victuals and all other ſort of proviſions to furniſh the City, and to put it in a poſture of ſtanding out ſtoutly. The great Fort of *Lillo* was already munited anſwerable to occaſion; and Monſieur *de Teligni*, ſon to Monſieur *de la Nue*, was put in to defend it, one whoſe valour ſhewed him to be deſcended from his Father. Wherefore the Enemy full of hopes, thought that *Ferneſe* would never be able to finiſh the Bridge; and if he ſhould not thereby block up the *Scheld*, the Siege would in all other conſiderations ſignifie nothing. But no hinderance can be ſo great, which induſtry will not at laſt either overcome, or make more eaſie. The aboveſaid remedy of the Cut not proving ſufficient to convey materials by water anſwerable to the work, the Prince bethought himſelf of another expedient, which

furniſht

furniſht afterwards all things ſufficient for the building of the bridg. By the gap or Cut which was made in the bank at *Burcht*, all the tract of Country from that Town to *Callo* was drowned, as we have ſaid. From the utmoſt inundation within land, the Prince purpoſed to make a deep and large Ditch, and to lead it away from that part of *Flanders* to a certain Town called *Stechen*, where the Ditch was to fall into a River which paſſeth by *Gaunt*; by which all things which were neceſſary for the building of the Bridge might be brought by water from that City. An egregious work; of great praiſe to him that firſt propoſed it, but of greater glory to him who undertook it, as did the Prince with very much reſolution; though many other were affrighted at the immenſe expence of monies, time and labour; for the Ditch was to be full 15 miles long. The Ditch was afterwards commonly called *Parma*; either for that it was firſt motioned by the Prince himſelf, or that the Kings Camp did willingly ſhew their approbation thereof by giving it that name. And not without reaſon: for it may truly be ſaid that this Ditch made the bridg, and that the Bridg did afterwards fully compleat the Siege. On that ſide towards *Flanders* was *Ferneſe*'s own Quarters, in a Village called *Buren*, which lay very opportunely for the giving out of all requiſite Orders for all that was done thereabouts, and eſpecially for the making of the new Channel: To ſollicite the making whereof the Prince himſelf did almoſt continually intervene in his own perſon; nor was he wanting in doing the like in all the reſt of the proceedings: He encouraged others by his own example; ſometimes he himſelf would put his hands unto the work; he oft-times tranſformed himſelf from a General to a private Souldier, and ſet aſide all reſt and delight, that the burthen of ſo great and difficult an undertaking might be the better ſuſtained by his own labour and diſquiet. This was the condition of the Siege on *Flanders* ſide. On the oppoſite ſide towards *Brabant* was the Lieutenant of the Army, Count *Peter Erneſtus Mansfield*, quartered in the Village of *Strabuch*, a little within land; and *Mandragone* was quartered near *Lillo*, almoſt upon the river, and had intrencht himſelf there againſt that adverſe Fort, to keep the Enemy in on that ſide: who did what they could to advantage themſelves there; and their deſign would have been to overflow the inland Country, as well to incommodiate the Royaliſts, as to make uſe thereof themſelves for bringing ſuccours the more eaſily to *Antwerp*. But this their laſt deſign was conterdicted by a Counterdike, which came to joyn with the principal Dike of the River from the Village *Cowſtein*: For it was ſeen, that without either the breaking, or gaining thereof, they could by no means compaſs their ends. A Dike in Flemiſh, is a Bank in Engliſh; and a Counterdike, a Counterbank, (if I may ſo call it) which is drawn out againſt another bank. From the Village of *Cowſtein* there was a leſſer Dike thruſt out for the ſpace of a league, which went to joyn with the greater Dike of the River, which was commonly called the Counterdike of *Cowſtein*. This leſſer Dike was made that it might be gone upon, particularly in the winter; all that part, which lies very low, being then full of water and mire. It was not above ten or twelve handfuls broad, nor higher then was requiſite for the neceſſary ſervice of the Country people. This Counterdike was guarded by the Royaliſts, chiefly to hinder the excurſions which the Enemy might make from the Fort of *Lillo*, and out of no other fear of danger on that part. But when the Enemy letting in the water of the river, had drowned the Country thereabouts, *Mandragone* ſuſpected the truth; which was, that they would either make ſome Cut or gap in the Counterdike, or endeavour to make themſelves wholly maſters of it, ſo to have that paſſage free to bring in ſuccours into *Antwerp*. And at the firſt they did make a Cut: but the Royaliſts running quickly to where the danger lay, did ſoon remedy it, driving the Enemy from thence, and ſtopping the gap as well as for the preſent they could. And indeed if the Enemy had either ſooner, or with more forces endeavoured to cut the gap, the Royaliſts could never have brought their Siege to a good end. But all thoſe of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Antwerp* were ſo verily perſwaded that the River could never be blockt up by a Bridg, as they neglected the taking of the Counterdike, and even the victualling of the City more then it became them to have done, whilſt yet the paſſage by *Scheld* was but weakly ſecured by the Royal Forts.

Ferneſe

Ferneſe finding what danger the ſiege might incur on that part, gave order to *Mansfield* to munite it on the one ſide, and to *Mandragone* on the other. *Mansfield* therefore fortified the Village of *Cowſtein*, from whence the counterdike was thruſt out; and that Fortification was called the ſtrong Houſe; he inlarged and heightned the counterdike where it was moſt needfull; he planted a little Fort upon the one ſide, which was called *La Motta*, becauſe *Signor de la Motta* had the command thereof. He made alſo another on the other ſide, and named it *Palata*, becauſe for want of earth it was made of pales; which want was found almoſt every where in fortifying the counterdike: ſo as they were fain to ſupply it with fagots, and other ſuch like materials. Where the counterdike joyned afterwards with the chief dike of the river, *Mandragone* raiſed a Fort, and called it the Croſs, in relation to the poſition of the place, which was almoſt of the ſame form: and becauſe 'twas doubted that the enemy might make a great cut in the chief bank of the river beneath *Lillo*, which might have more prejudiced the counterdike: *Ferneſe* cauſed three Forts be raiſed in that place, which for that they were triangular, were called the Forts of the Trinity.

All theſe Works which we have named, were made from time to time, according as need required, which we have here ſet down, the better to preſent them before your eyes, and to give you the clearer intelligence thereof. The Prince had ſhut up the Paſſes towards the land ſide about *Antwerp*, which coaſted upon *Brabant* by Gariſons which were placed in *Hoſtrat*, in *Herentales*, in *Breda*, in *Lira*, in *Diſte*, and in divers other Towns, by which *Antwerp* was kept from being relieved on that ſide. Particularly the horſe ſcoured the whole Country every where; not only out of a bare intention of incommodating the Antwerpians, but to keep them from having any communication with thoſe of *Bruſſels*, or *Malines*, ſo to make both them Towns fall the ſooner into their hands. The ſiege being thus ordered on each ſide the river, it remained totally to block up the ſame river, which was the chief buſineſs, and which brought with it not only the greateſt advantage, but alſo the greateſt neceſſity, and met with greateſt oppoſition. The Marquis of *Rubays*, General of the horſe was of great authority and eſteem in the Kings Camp. Wherefore *Ferneſe* gave him the chief care of the bridg; and gave unto him likewiſe the command of a great many men of War, which were a preparing to facilitate the enterpriſe. *Rubays* was not wanting in acting his part in all theſe imployments. He was in action both day and night; he unceſſantly divided his labours, now on this ſide, now on that, with infinite induſtry and valour. So as by his dilligence, all neceſſary proviſions for the building of the bridg did in time ſo increaſe, as all the Army began to hope to ſee their work ſoon brought to perfection. Whilſt the Kings Camp was amongſt theſe labours and difficulties, the beſieged within the City were not agitated with leſs uncertainty and perturbances. From the very beginning of the ſiege, they had ſent expreſly into *Holland* and *Zealand*, and to the reſt of the Confederate Provinces, to deſire the beſt and ſpeedieſt aſſiſtance which could be ſent them from thoſe parts. But knowing that they could not receive ſufficient ſuccour from thence, they had ſent particular perſonages into *France*, and into *England*, to do the like in thoſe Courts, and endeavoured to intereſt both thoſe Crowns again if it were poſſible in their cauſe. They had good hopes from *France*, but the effects were not anſwerable. That Kingdom was ſtill full of troubles, and that King would not more irritate the King of *Spain*, who was already too much incenſed for what the Duke of *Alanſon* had done in *Flanders*. They received greater hopes from *England*, and might much more eaſily come by them. But the Queen after *Alanſons* death, willing to make ſuch advantage of the Flemiſh as ſhe could not do before, made them believe ſhe would aſſiſt them, but was very ſlow in doing it. It appeared at laſt, that her end was to ſee them reduced to ſuch neceſſity as they ſhould be inforced to throw themſelves into her hands; and contenting her ſelf at firſt with a bare title of protection, ſhe might come more eaſily afterwards ſo to be totally maſter of them. Theſe practiſes from abroad proceeding but very ſlowly, and with much ambiguity, the Antwerpians hopes conſiſted chiefly in ſuccours from *Holland* and *Zealand*; Provinces which were neareſt them, and which by their naval forces might beſt diſturb the ſiege, eſpecially by

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way of the river. Nor were theſe parts wanting in doing what poſſibly they could to this purpoſe. But the work about the bridg advancing every day, and the Forts of the Kings Camp being already increaſed on both ſides, and *Rubays* having commanded his barks to withſtand thoſe of the enemy; victuals could not ſo freely be brought to *Antwerp* by water as formerly. And all paſſes by land being ſhut up, they had leſs hopes of any relief from thence. Their wants therefore ſtill increaſed. But the Inhabitants were chiefly afflicted to ſee that Commerce began already to fail, and that by continuation of the ſiege, they were likely to be totally deprived thereof. And peradventure not without danger of new plunder and firing; which was that that they moſt apprehended; calling to mind what they had undergone not many years before in that kind by the Spaniards. A great part of their people, eſpecially of meaner ſort lived upon Merchandizing and Traffick; wherefore they began to complain very much of their already ſufferings, and of thoſe yet greater which they daily feared more and more. And thoſe who were of better condition, were not well pleaſed to ſee themſelves thus incommodiated. And thoſe that were of the beſt condition and wealthieſt amongſt them, the more they feared to loſe, ſo much more did they deſire to avoid the danger thereof. And though they did all of them abhor to return again under the Spaniſh Command, eſpecially thoſe who were moſt infected with hereſie; yet well weighing all Intereſts, they preferred that of their lives and eſtates before all other reſpects. The meaner ſort of people began already to ſpeak freely of theſe inconveniences and dangers: and whiſpers were heard to the ſame purpoſe amongſt the more civiliz'd people. So as wavering thus in their minds, it appeared that they could not but grow very cool in ſuſtaining ſuch a ſiege ſo vigorouſly as they ought to do. *Il Signor di Santa Aldegonda* was chief of the Magiſtracy which governed the City, by the Title of Burgamaſter. Before *Orange* his death he was put into that Office, that he might particularly advance *Orange* his ends, as he had always endeavoured to do, and as we have often told you. And when *Orange* was dead, there was not any one that more partially maintained his memory, nor his paſſions with more vehemency then did *Santa Aldegonda*. Wherefore occaſion being one day offered, when the Magiſtracy was much more great then uſual, for the heads of all Trades, and all thoſe who bore any Office amongſt the People, were then preſent, he ſpake thus.

Since we that are here (moſt worthy Citizens!) repreſent the whole body of the City, and that through your goodneſs I enjoy the prime place amongſt you; I conceive it belongs properly to me to propound unto you that wherein the publike ſervice in theſe preſent occurrences is moſt concern'd. We are beſieged round: doubtleſly a ſad ſpectacle, the inconveniences being great which muſt be ſuffered within beſieged wals: It is no wonder therefore if many amongſt us doe already wiſely foreſee this ſort of evil, and fear it. But then we muſt be wary, leſt through too much apprehenſion and fear of the neceſſity which thoſe that are beſieged muſt undergo, we forget not the miſchiefs which ſo cruelly doe oft-times befall thoſe who ſurrender. We have ſeen two memorable Sieges, theſe late years paſt in Holland; *the one of* Harlem, *the other of* Leiden. *The* Harlemiſts *would at laſt yield; and rather then to come to the laſt deſperate reſolutions, try the humanity and clemencie of the Conquerors: But how much did they repent it afterwards? and doubtleſly they had better have ſallied out, and with their ſwords in hand have willingly incountred their own deaths, then to die as many of them afterwards did, ſuffering ſuch barbarous and horrid puniſhments. On the contrary, thoſe of* Leyden *reſolving rather to dye then ſurrender the Town, did ſo maintain it, though reduced to the utmoſt extremity of difficulties, as at laſt they were freed from that ſo cruel ſiege, by that ſo miraculous ſuccour. Which of theſe two examples ſhall we follow? I believe it will be ſoon reſolved. Who can doubt that it is not better to undergo not one, but a thouſand deaths, rather then to fall again under the cruel, proud, and unſupportable Spaniſh yoke? The Countrey groans every where through the ſo many horrible calamities which it yet ſuffers thereby. But eſpecially for the loſs of ſo much famous bloud. Where are the* Egmonts? *Where the* Horns? *Where ſo many of the Nobility of all ſorts? Finally where is our glorious* Orange, *that true Father of his Country? that unconquerable defender of the Liberties thereof? It is*

no ways to be doubted but that as the first blow came from the hand of a Spaniard, *whereby he had then almost lost his life; so did the second likewise from Spanish orders, which brought him so miserably to his end. If this our City shall ever prove so unfortunate, (which God forbid!) as to fall into their hands, What doe you think their first actions will be? They will certainly put the Citadel into its former condition: which is as much as to say, they will put the former insupportable yoke upon us. To these and many other violences which they will use upon our persons, we shall suddenly have many no less intolerable put upon our consciences: The Reformed religion will be forbidden the very first day, and the Inquisition will soon after be brought in. And thus* Antwerp *being no longer a* Flemish *City, but a* Spanish *Colony, all Foreigners will forsake it, all Traffick will decay, and it will finally be intombed like an unhappy Carkass under its own desolate and decaying wals. But let us talk no more thus dejectedly: Let good auguries prevail. And very well they may doe so, if we consider the condition of the Enemies siege. It is in vain to think that they will ever be able to finish the Bridg, or to maintain it when it shall be finished. The River it self will oppose them; the flowing and reflowing of the Tide will oppose them; our Ships will continually oppose them on all sides: the Winter with her ice will fight against the Bridg; nor will there be wanting many other inventions to discompose and break it down, and leave that passage always free unto us. And how much more easily may We open their Counterdike? On* Lillo's *side our men have already begun to drown the neighbouring fields: We will doe the like on* Ordams *side towards the City. And the Counterdike being inclosed round between these two inundations, and between our two Fleets, it must of necessity either be born down by the water at the highest tides, or being so often assailed by us, we may cut it, destroy it, and freely receive all assistance likewise on that side. In which case, when we shall have commodity of being succour'd, the Enemies can have no hopes in the continuation of their siege. This mean while the Forces of our Confederates will still the more unite: they will be accompanied with aids from* France; *but chiefly with those which we may in greater numbers, and with much more ease receive from* England. *And having so many Forces both by land and sea, why shall We not hope to see* Antwerp *restored to her full and entire liberty, and to her former happy condition? Let us then (most honoured Citizens!) return all joyfully to our own homes; And being to encourage others, let us first take courage our selves. But let us return always with an immutable resolution of rather perishing, (let our condition be what it will) then of surrendring. In fine, Or Liberty, or Death!*

Thus ended stout *Aldegonde:* Nor can it be said what power this and his other discourses had alwayes with the *Antwerpians* in making them receive his advices. By his perswasion a new form of Oath was composed, by which the City obliged it self never to return to the obedience of the King of *Spain:* And an Edict was likewise published, wherein it was prohibited under severe punishment for any one to listen to any whatsoever agreement, which should at any time be propounded on the Kings behalf. They then applied themselves with great fervencie to withstand the Siege. Great care was had in the delivering out of victuals: Such Citizens as were fit to bear Arms, were put under Colours, and disposed of in several Companies, each of them having a Commander given them. But above all things they betook themselves by all possible means to hinder the building of the Bridg, and the defence of the Counterdike. To boot with the Men of War which annoyed the Bridg, they ordered some artificial Fire-boats, whereby to assault, indummage, and utterly destroy the Bridg, if it were possible. And because the Kings Forts which were upon the River banks did very much hinder any thing that could be done by the Enemies ships, the *Antwerpians* bethought themselves of building a Ship of such a vast greatness, as being too good for the Kings Forts, and furiously playing upon them with Cannon shot, the absolute command of the River might by means thereof remain unto the City. It was to be of a bulk answerable to a manageable Castle in the water. And the *Antwerpians* confiding mainly therein, and falling to work thereupon, they gave it a no less vast title then was the bulk, calling it *The Wars End.* They ordered likewise all things which were necessary for the opposing of the Counterdike. And though they could not much better their condition on the Fields side, where the Kings

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men commanded all; yet they lodged ſome of their Troops on that ſide, to curb the Royaliſts ſo much the more, and that they might be the better able to come by ſome victuals. Thus the *Antwerpians* ſought to advantage themſelves: but the Royaliſts were no leſs fervent in their endeavours. *Ferneſe* had divers times invited the *Antwerpians* with large proffers to return to the Kings obedience; but they refuſing them at firſt, and afterwards demonſtrating full reſolutions to the contrary, it was ſufficently evident that all hopes of negotiation ceaſing, he was to place them wholly in his Arms. He therefore by out-doing not only others, but himſelf in toil and labour, gave himſelf wholly to procure the defence of the Counterdike, and to proceed in the buſineſs of the Bridg; thoſe parts thereof which conſiſted of rafters and ſummers being ſo far advanced, as there wanted but little to the perfecting of them. *Rubays* with great diligence had got together a great number of Men of war, to oppoſe upon any occaſion thoſe of the Enemy; and ſcouring up and down every where, and chiefly where moſt need was, it is not to be believed how much he thereby advantaged the building of the Bridg. But the middle part was yet to be finiſhed, which was much larger then that of the rafters on both ſides. This was wholly to be ſupplied with Boats, and a requiſite number could not ſuddenly be got together; the void ſpace between the rafters was as yet made up with but about twenty. But experience ſhewed that that number was not near ſufficient; for the Enemies Boats found means to paſs through the void ſpaces, though they were linked together; either cutting in ſunder that which they were linked together withall, or breaking through them with full ſail by the force of the Tide. Some ſuccour was therefore by this means from time to time brought to the City; and much of action happened between the ſhips of either ſide, the Kings ſhips endeavouring to block up the paſſage, and the Enemies to keep the paſſage open. One of theſe Naval conflicts proved fortunate for *Rubays:* For *Teligni*, as he was going for *Zealand*, was found to be in one of thoſe ſhips which he took; and being taken priſoner, the Enemy loſt one of their valianteſt and wiſeſt Commanders. The next of beſt eſteem amongſt them was the Count of *Hollack*; who was not wanting on his part neither in giving good teſtimony of his valour, ſometime by water, ſometime by land. But for all they could doe, they could not keep the Kings men from bringing Boats enough at laſt to block up the middle ſpace between the rafters on both ſides of the ſhore. And thus after a long diſpute between hope and fear, wherewith the Royaliſts were a long time agitated, the miraculous fabrick of the Bridg was finiſhed, which we have ſo often mentioned, but never ſufficiently deſcribed, for we could never till now come to give you a full relation thereof. This was then the ſhape of it.

From the two contrary ſhores upon which lay the two greater Forts of *Callo* and *Ordam*, divers rowes of great Piles of Trees were thruſt out, and being driven into the River, extended as far as the current thereof would permit. Theſe which went ſtreight forwards, were cloſed together overthwart with divers others of the like greatneſs; they were called Steccadoes at the firſt, and ever after continued the ſame name. The Steccado of *Callo* advanced about 120 uſual paces, not being able to reach further, for on that ſide the river of *Scheld* grew preſently deep. The other of *Ordam* advanced about 150 paces, the river affording better commodity on that ſide. At the end of each of theſe Steccadoes, and where the Boats began to be placed, a large ſpace was compoſed, as if it were a *Piazza*, able to receive a great many Souldiers, for the better defence both of the Boats and of the Steccadoes. On the flanks of theſe towards the upper part a ſeries of Parapets were raiſed, which were made of great doubled boards well fill'd in the midſt with earth, ſo as the Souldiers might be thereby fenced or ſheltered, and endure a volley of musket-ſhot, and from thoſe Fences pour musket-ſhot upon the Enemies ſhips. Both the Forts ſerved for Curtains (if I may be permitted to ſay ſo) to both the Flanks of the Steccadoes, and to that purpoſe were alwayes furniſhed with good ſtore of great Ordnance. At the other end of the *Piazza's*, where the Steccadoes ended, ſome Peeces of Artillery were placed on both ſides, the better to defend that part. And adding new ſecurities without to thoſe within, both the outſides of thoſe *Piazza's* were garniſhed with certain great Rafters

of wood, armed with iron at the ends, which advancing for a conſiderable ſpace into the river, and upheld by ſome others which were planted in the bottom thereof, might keep the enemies ſhips the further off, and make their aſſaults the weaker.

This was the form of the Steccadoes: from the ends whereof began the ank of boats, wherewithall the reſt of the river was ſhut up, which was her deepeſt and largeſt part; and the ſpace between the two Steccadoes might be about 4500 paces. This was filled up with 32 great barks; all of them of almoſt an equal body and form, they differed but little in their poup and forecaſtle, or in any other part. They were joyned together at the ends and ſides with ſtrong chains of iron; each end was furniſhed with a piece of Artillery, and the body of each bark with a convenient number of ſouldiers and Mariners. Ten men might walk abreſt upon the Steccadoes; and ſufficient commodity for paſſage was left likewiſe upon the barks. And becauſe 'twas already known that the Antwerpians had prepared ſome fireboats to prejudice the bridg, and that they were always to provide for the aſſault of their other ſhips, and of thoſe which their friends would ſend unto them; therefore the Kings men bethought themſelves to ſhelter the barks of the bridg with another exterior defence, that they might the leſs fear being injured by the enemy. The invention was this, Many maſts of ſhips were faſtned together which made as it were a float; and as many of theſe were made as ſufficed for the whole length which the barks took up. The one float was joyned to the other like a wall or great parapet, and then thruſt out in a proportionable interval before the barks; and they were faſtned to great anchors on both ſides; ſo as they might not fear being moved or looſened by any aſſault of the enemies ſhips, or by the rage of any incenſed tide. And becauſe they floated upon the water, they were floats.

This was the whole Fabrick of the Bridg: a proud one of that kind; and which well deſerved the glory of having perfected ſo memorable a ſiege; and of having at laſt reduced ſo important a City to the Kings obedience. Above ſix months were ſpent in the building of it; nor could it be fully finiſhed till the beginning of *March* in the next year of our Lord 1585. The winter ſeemed even to ſmile upon this deſigne: for neither did it produce any ice, nor any unuſual tides. The Antwerpians wondred very much, and were ſtrangely aſtoniſhed when they ſaw the bridg fully finiſhed. Yet hoping to be able to diſorder and open it by means of their fire-boats, and of that vaſt ſhip which they were preparing, they uſed all diligence in compleating both thoſe and this. Much labour was requiſit to ſuch a work. An Italian Ingeneer born in *Mantua*, by name *Frederick Giambelly*, was then in *Antwerp*. This man took upon him to build the fire-boats, which he did thus: He built a Veſſel made of very great and firm planks, and it was made in the midſt like a good large Mine proportionable to the Veſſel. The Mine was made of brick and lime, ſo cloſed up as it had only that vent which was neceſſary to bring the fire at its due time to the gunpowder, whereof it was to be full. All the reſt of the Veſſel was covered with ſtones, little and great bullets, and other ſuch materials condenc'd together as much as might be, to the end that the Mine finding the greater oppoſition might doe the more miſchief. 'Twas ſaid the Ingeneer wrought thus for 8 months together upon ſeveral barks; but more time was ſpent in the building of the other ſo huge before mentioned ſhip. By theſe machines, though too long a making, did the Antwerpians hope to open the paſſage of the river; and this was what was to be expected on that ſide. On *Lillo's* ſide, their friends were to be in a readineſs, and be ſure to move with their men of war, at the ſame time when the fire-boats ſhould play on the other ſide. We told you how on the oppoſite ſide to *Lillo* there was another Fort built, called *Lifechenſuch*, which *Rubays* took at the beginning of the ſiege. The enemies ſhips were much prejudiced from this Fort in their paſſage, and much more in their retreating under the Fort of *Lillo* where they uſed moſt to lie.

Anno 1585.

The Hollanders and Zealanders did therefore reſolve to uſe all poſſible endeavours to take this place of offence from the Kings men: and they luckily effected it. They placed ſome Culverins on the contrary ſhore, which might reach the

further; and having prepared ſuch other ſhips as were neceſſary, with other peeces of Canon to batter, and with a good number of ſouldiers, they landed, and gave ſo furious an aſſault to the Fort of *Lifchenſuch*, as after having plaid upon it ſome hours, and threatned to put all thoſe that were within to the edg of the ſword, they made them come forth, and ſurrender the Fort. *Ferneſe* hearing of this danger, ſent ſome men preſently to remedy it, and went himſelf in perſon thitherward; but the ſurrender was made before the ſuccour came; and this miſchief drew ſuddenly on another: for the enemy did immediately aſſault another Fort which ſtood more inward, called St *Antony*, and took it with like eaſineſs. *Ferneſe* ſtormed to hear of theſe loſſes: and the two Captains of thoſe Gariſons, not being able ſufficiently to excuſe their miſdemeanours, he made both their heads be ſtruck off upon the top of thoſe dikes. He afterward planted new Forts to curb thoſe, and to ſecure the bridg the better; and continued his former diligence every where. By theſe two acquiſitions the enemy were ſecure on thoſe two ſhores whereon *Lillo* and *Lifechenſuch* were placed; wherefore they began to aſſemble a great number of their ſhips together on both ſhores under the ſhelter of thoſe two Forts; which made it be apprehended in the Kings Camp, that they would with ſome unwonted force aſſault the bridg from thence, and at the ſame time alſo endeavour to prejudice the counterdike. But the effect ſhewed that all their preparation was to expect the motion of the fire-boats from *Antwerps* ſide. Which when they ſhould play upon the bridg, and ruine ſome part of it, as the enemy well hoped, their ſhips might incontinently likewiſe move, and joyning both forces together, do the greater and more irreparable damage to the bridg. Winter was already over, and *April* was begun. Whilſt then the Kings Camp ſtood in this ſuſpence, and that *Ferneſe* with all diligence had reinforced the guards every where; ſome barks began to fall down upon the *Schild* from *Antwerps* ſide, of ſuch a ſhape and appearance, as the Royaliſts believed they were the before mentioned fire-boats. Every one ſtood in great expectation of the ſucceſs, and ſeveral judgements were given thereupon, ſome thought that the ſequel would not be anſwerable to the invention; and others that the effect would equal it. Yet the curioſity of ſeeing the event was equal in every one. Wherefore the Royaliſts flockt in great numbers ſome to the Steccadoes, ſome one where, ſome another, upon the bare banks, to ſee what the ſucceſs of ſo new a ſpectacle would be. Two of the barks were greater then the reſt that followed. They fell down with the return of the tide; and not having any one to govern them, they were guided only by the tide, and were left unto themſelves. A while after they had begun their courſe, a circle of fire might be ſeen to riſe up above them, which continued for a while, till not long after to the great wonder of all the lookers on, that fire conſumed and vaniſhed quite away. Nor was it known whether this was according to the deſigne; or whether it were but a piece of art the better to diſguiſe it. In the mean time one of the leſſer boats, whilſt it was yet a good way off the bridg, blew up and vaniſhed, working no conſiderable effect. Nor did any of the reſt of the leſſer ſort do almoſt any other good. But the two greater following their courſe, were by the tide brought, the one of them to give againſt the left ſhore towards *Flanders*, but ſomewhat diſtant from the bridg; and the other more luckily where the Steccado began to joyn with the row of boats. Upon this Steccado was the Prince of *Parma* then himſelf in perſon, being come likewiſe to partake of ſuch a novelty. He was deſired by all means to go from thence to free himſelf from any danger that might befall; he refuſed, and knew not what to reſolve upon: for he would willingly firſt have known what news certain gunners and others of the Maritine profeſſion would bring back, who were gone down to enter into the boat, the better to diſcover what ſhe was loaded with, and to hinder the effects thereof. But he was ſo much importun'd, as at laſt he retired himſelf to the Fort St *Mary*. And not without great good fortune; for hardly was he come unto the Fort, when with a terrible and fearfull noiſe, the firſt great boat which was faln upon the aforeſaid ſhore blew up, and ſlew many ſouldiers in a neighbouring Fort, and divers others who were thereabouts. But the other occaſioned much more bitter dread, and likewiſe much greater prejudice. Thoſe Gunners and Mariners were not well entred into the

Boat, when the fire arriving at its due time, made the Mine play, and ſuddenly devoured not only thoſe who were within the Boat, but moſt of thoſe who were upon the Boats of the Bridg, and upon the Steccadoes. It is not to be imagined, much leſs to be expreſt what horrible effects this raging fire made. The Air was for a good ſpace darkned with a thick cloud; the Earth ſhook for many miles about; the River broke forth out of her bed, and with great violence threw her waves beyond the banks: The bodies of men that were blown up by the fire, were ſo torn, as no ſhape thereof could be found; and the tempeſt and hail of great ſtones, and other leſſer materials of offence ſcattering abroad further off, ſo many of the Camp were ſlain, or wounded, as nothing was to be ſeen all thereabouts but a ſad and diſmall ſpectacle, of people either ſlain, or maimed, or ill acconciated. Above 500 of the Kings men were ſlain by this misfortune, and a great many others of them were maimed or wounded. But that which made the loſs the more fatal, was the death of the Marquis of *Rubais*; who while in order to his office he viewed all parts, and went from one place to another, was unfortunately kill'd. A death generally bewail'd by the whole Camp, but with a particular tenderneſs by *Ferneſe*, who had a ſingular affection and eſteem for him. *Jaſper Robles*, a Spaniard, periſht by the ſame misfortune, who was Lord of *Bigli*, and a Souldier likewiſe of great experience and valour, as may oft-times have been ſeen in the ſucceſſes of this Hiſtory. Divers other Officers of inferiot quality were likewiſe loſt; and there was not any Nation who did not ſhare in the misfortune.

The confuſion and aſtoniſhment being ceaſed, which ſo ſtrange an accident had occaſioned in the Kings Camp; it was found, that the prejudice which the Bridg had received was not ſo great, but that it might be repaired. The greateſt harm that was done was on that part of the Steccado where the Fire-boat had diſgorged its fire; and the Flote likewiſe there was greatly diſordered. But a great danger yet remained, leſt the aſſault of the Enemies ſhips which were in readineſs for that purpoſe on *Lillo's* ſide, might ſucceed the fury of the fire. Wherefore *Ferneſe*, uſing all diligence for the defence of the Bridg, was come thither himſelf in perſon, and made the Forts on all ſides ſtand prepared with their Artillery. But whatſoever the matter was, none of the Enemies ſhips were ſeen to move: It was thought that the Tide hindred them; and that expecting the Wind to overcome it, that failing, they could not ſecond the *Antwerpians*. The danger being thus paſt which was then moſt feared, *Ferneſe* had leaſure to reſtore the Bridg to its former poſture: It was notwithſtanding thought beſt to take the Flote quite away which lay towards the beſieged, to the end that if any more of their Fire-boats ſhould fall down, they might the better paſs through thoſe of the Bridge; to which purpoſe an uſeful invention was found out, as alſo in the other Flote which was on the other ſide. The *Antwerpians* began to be very much troubled that their Fire-boats had no better ſucceſs; and even the ſtouteſt amongſt them began to loſe their courage. But *Aldegonda*, and thoſe that adhered moſt unto him, endeavouring to keep their hopes alive, ſtrove to make them believe that the next Fire-boats would be more ſucceſsfull then were the former: That the great Ship being now likewiſe finiſhed, would be in effect as it was in name, *The Wars End*: That certainly the Royaliſts would never be able to make ſuch reſiſtance as was needfull, to keep the double forenamed Forces from beating down the Counterdike; and that when the paſſage ſhould be once open, the City would be wholly freed from the Siege. Of theſe trials which were to be made for the benefit of the *Antwerpians*, that of the great Ship was the firſt. This immenſe moveable Caſtle began to appear upon the *Scheld* about the beginning of *May*, with mighty expectation on both ſides; on the *Antwerpians*, out of their hopes of reaping advantage thereby; on the Royaliſts, out of the curioſity of ſeeing ſuch a Fabrick, and to ſee what the effects thereof would be. The Ship drew near one of the leſſer Forts which the Royaliſts had on *Brabant* ſide, and began to play furiouſly upon it: There were above a thouſand Souldiers in the Ship, who accompanied the fury of the Cannon with the hail of Musket-ſhot. They then landed to annoy the Fort nearer hand. But the effect was not anſwerable to the deſign; for the Fort received no great harm from the battery, nor

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they who were within the Fort from the Souldiers that were landed; nay the ſhip was ſo torn and ſhattered, as they had much adoe to mend her, and to make her ſerviceable again. This experiment coming to ſo little good, they fell to the other of breaking down the Counterdike; and the buſineſs was thus carried. The ſhips of the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* were to fall from *Lillo*, and enter into the drowned Country in that part by thoſe Cuts which were made in the chief bank of the River. The *Antwerpians* were to doe the like on the other ſide towards the City; and to that purpoſe they had likewiſe fitting Cuts in the ſame bank. Between theſe two drowned parts of the Country did the Counterdike run: but it was very hard to aſſault it on both ſides at once, becauſe the Tide could not equally ſerve both the one and the other in their uniform motion; wherefore ſuch a middle ſeaſon was to be taken, as that the conjuncture might not be loſt. This was the deſign of the Enemy; nor was it any news to *Ferneſe*, who had long before expected it. There were four of the Kings Forts which guarded the Counterdike: The one, that of *Croſſe*, where the Counterdike joyned with the greateſt Dike, which *Mandragone* had the charge of: About the middle in ſome diſtance one from another ſtood that of the *Palata*, then that *De la Motta*, commonly called S. *George* his Fort; and at the end where the ground began a little to riſe, was the ſtrong Houſe of *Cowſtein*, wherein Count *Mansfield* did uſually keep. To boot with theſe Forts a row of great Stakes were pitcht at equal diſtance on both ſides the bank, which roſe up above the water where the ground was therewithall drowned, that the Enemies ſhips might find more difficulty in accoſting. Theſe ſituations we have here again repeated, the more to awaken the memory, and to give the clearer intelligence of the Counterdike, where the Beſieged's chiefeſt hopes lay, and where the Royaliſts had finally the victory. *Ferneſe* gave order that all the Guards ſhould be every where reinforced. And to increaſe emulation amongſt the Souldiers as well as their numbers, he mingled *Spaniſh*, *Italians*, *Dutch*, and *Walloons* together: though there were moſt *Spaniards* with *Mandragone*, and with *Mansfield* moſt *Italians*. *Ferneſe* gave the particular command over theſe, upon this occaſion, to *Camillo del Monte*, who not long before had quitted his Brigado of Foot, being imployed about other affairs, wherein he won great honour and eſtimation in the Camp. Things being thus ordered, the Enemy made no longer delay. About the midſt of *May*, the Count of *Hollack* fell down from *Lillo*, and entred with more then 30 Bottoms into the parts that were overflown thereabouts: All his ſhips were well provided of Artillery to batter down the Counterdike, of Inſtruments to cut and open it, and of Earth and all other requiſite proviſions to fortifie the Cuts which the beſiegers had gained. *Hollack* made towards the Fort of the *Palata*: here the water was deepeſt, and the Counterdike was moſt reſtrained by reaſon of the difficulty that was found in enlarging it on that part. Wherefore for want of Earth, they were forced to aſſiſt the neighbouring Fort with Pales of wood, whence it was called the *Palata*. When the Enemy were come near with their ſhips, they began to play furiouſly upon the Counterdike; and having eaſily opened the Stakes that were pitched, they came to give the aſſault; and ſheltred by the Artillery on the Dike, they endeavoured to poſſeſs the Counterdike. But the Kings men fighting valiantly, made it good. The ſcuffle was not long: For *Hollack* not ſeeing the *Antwerp* ſhips appear, reſolved to retreat ſoon enough, having loſt above 300 of his men, ſome of which were of ſome conſideration. But few of the Kings men were ſlain, and none conſiderable but Captain *Simon Padiglia*, a Spaniard, who wan much honour in that action. It was not known whether the uncertainty of the Tide, or ſome other impediment had kept the *Antwerpians* from ſending their ſhips according to the firſt appointment. But whatſoever the matter was, *Ferneſe* perceiving ſtill that the Enemies chiefeſt hopes lay in opening the Counterdike, he miſſed not viſiting thoſe Forts daily himſelf, and uſed incredible diligence to ſecure their defence. *Mansfields* men were therefore mightily increaſed with *Spaniards* and *Italians*, by reaſon of the accommodation of lodging in the contiguous Villages of *Strabuch* and *Cowſtein*; whereas there was great ſcarcity of lodging where *Mandragone* was. After this aſſault which the Enemies without made upon the Counterdike, thoſe within proceeded

to

to ſet upon the bridg again with their fire-boats. But by this time the Royaliſts had bethought themſelves of an invention whereby either wholly to hinder their operation, or to make it little available; which was this. They prepared ſome boats with ſuch Mariners as were requiſite, who were to make up as ſoon as they could to the fire-boats, and quench that Train, if they could, which conveyed the fire to the Mine; which if they could not find, they were immediately to fall off, and with long ropes to draw the fire-boats after them to the naked ſhore, where they might have their opetation with little or no prejudice to the Kings men. But the Antwerpians, conſidering that there was no float on that ſide the bridg which was next them, and that therefore they might the more freely ſet upon it on that ſide with their ſhips, reſolved to aſſail it once more with a good number of them, taking a time when both wind and tide might ſerve them; whereby they thought they might give the bridg the greater ſhock; and find leſs reſiſtance by the ſame. And that they might by a double aſſault, do a double harm, they reſolved to ſend ſome fire-boats immediately after thoſe other ſhips, which at the ſame time mit do all the prejudice they could unto the bridg. This was their deſigne, and thus it was put in execution. They faſtened 15 ſhips cloſe together, and with full wind and tide ſent them to aſſault the bridg; and to make the indamagement the greater, they garniſhed thoſe ſhips in their prow with great and ſharp irons, to the end that the ſhock aſſiſted by the cutting of thoſe irons, might work the greater effect upon the ropes and chains wherewith the boats that made the bridg were joyned together. After theſe 15 ſhips came 4 fire-ſhips. But it was too hard a buſineſs either for the one or the other of them to do what was deſigned, without Mariners to govern them, and ſouldiers to fight. The firſt gave a great juſtle to the bridg; but did it no great harm; for ſome of them were ſoon ſuffered to paſs between the boats of the bridg, and the reſt without any diſpute fell into the hands of the Royaliſts. Nor had the fire-boats any better ſucceſs: two of them were won with the aforeſaid invention, and their operation hindred; the third fired after it was drawn aſide where it could do no harm; and the fourth paſſed through the boats of the bridg, and being paſt on a good way, fired likewiſe to no purpoſe. For all this did not the enemies forbear to ſend new fire-boats to prejudice the bridg, not only from *Antwerps* ſide, but from *Lillo*. But as the fortes were alike, the conformity of the ſucceſs was almoſt always the ſame. Which we thought good to touch upon here only, not to nawſeate the Reader, with oft repeating the ſame things, or others the like, varying but a little in circumſtance.

Now follows the laſt eſſay of the Antwerpians, and of their friends, to make themſelves thereby Maſters of the Counterdike. And which was likewiſe the laſt eſſay of the ſiege: and in which ſuch variety of fortune was ſeen in the fight which inſued, as it was queſtionable for many hours whether the beſiegers or beſieged would have the better of the day. But at laſt the beſiegers got it; and there was no hopes left but that *Antwerp* muſt irremediably be loſt. The former agreement being again renewed between the Antwerpians and thoſe of *Lillo* great preparation of boats was made on both ſides, which were to move at one and the ſame time both from *Antwerp* and *Lillo*: to endeavour the getting of the Counterdike. In this double aſſault, they would likewiſe make uſe of that their great ſhip, which was at this time within the drowned Land of *Ordam*, it being brought thither by the Antwerpians to be calked. But that great bulk was afterwards ſo unmanageable, as oppreſt by her own weight, ſhe ran there on ground, and was rendred totally unuſefull. Setting then all delays aſide, about the end of *May*, the two fleets moved according to their appointment. That of *Lillo* appeared firſt, very early in the morning: it conſiſted of above a hundred bottoms, better provided this time then they were before with ſouldiers, artillery, woolſacks, and all things elſe, to fortifie themſelves in the Counterdike, and in the cuts thereof, when they ſhould have compaſſed their intent. They directed this their firſt aſſault not as before, againſt the narroweſt part of the bank, but towards the broadeſt part, that they might the better fortifie themſelves there; and this happened to be about the Fort St *Georg*, which was neareſt the ſtrong houſe of *Coveſteyn*. The Royaliſts received the aſſault with much gallantry,

gallantry, and ſuddenly a great fight happened here; the one endeavouring to get upon the bank, the others to keep them down; the one incouraged by their ſhips, from whence iſſued a furious tempeſt of Artillery; and the others by the ſhot made from their Forts. This mean while the Antwerpians came in with a great number of ſhips likewiſe on their ſide; and furniſhed with the like proviſions as were thoſe of *Lillo*. The enemy then redoubled their aſſault with greater eagerneſs, and prevailed ſo far as they got upon the counterdike on both ſides. Nor did they only get footing in that one place, but in divers others. Whereſoever there was leſs of land, there was the bickering the more bloudy. And one ſouldier coming out of neceſſity cloſe up unto another, there was hardly any blow given without a wound, nor wound without inevitable death. Here the enemy began to make divers cuts in the banks. But their chiefeſt force was againſt the place of their firſt aſſault. The difficulty of making the cuts, though it was great, yet was it no ways ſo great, as that of maintaining them. They muſt there intrench themſelves with ſacks of earth, with ſacks of wool, and with other ſuch like materials. And this the enemy boldly did. *Hollack* and *Aldegonde* were both of them there in perſon. Neither of them were wanting, in exhorting, in inforcing, and in executing both by their voice, deeds, and example.

Theſe (ſaid they unto the combatants) *ſhall be your laſt tryals; theſe your laſt dangers. When this paſs ſhall be opened,* Antwerp *will be free; and that City being freed, how glorious will your labours be? and how advantagious to all our other confederates? they will* [illegible]*k that their wives, children, brethren, and whatſoever elſe they eſteem deareſt, are here preſent. And conſidering that the welfare of ſo many relations conſiſt in the ſucceſs of this conflict, be ſure to ſee the end thereof, either by death or victory.*

The enemy being ſtill more and more inflamed by theſe words, plaid their parts gallantly; but all they did coſt them dear. For the Kings men did valiantly likewiſe defend themſelves. Many men fell on both ſides; the ſlaughter was equal; and fortune altering the advantages, ſmiled and frowned alternately, now on one ſide, now on another. *Mandragone* ſent many men from his ſide continually to aſſiſt the Royaliſts. And though very aged, and ill handled by wounds which he had received in ſo long a war, and amidſt ſo many dangers, yet did he undauntedly preſent himſelf in his own perſon to all dangers. The like did *Manſfield*; though he were likewiſe very old, and even waſted with labours. In the ſtrong houſe of *Coveſteyn*, which was in his quarter, and from whence the counterdike began on that ſide, as hath been ſaid, he had raiſed a great platform, the better to defend the neerer Fort of St *George*, and the other ſomewhat further off of the Palata. This defence did excellent ſervice upon this occaſion. For playing in a right line upon the bank, the enemy could in no ways ſhelter themſelves from it. The Spaniards and Italians which were in thoſe quarters, incouraged hereby, fell fiercely upon the enemy, and began to put them into confuſion. At the firſt beginning of the conflict, *Camillo del Monte* did likewiſe excellent ſervice. For *Carbone*, of the ſame Family, and four other Captains, together with a great many other Officers, and ſouldiers being ſlain cloſe by him, yet he ſtill valiantly ſuſtained the violence of the enemy. Marquis *Hipolito Bentivoglio* our brother was with him, who not long before the ſiege was come into *Flanders*; nor was he wanting in behaving himſelf as became a man of honour upon ſuch an occurrency. And his actions were ſo well approved of by the Prince, as ſoon after he gave him a company of Launciers, and ſhewed him many other particular demonſtrations of eſteem. The fight being afterwards renewed by the Spaniards and Italians; their Commanders, *John del Aquila*, and *Camillo Capitzucchi*, the one Campmaſter of a Spaniſh Brigado, and the other of an Italian, did amongſt others ſignalize themſelves. And the valour of the inferior ſouldiers did ſo well corriſpond with the like of their Commanders, as St *George* his Fort, which for a good while was in danger of being loſt, was at laſt ſecured. The Fort of the Palata was ſtill in hazard. To boot that it was but very weak of it ſelf the enemy had invironed it with the gaps they had made, and with their ſhips; playing upon it furiouſly every where with their Artillery and muskets. Here then was a fierce fight, but with ſuch advantage to the enemy, as they already

hoped

hoped for the victory, when the Prince of *Parma* appeared himſelf in perſon upon the Counterdike. He had been there the night before; and after having with great care viewed the Forts, and given ſuch directions as was fitting every where, he was returned to his quarters at *Beveren* on the other ſide of the river. There was a conſiderable diſtance between that quarter and the Counterdike: but when the Prince early that morning heard the noiſe of the Cannon on the other ſide of the River, he quickly imagined that the Enemy had aſſaulted the Counterdike on both ſides. He therefore loſt no time. At his coming out of his quarters he heard that he had gueſſed aright, and ever and anon advertiſements came of the fight, and of what danger his men were in. As ſoon as he was come upon the Counterdike on *Mandragone's* part, he heard by him and by others what danger the Fort of the *Palata* was in. The Prince was uſually followed with many of quality and worth, and this occaſion had increaſed their number. Wherefore marching in the head of them, he went together with them to where the fight was hotteſt: And when he ſaw how much his men were troubled, and the Enemy ſo much their ſuperiors,

Is this (ſaid he) *the valour which my Souldiers ſhew? Is this that which they learn under my diſcipline? Shall the Enemy glory of being Conquerors, after they were conquered? And are they not overcome, if after having loſt the paſſage of the River, we keep the paſſage of the Counterdike likewiſe ſhut up? 'Tis here then, O my Souldiers, that you muſt either dye or overcome. I will ſhare with you in the one and in the other. But if we ſhall overcome, as I hope we ſhall, I will content my ſelf with the honour, all the rewards ſhall be yours: Nor can ſo impornant a Victory be ſufficiently rewarded but by ſo great a King.*

The Prince accompanied theſe his words with actions. Arm'd only with his ſword and ſhield, he gave ſtrange proof of his valour: By which example there was not any one of them who did not willingly run upon the greateſt dangers; and who did not endeavour to ſave their Prince his life, by expoſing their own to danger. The Souldiers ſuddenly reaſſumed their courage: but that which did moſt inhearten them, was to obſerve that the Tide began to ebb, which would ſoon inforce the Enemies ſhips to retreat. But as this conſideration incited the Royaliſts to doe their utmoſt, ſo had it the like effect upon the Enemies. They thought the Victory already ſo ſure their own, as *Hollack* and *Aldegonda* were gone to carry the news thereof to *Antwerp*, which occaſioned an incredible joy in thoſe Citizens. The fight was then renewed more hot then ever upon the Counterdike, and particularly near the Fort of the *Palata*; and each ſide had their hopes and fears for a while: But it was clearly ſeen that the Enemies courage ebb'd with the Tide, and the courage of the Royaliſts did as much increaſe. In fine, the Enemy could no longer hold out; for many of their ſhips being already on the ground on both ſides the Dike, they ſaw there was no more hopes left for them. All the reſt was blood and ſlaughter; being void of all ſuccour, they were hewed in pieces every where; nor did the Royaliſt thirſt more after victory before, then they did now after cruelty. Above 2500 of the Enemy were ſlain, and many of them men of quality. Of the Kings ſide little leſs then a thouſand, moſt of which were *Spaniards* and *Italians*, though the *Dutch* and *Walloons* did ſufficiently act their parts. Some 30 of their ſhips fell into the Royaliſts hands; and but few of the Enemies were taken priſoners, for all but thoſe that were ſlain got eaſily away by water. The fight being ended, *Ferneſe* gave forthwith order for filling up the Cuts which the Enemy had made in the Counterdike; he better ſecured the Forts, he reinforced the Guards, and did ſo provide for all things on that ſide, as the Enemy was either not to make any more aſſaults, or if they did, they were to hope for no good thereby.

But the *Antwerpians*, falling from ſo high hopes into ſo deep deſpair, knew not what to doe, nor how to evade their threatning misfortune. They could hope for no aſſiſtance from *France*: The Queen of *England*, by the aforeſaid artifices, held them on in hopes: Their confederate *Flemiſh* could doe no more then they had done: To boot with *Gaunts* being long before fallen into *Ferneſe's* hands, as hath been ſaid, *Bruſſels*, *Malines*, and *Nimmeghen* the chiefeſt City in all *Ghelderland*, were likewiſe ſurrendred unto him; wherefore as the

Flemiſh

Flemiſh Union was brought very low by ſo many loſſes, the Kings party was as much advantaged by ſo many acquiſitions. *Antwerp* began long before this to ſuffer much in ſcarcity of victuals; which increaſing every day, they began to think daily more and more upon the horror of Famine, and upon the inevitable neceſſity of yielding to that enemy. The *Antwerpians* kept as yet ſome Towns about the walls of the City, and kept garriſons in them, that they might likewiſe enjoy ſome part of the open fields: wherefore all their hope lay now in getting maintenance by the means of that neighbouring Territory, expecting what might afterwards fall out to their advantage. But *Ferneſe* ſoon foreſaw this their deſign, nor did he loſe the benefit of the opportunity. *Rubais* being ſlain, he had given the chief command of the Horſe to the Marquis of *Vaſto*, who ſcouring the Country every where, ſuffered not the Enemy to breath, and had already laid waſte all that Territory of thoſe Country people. And the Enemy oppoſing the Marquis one day with ſome of their Horſe, they were by him routed, and defeated. Wherefore *Ferneſe* preſenting his Cannon before ſome of the forenamed Towns which were the beſt munited, he quickly reduced all the reſt. And ſo the *Antwerpians* were ſhut up within the precinct of their own walls. They began then all ſo far to deſpair, as there was no talk amongſt them but of their neceſſity of ſurrendring; and the mind of the moſt was, to begin a Parley, ſo to get the beſt Conditions that they could. *Hollack* and *Aldegonda* were ſtill obſtinate, and thoſe that did moſt pertinaciouſly adhere unto them; and by ſophiſticated Letters endeavoured to make the people believe that the Earl of *Leiceſter* was already parted from *England*, being ſent by the Queen with a powerfull Army to relieve *Antwerp*; that he was every day expected to enter *Zealand*; and that ſo many Foreign forces being added to thoſe of their own Confederates, they might very well hope to ſee that City quickly free from ſiege. This cheat might prevail for a while: but the deeds ſpeaking a contrary language, and famine together with other extremities which uſually are ſuffered by thoſe who are beſieged every day increaſing, the people would be no longer deluded: They were firſt ſeen to gather together in ſmall companies, and then in more open aſſemblies, which at laſt brake out into open tumults. They chafed at the obſtinacie of a few, ſaying, that for their own private paſſions they would make the City run hazard of ſuffering its late misfortune and miſery. Thoſe who were better accommodated, and who had moſt to loſe either by plunder, fire, or other miſeries which Cities are accuſtomed to ſuffer, when either taken by force, or ſurrendred upon diſcretion, began to be of the ſame mind. On the other ſide *Ferneſe* was not backward in inviting the *Antwerpians* to ſurrender, and not by ſtanding out to make their conditions the worſe. Thus the Magiſtracie reſolved at laſt to ſend ſome to the Army, to treat of ſurrendring the City. They were fairly received by the Prince, and ſo the Treaty began on both ſides: wherein at firſt was found a great deal of intricacie and difficulty, and therefore many dayes were ſpent in adjuſting them; till ſuch time as *Aldegonda* coming forth himſelf, with ſome others of the beſt of the City, the Articles of Surrender were concluded of about the midſt of *Auguſt*, which made up a juſt year ſince the firſt begining of the ſiege. The Articles in effect were theſe that follow.

That the City of Antwerp *ſhould return under the obedience of the King of* Spain *as formerly. That the Prince of* Parma, *in the Kings name, did pardon and forgive the Inhabitants thereof all faults committed in the late revolutions, as well in taking up of Arms, as in whatſoever elſe they had done againſt the King and his Royal crown. That to maintain Traffick in that City as much as might be, it might be lawfull for any body whoſoever to live there for four years next enſuing, without any particular tye in matter of conſcience and religion, provided no ſcandalous act were committed againſt the Catholick religion, which was ſolely to be profeſt and exerciſed for the future in that City. That the aforeſaid four years being ended, thoſe who would not profeſs the Catholick religion might freely depart from thence, and carry all their goods away with them, without any manner of hinderance. That the City ſhould by the leaſt grievous way that might be, find means how to repair the Churches which were ruined either before, or upon the occaſion of this ſiege. That the City ſhould be fully reſtored to her antient priviledges, and to all her former liberty and prerogatives*

of Traffick. That in the mean while ſhe was to pay 40000 pounds ſterling, to help to relieve the Army, for the ſo much pains and expence which it had been at in that ſiege. That the Antwerpians ſhould give way to the receiving into the City, and longing of 2000 foot, and 200 horſe in Gariſon: till it ſhould be ſeen what reſolution ſhould be taken in Holland, Zealand, *and the other confederate Provinces, of turning to the Kings obedience: which if they ſhould do, the Prince promiſed to free the City of all Gariſons; and not to remake the Citadel as it was before. That priſoners on all ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty; except Monſieur* de Tiligni, *concerning whoſe perſon, the Prince was of neceſſity to receive ſome particular Orders from* Spain; *and that the Signor de* Aldegonda *ſhould promiſe not to bear Arms againſt the King of* Spain *for the ſpace of one year.*

Theſe were the chiefeſt Articles of the ſurrender; to which many others were added touching the reſtitution of Goods, the reſtoring of Traffick and Merchandizing to the City, and divers other petty intereſts, which reſpected the accommodation and ſatisfaction of the Inhabitants. This agreement being made, the Prince for his greater applauſe in having made ſuch an atchievement, received the Order of the Golden Fleece which the King had ſent him a little before. The Ceremony was performed in the Fort St *Philip*, accompanied with all the greateſt Military celebration of joy and Jubilee: and 'twas done by Count *Manſfield*, one of the antienteſt of that Order in all *Flanders*. The Prince entred afterwards ſolemnly into *Antwerp*, not only as a Conqueror, but in Triumph: he appeared in ſtately Arms on horſeback; many horſe and foot in arms went before him: and many in the like ſort followed him. Long files of armed foot were on each ſide. And a little before him was all the flowre of the Nobility on horſeback; whereof there were very many then in the Army. Thus he entred by the Ceſarian Gate, where he was received by the Magiſtrate, by the heads of all the Orders of the City, and by an infinite number of common people. He found many Arches, many Statues, many Colums erected in divers parts; with whatſoever elſe of glory could be ſhewn upon the like occaſion, by the conquered to ſuch a Conqueror. He then returned all due thanks to God in the chiefeſt Church; and being ſtill accompanied with both Military and City-like acclamations, he lighted at the Caſtle, and ſtaid awhile in *Antwerp* to put in order ſuch things in the City as ſtood in moſt need thereof.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

WARS

OF

FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Second Part.

BOOK IV.

The Contents.

The Cities of Gaunt, Bruſſels, Malines, *and* Niminghen *return to the Kings obedience. The Confederate Provinces are hereupon in ſo great ſtraits, as they offer the Queen of* England *the Soveraignty of their Provinces, that they may the more freely enjoy her protection. The Queen accepts not of the offer; but takes upon her their defence much more then formerly. In lieu whereof ſhe hath ſome of their Towns depoſited in her hands. The Earl of* Leſter *arrives in* Holland, *ſent by her as Supreme Head of the Confederate Provinces. The Prince of* Parma *reſolves to march into the field. He beſiegeth* Graves, *and takes it. He continuing his victories, takes* Venlo, Nuys, *paſſes the* Rhine: *and ſuccours* Zutfen, Leſter *looking on. Diſtaſtes between* Leſter *and the United Provinces. The Duke of* Parma *continues his acquiſitions; takes* Sluce, *a place of mighty importance. During the heat of War, an endeavour is moved between the King of* Spain *and Queen of* England, *to accommodate in ſome ſort the affairs of* Flanders: *but the endeavour is thought but artificiall on both ſides. The King this mean while conſiders whether he ought to make open War upon the Queen or no. Conſultations had hereupon in* Spain. *The King at laſt reſolves to ſet upon* England *with moſt powerfull forces. Preparations made hereupon in* Flanders *and in* Spain. *Preparations made by the Queen. The Spaniſh Fleet begins to move, and with an unhappy beginning, is detained many days by a great tempeſt; it comes to the Engliſh Channel. The Engliſh Fleet haſts to incounter it. The Spaniſh ſhips begin to ſuffer prejudice. Fire-boats like thoſe of the ſiege of* Antwerp. *The Spaniſh Fleet is afraid of them, and grows into great confuſion. At the ſame time the ſea grows rough, and makes the diſorder the greater. Some of the Spaniſh ſhips are loſt; and*

the reſt at laſt are forced to return for Spain. *A horrible tempeſt ariſeth, which occaſions the loſs of many of their ſhips as they return; and their whole Fleet is parted, torn and ſhattered by the fury of the ſea.*

THeſe were at this time the advantages of the Kings Forces. We told you before, that ere *Antwerp* was taken, *Gaunt*, *Bruſſels*, and *Malines* were reduced. And not to interrupt the ſiege of *Antwerp*, we forbore as then to acquaint you with what befell them; if at leaſt they may be called ſieges: For they were taken by only ſtopping up their Paſſes, and keeping the Cities from victuals on all ſides. We will now briefly relate the ſeveral ſucceſſes, together with what inſued in other parts, during the ſiege of *Antwerp*. After that the City of *Bruges* was faln into *Ferneſe's* hands, *Gaunt* began to ſuffer great ſcarcities, eſpecially of victuals. The Confederate Provinces held two places of very great importance on that Maritine Coaſt of *Flanders*; to wit, *Sluce*, and *Oſtend*. And becauſe relief might be ſent from thence to *Gaunt*, *Ferneſe* after the getting of *Bruges*, endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of all the Paſſes thereabouts, ſo as there could no communication be had between *Gaunt* and thoſe two places: and the ſucceſs was anſwerable to the deſigne. Thoſe of *Gaunt* not being able to receive any help from abroad, fell ſuddenly into great neceſſities: yet they continued ſtill to be contumacious. And perſiſting in their opiniatracy againſt the Church and King, they ſeemed as if they would rather undergoe any thing, then ſubmit themſelves again to the Kings obedience, and to the Catholick Religion. On the other ſide *Ferneſe*, though already buſied about *Antwerp*, ceaſed not to uſe all diligence to reduce thoſe of *Gaunt* to the utmoſt neceſſity of Famin. Wherefore ſcouring the Country round about with his horſe, and deſtroying all every where, he kept thoſe Inhabitants from receiving any help or ſecurity from without their own walls. There were not wanting many in the City who were well minded towards the Church and King. Famine increaſing then every day more and more, thoſe that were better inclined, took occaſion to leſſen the obſtinacy of the moſt contumatious, which *Ferneſe* had formerly indeavoured to moderate by many gratious offers. And ſo finally to keep from falling into greater miſchiefs, the Gauntesſes reſolved to come to an agreement, which followed about the end of *September* the preceding year.

They obliged themſelves to give all due obedience unto the King; to admit onely of the Catholick profeſſion, as formerly; to rebuild the Caſtle, which was ſlighted on the ſide which lay towards the Town, and to pay twenty thouſand pound for maintenance of the Kings Army: and Ferneſe *on his part did in the Kings name grant them full pardon; they were reſtored to their former priviledges, and thoſe who would not profeſs the Catholick Religion had two years ſpace allowed them to be gone, and to carry away their goods whether they would.*

By the ſame way of ſiege at large, the Cities of *Bruſſels* and *Malines* fell likewiſe ſome moneths after into the Prince his power, and were ſurrendred upon almoſt the ſame conditions: The getting of *Nimenghen* was alſo of great conſideration, which was taken likewiſe during the ſiege of *Antwerp*, as we then told you: but it was effected by the ſelf reſolution of the inhabitants; among which, thoſe who were faithful to the King, and well affected to the Church prevailing, they inforc'd the others, and gave up the Town to *Ferneſe*, who reaped great advantake thereby, by reaſon of the expeditions which followed afterwards in thoſe parts. At the ſame time that *Antwerp* was beſieged, two very conſiderable ſurpriſes were indeavoured, the one of *Balduke*, in *Brabant*, by the united Flemiſh; the other of *Oſtend*, in the Province of *Flanders*, by the Kings party: The firſt was managed by Count *Hollack*, and he himſelf indeavoured to effect it, being got privately before the gate, by means of ſome intelligence which he held in the Town; his deſign ſucceeded ſo well at the firſt, as he put in ſome of his men through the gate; but the people taking up arms, and *il ſignor d' Altapenna* being then caſually in the Town, the enemy were ſoon driven out, and with much loſs cauſed to retreat from thereabouts. The ſurpriſal indeavoured



Adolphus Solm: Count de Mevrs
Governour of Gelderland & Vtrecht

red in the Province of *Flanders* by the Royaliſts, had the ſame good beginning, and unfortunate end. Monſieur *de la Motte* was ſent about it by *Ferneſe*, with ſuch a ſtrength of men as was requiſite. He aſſaulted the old Town of *Oſtend* ſo at unawares, as he ſuddenly made himſelf maſter of it; but his men having been careleſs in the keeping of a bridge which joyned the old and new Town together, the enemy growing couragious, firſt regained the bridge, and then drove the Kings men out of that part which they had won: theſe were the events of the Forces in *Brabant* and *Flanders* during the ſiege of *Antwerp*. On the Rheins ſide the Kings men during that time got no conſiderable advantage over the Enemy, unleſs it were the recovery of *Nimínghen*; but the affairs were ſo equally ballanced on both ſides, as each Party was better able to withſtand, then to overcome the other. Colonel *Francis Verdugo* commanded the Kings Forces on that ſide; and next him, *John Baptiſta de Taſſis*, both of them Spaniards; theſe aimed above all things to preſerve the City of *Groninghen*, together with the little remainder which in thoſe parts continued under the Kings obedience; and they met with ſome occaſions, wherein meeting with the Enemy, they both broke their deſigns, and weakned their Forces. *Adolphus* Count *de Meurs*, a man of quality, both in conſideration of his Family and valor, commanded in thoſe parts for the united Flemiſh; and he had with him *Martin Schinck*, already turned from the Kings ſervice to ſerve the Enemy, for ſome il uſage which as he pretended he had received; theſe two with ſuch forces as they could gather and keep together, indeavoured to keep the Kings men from making any farther progreſs, and to do alſo what they could to advantage their own party. They had ſurpriſed the Town of *Nuis* upon the Rheine, which belongs to the Arch-biſhop of *Cullen*, and had much advantaged themſelves thereby thereabouts: but finally, the ſucceſſes of neither ſide were, as we have ſaid, of ſuch conſequence, during the ſiege of *Antwerp*, that in reſpect of the others which did precede, or of thoſe which ſhall follow, any farther diſtinct relation ſhould be made of them here. Returning then to the Kings Army, and to the more important affairs which calls us elſewhere: when the Prince of *Parma* had ſet in order the affairs of *Antwerp*, he reſolved to depart from thence, and to go whether the beſt occaſions ſhould invite him: during that little time which he tarried in *Antwerp*, he had ſufficiently diſcovered, that *Holland* and *Zealand*, and the reſt of the united Provinces (ſo we ſhall call them hereafter, for ſo they were already begun to be commonly called) would continue in their reſolution of not returning to the Kings obedience: wherefore before his departure he made the Citadel be rebuilt towards the Town, though for the preſent but with a ſingle plat-form, which was ſoon after clad with walls; after it was plainly ſeen, that the aforeſaid Provinces did not only ſeem not to reconcile themſelves to the King, but that rather out of new deſperate Councels they were reſolved to offer the Soveraignity of their Country to the Queen of *England*; the carriage whereof was thus. The aforeſaid Provinces had formerly intreated the Queen of *England* to aſſiſt them in the ſo important buſineſs of *Antwerp*; but ſhe entertaining them with bare hopes, never did any thing for them; to ſay truth, the Queen expected to have them reduced to ſome greater neceſſity, ſo as ſhe might have thereby received thoſe advantages which the Duke of *Alanſon* could not do; as we touched upon before. The fear of looſing *Antwerp*, increaſing daily in thoſe Provinces, and their onely recourſe being to the Queen, they reſolved to ſend her a ſolemn Ambaſſy in the common name of them all; and to this purpoſe they choſe ſuch Deputies as ſufficed to repreſent each of them, and ſent them into *England* about the end of the preceding *May* laſt. They were received by the Queen with particular grace and honour; they fell then to the buſineſs, and this was the offer which they made unto the Queen.

That in the firſt place, their Provinces did in all integrity of ſoul thank her, for her having been ſo gratiouſly pleaſed to favour them and protect them againſt the King of Spain's *violence, ſince the very firſt time that he uſed any againſt them; That he continuing more then ever to oppreſs* Flanders, *and thoſe Provinces not being able of themſelvs to defend themſelves from ſo powerful and cruel an enemy, were inforced to ſeek for neceſſary protection elſewhere; That therefore they had reſolved*

ſolved to fly unto her for it. A Princeſs ſo conjoyn'd to them in territories; ſo united in religion; and ſo intereſted in the cauſe. That to ſay truth, they were then in a very low condition, that notwithſtanding they were yet poſſeſt of Oeſtend, *and* Sluce *in the Province of* Flanders, *which were both of them Maratine Towns of great concernment; That* Holland, Zealand, *and* Freiſland, *Provinces which lay all of them upon the Sea, were yet wholly free from the Spaniards, and that within land there were yet many of the moſt ſecure places under their union, and a great part of the beſt of the Country. That they doubted not but that ſo puiſſant a Princeſs as ſhe, would Patroniſe their defence, much more out of magnanimity then out of Intereſt; ſo as leaving the firſt part to her, and conſidering themſelves the ſecond, they repreſented unto her how great an advantage the addition of ſuch Provinces, and particularly thoſe of the Maritine Coaſt, would be to* England: *And what doubt could it be, but that theſe two Naval Forces being joyned together, would give the Law by ſea to all the Weſtern, yea and Northern parts? That they then offered to ſubmit themſelves wholly to her Soveraignity, ſo to injoy not onely her ordinary protection, but to be defended by her abſolute authority, as by their Princeſs; hoping that ſhe would be pleaſed to admit of ſuch an offer, under ſuch fair and reaſonable conditions, as their people were to enjoy, according to the moderate form of their ancient Government: for what remained, ſhe might aſſure her ſelf, that the Flemiſh would alwayes vye for Loyalty towards her, with the Engliſh; in readineſs in concurring to all her greater exaltations, and in joy to ſee all her ends effected according to her own deſire.*

This was the ſubſtance of their Propoſal. Having ſaid this by word of mouth, they preſented it in writing to the Queen; who graciouſly received it; and did in as gracious a manner reply.

That ſhe would with all attention ſtudy to ſend them back as ſpeedily as might be to their Provinces, well ſatisfied. That ſuch an offer bore with it matter of great conſequence; and that therefore ſhe would take particular care that it ſhould be diligently diſcuſt by her Councel.

The Engliſh had at firſt ſeemed very much to deſire this. But as uſually ſeen things move more then ſuch as are but meerly imagined; ſo when the weight of this affair was ſeen nearer hand, the Councels differed much in their opinions concerning it. Some more boldly were of opinion,

That ſo fair an offer was by all means to be imbraced. That the United Provinces had already lawfully made themſelves their own Soveragins; out of their ſo requiſite neceſſity of not being able to ſuffer the King of Spains *ſo great oppreſſion. They might therefore lawfully diſpoſe of that their Soveraignty as they ſhould beſt pleaſe. That they had once already confer'd it upon the Duke of* Alanſon; *and wherefore might they not now confer it upon the Queen? The King of* Spain *would undoubtedly be ſcandalized hereat; and would peradventure make war again upon* England. *But how oft had he already offended the Queen? Were not the Inſurrections in* Ireland *fomented by him? had he not a deſigne to do the like in* England? *Did not he favour the Queen of* Scots *Cauſe as much as he might? and did not he upon all other occaſions ſhew his ill will to the Engliſh? That if he would fall into open war with the Queen, it was to be conſidered how greatly her uſual ſtrength at ſea would be increaſed by this new Maritine addition of* Flanders. *Let therefore the King of* Spain *aſſault* England *when he ſhould pleaſe, he ſhould finde it as ſecure in forces, as inexpugnable by ſituation.*

But there wanted not thoſe that were of a contrary opinion. They ſaid, *It was the common concernment of all Princes, that their ſubjects ſhould keep within their due obedience; what a ruine would it be to Principality, if the rendering or denying of obedience ſhould be at the Subjects pleaſure? That hitherto the Queen had favoured the Flemiſh, not as free people, but as thoſe that were oppreſt: that ſhe might ſtill, without proceeding any farther, do the ſame juſtly for the future; but to acknowledge a Soveraign power in them, and then to accept of that Soveraignty offered by them, was an action of bad example for other Princes; and particularly of very dangerous conſequence for the Queen her ſelf: How much more juſt reaſon would the King of* Spain *have in ſuch a caſe to make her taſte of the ſame evils at her own home? How great a diſpoſition was there generally thereunto in* Ireland? *And how great in the ſo many Catholicks which were yet in* England? *By her example the*

King

King would doubtleſly paſs from fomenting ſecretly, into open invaſion. To his Temporal Forces, the Pope of Rome *might likely enough add his Spiritual ones. And it would then be ſeen what would be got by making ſo uncertain an acquiſition in neighbouring Countries, when by doing ſo, certain hazard muſt be run at home in her own Dominions.*

Amidſt theſe two contrary opinions there was one in a middle way between them, which was,

That the Queen, without accepting of the Soveraignty, or uſing any other title of Protection, ſhould aſſiſt the Flemiſh with a good ſtrength of men. That for ſecurity of the expence which ſhe ſhould be at in aſſiſting them, they ſhould put ſome good Town of Zealand *into her hands, and ſome other alſo in* Holland. *And that the Forces which ſhould be maintained by the United Provinces ſhould be under his command whom ſhe ſhould ſend in Chief with her men. Thus having gotten footing in thoſe Maritime parts, and her Authority likewiſe being in the aboveſaid manner extended further within Land, the Queen might wait for what time would produce, who is the beſt Councellor, and whoſe advantages are infallible to thoſe that can diſcern and make uſe of them.*

The Queen inclined to this opinion. And becauſe *Antwerp* was already in very great danger, ſhe gave order for the immediate ſending over of 3000 Foot into *Zealand* to facilitate the relief of that City. And the Flemiſh reſolved to put *Oſtend* for the preſent into her hands. But this was not performed, becauſe the Aid came not time enough. Wherefore they paſt on to the chief Negotiation, and theſe following Capitulations were agreed upon between the Parties intereſſed.

That the Queen of England *ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt the States of the United Provinces with* 5000 *Foot and* 1000 *Horſe, (all of them to be paid by her) and that ſhe ſhould ſend a Commander in chief over with them, who ſhould have the Government of their Forces, and the chief Command over all their Souldiers. That to ſecure the repayment of the monies which the Queen ſhould ſpend, the States ſhould put* Fluſhing *and the* Ramekins *into her hands in* Zealand, *and the* Bril *in* Holland, *and leave the ſame Artillery and ammunition of war in them which was at the preſent. That when the war ſhould be ended, and the monies repaid, the Queen ſhould be bound to reſtore the ſame Towns, in the ſame condition as they were now aſſigned over unto her. That the United Provinces ſhould not make peace with the King of* Spain, *nor league with any other Princes, without the Queens conſent; neither ſhould the Queen come to any particular treaty with the King of* Spain, *without the knowledge and approbation of the United Provinces. That to boot with the Queens General Governour two other of her State-Miniſters might intervene at all the Councels and negotiations of the United Provinces. That in the default of any Governour of Province or Town, the States ſhould name two or three perſonages, of which one ſhould be choſen by her General Governour, with the participation of the Provinces Councel of State. That in caſe war were to be made by Sea for the common ſervice, the States ſhould concur thereunto with equal Forces to thoſe that the Queen ſhould therein imploy, and that her Admiral ſhould have the chief Command over them all. That the General Governour, and the other of the Queens Officers ſhould ſwear obedience not only to her, but to the States alſo. That all of them ſhould inviolably maintain the wonted Priviledges of the Country, and that there ſhould be no the leaſt alteration of Government made in thoſe Towns whereinto there ſhould any Engliſh garriſons be put; and that ſuch Garriſons ſhould be ſuffered to live, for matter of Religion, according to the manner of* England.

Theſe were the moſt eſſential Articles. Which being agreed upon, ſudden order was given for the putting of them in execution. The Queen declared the Earl of *Leiceſter* for ſupreme Head of her Forces, of whom mention is made in other parts of this our Hiſtory; and many of the Nobility of *England* prepared to go along with him. That year in this interim ended, and the year 1586 inſued. *Anno* 1586. In the begining whereof, *Leiceſter* being imbarked with all his people, arrived at the *Hague* in *Holland* about the firſt week of *February*, where he was received with all the expreſſions of Honour and joy that the States could make. The Places which were aſſigned over unto him were of very great importance. *Fluſhing* and

and the *Ramechins* were the chief Key of *Zealand*; and the *Bril* was likewiſe a Port-Town of very great concernment in *Holland*. The Garriſons being placed according to agreement, the States did ſo very much intreat *Leiceſter*, that to boot with the chief Command of their Forces he would likewiſe accept of the general Government of their whole Country, as he inclined to yield thereunto. At which the Queen ſeemed to be diſpleaſed, and forthwith ſent an Expreſs to complain thereof. But the States renewing the ſame intreaties to her, ſhe did not any further repugn it; thinking perhaps that ſhe had already ſo highly offended the King of *Spain*, as he would be but little pacified though ſhe ſhould forbear this ſecond irritation. Beſides, to ſay truth, 'twas hardly to be believed but that this declaration of the States had been ſecretly made known unto the Queen, and that *Leiceſter* would not have accepted of it without her tacit conſent. But howſoever it was, *Leiceſter* accepted of the Adminiſtration: He diſtributed his own men, and thoſe of the Provinces where it was moſt needfull, and prepared to impede the progreſs of the Kings Forces as much as might be, and to doe all that he could expect was to be done by his men.

Ferneſe, through the acquiſition of ſo many chief Cities, and particularly that of *Antwerp*, did verily believe to put an end to the troubles of *Flanders*, either by ſome way of fair Agreement, or by abſolute Conqueſt. Wherefore he was wonderfully moved to ſee this Victory which he had ſo aſſuredly fancied unto himſelf either by the one way or the other, taken from him by this Engliſh ſuccour and the King thought himſelf thereby ſo highly offended, as he did not long delay the reſenting of it, as you ſhall ſhortly hear. But though the Enemy had received ſuch a ſuccour, yet *Ferneſe* did not doubt but that as his Forces were far the greater, ſo likewiſe ſhould his ſucceſſes be. He therefore reſolved as ſoon as the winter ſhould be over, to march with his Army into the field. The Enemy, though they had loſt *Maſtrick*, were yet maſters of two Towns of great concernment in that lower ſide of the *Mauſe*; the one was *Graves*, which belongs to *Brabant*, and the other *Venlo* in *Ghelderland*. It made very much for *Ferneſe* to have all thoſe parts at his devotion, to the end that he might the better unite his Forces on both the ſides of ſo important a River, and that he might likewiſe with the leſs impediment carry them on the other ſide of the *Rhine*. Wherefore he reſolved by all means to make himſelf maſter of thoſe two Towns. And though the winter were not yet over, he reſolved to ſend Count *Mansfield* to ſtraiten *Graves* at a diſtance, and gave him ſuch men as were requiſite for that purpoſe. He gave order likewiſe for the beſieging of *Venlo* after the ſame manner. And being much preſt thereunto by the Archbiſhop of *Colen* he likewiſe ſent the Signor *d'Altapenna* Governour of *Ghelderland*, to make the like preparation againſt the Town of *Nuys* where the Enemy had ſtill fortified themſelves more and more, and ſtill more prejudiced the adjacent parts by their continual excurſions. When *Mansfield* was come before *Graves*, he planted two Forts upon the two banks of the *Mauſe*, that he might have the freer paſſage over the river; and he raiſed ſome others more within land, towards where the Town ſtood. The River did very much help the fortifying of the Town on the River ſide, and on the Land ſide the Enemy had likewiſe very well baſtion'd the walls. The Souldiers that were in it were moſt of them Engliſh Foot, part of thoſe that *Leiceſter* had brought over with him; and their Commander in chief was the Lord of *Hemert*, a Dutch-man. The Enemy did very much ſtrive to preſerve that place, and *Leiceſter* prepared to relieve it: He to that purpoſe ſent out a good proportion of Horſe and Foot; and the Kings men were not wanting in making ſuch oppoſition as was needfull, though they had not men enough as then to keep thoſe that were within from making excurſions, and hinder the deſigns which the Enemy had without. During this uncertainty of the Siege on the one ſide, and of the Succour on the other, there hapned divers actions and skirmiſhes, one of which proved very bloody. The Engliſh intended to relieve the Town chiefly by the way of a greater Dike which ran along the *Mauſe*; and to this purpoſe they had fortified themſelves upon the Dike, & had likewiſe prepared divers Barks upon the River. Wherefore taking their time, they began to march with ſome Squadrons of Foot, and advanced very boldly towards the buſineſs. The Royaliſts were very watchfull on their part;

part; and reſolving to keep back the ſuccour, they likewiſe marched boldly to encounter the Enemy. The buſineſs was very hot for a while, till the Engliſh began to give back and to retreat, which made the Kings men the more forward in advancing: but being too jovial in their purſuit, they did ſo diſcompoſe themſelves, as being ſet upon by a freſh Squadron of Engliſh Foot, they were driven back, and routed with much ſlaughter. The moſt of theſe were Spaniards, of *Don John d'Aquila's* Brigado, and the loſs was great, for there was ſlain above 200. of which ſeven Captains, together with divers inferior Officers. Yet could not the Engliſh force the Dike which was firſt poſſeſt by the Spaniards: but by their favorable ſucceſs they ſuccored the Town by ſome Boats by the way of the River, and ſo made them continue the longer in their vigorous defence. The P. of *Parma* was much diſpleaſed with this ſucceſs; wherefore he gave preſent order to *Altapenna* to leave the Siege of *Nuis* for the preſent, & to come to that of *Graves*. And he himſelf came thither ſoon after in perſon, and brought the whole body of the Kings Army with him, the ſooner to end this Siege. *May* was already over; and the Prince being exceedingly deſirous to end the Siege of *Graves*, that he might the ſooner go to thoſe of *Venlo* and of *Nuis*, he cauſed great haſte be made in finiſhing the Trenches, Batteries, and whatſoever elſe might the ſooner expedite the making of Aſſaults. Great ſpeed was then made of all the Works, in ſo much as within few dayes two Batteries were raiſed, and a dozen Peece of Artillery placed upon each of them, wherewith they began to play upon the Town; the one was placed on the River ſide, the other on the Lands ſide. The former plaid upon a Flank, wherein the Enemies chiefeſt defence on that ſide lay; but they might notwithſtanding reſiſt a long while. And the Earl of *Leiceſter* being already come firſt to *Utricht*, and then to *Arnhem* with good Forces, he gave the beſieged good hopes of being relieved; when the Lord of *Hemert* with ſome of his Captains, being poorly timerous, began to treat of a ſurrender. Nor did the Prince refuſe to give them any Conditions they could deſire, that he might the ſooner rid his hands of that enterpriſe. He came forth then with ſafety to Perſons, Arms, and Baggage: but he ſoon repented his doing ſo; for not many dayes after *Leiceſter* put him, and all the Captains that partook with him in the Surrender, to an ignominious death.

The ſiege of *Graves* being ſo happily ended, *Ferneſe* went ſuddenly to that of *Venlo*. He had then a very gallant Army: For he muſtered above 20000 foot, and 3000 horſe, all choice men. And the ſeveral Nations whereof they conſiſted, vyed which ſhould outdoe other in each Military action. *Ferneſe* being incamped before *Venlo*, he quickly took and fortified all the chiefeſt Avenues without; and then turned himſelf to begirt thoſe within, with his wonted works. A certain Iſland which they had fortified, ſerved the beſieged for a good defence on the river ſide. *Ferneſe* would by all means deprive them of this advantage. And becauſe the river was not fordable, and that it was not ſufficient to annoy the defendants in the Iſland barely by Artillery, he made four of the greateſt Barks that were in thoſe parts to fall down from *Maſtrick*, reſolving to aſſault them therewithall nearer hand. On their flanks he raiſed a firm parapet of planks, the better to ſecure the ſouldiers who were to enter into them: and he put into each of them a Company of Spaniſh foot, with a Captain over each Company. The Barks accoaſted the Iſland on divers ſides; and the order which was given them was, That the ſouldiers which were within them, ſhould all of them make the attempt at one and the ſame time; and that they ſhould be ſeconded from the river ſide by the Artillery. Nor could the event have proved more luckie: For the Fort being played upon from the river ſide by the Artillery, the Spaniards diſcharging of their muskets, their landing, and the driving of the enemy from the Iſland, was almoſt done at one and the ſame inſtant. There were but few of them ſlain; the reſt ſaved themſelves in ſome boats. This infuſed much terror into the beſieged: But they were incouraged by *Leiceſter*, and chiefly by *Schinck*, who had his wife and a ſiſter within the Town: wherefore his private Intereſt concurring with the common Cauſe, he did all he could to bring in ſome ſuccour: But *Ferneſe* had ſo ſhut up all the Paſſes, as it was too hard a matter to effect. Yet *Schinck* did ſeveral times endeavour it, till all hopes being loſt, he

gave over the design. The Kings men this mean while played furiously upon the Town from several parts; and those Nations who before strove who should advance furthest, strove now who should be the first to give the assault: But the defendants not willing to expect it, resolved to yield. The Conditions were almost the same that were given at *Graves*. From hence *Farnese* went with all speed to before *Nuis*. And with him did the Elector of *Cullen* joyn, at whose intreaties it was that the Army marched thither. The Town was already a little curbed by some Forts; but those within had not forborn making of many stout sallies; and seemed still more resolute to defend it. This Town lies upon the *Rhine*, as you have heard: and the River makes an Island just in the face of it, not far from the walls of the Town. Here the enemy had particularly fortified themselves; and from thence *Farnese* would by all means drive them. The care of this was given unto the Spaniards, who did attempt it boldly. But the enemy issuing out with like courage, made good the Island, and slew some of the Spaniards. Who notwithstanding returned more resolutely then before, and at last the defendants were forced to yield. *Farnese* allotted all that side to the Spaniards, to accost the Town on that part; and planted a good number of Canon against the walls. On the land side he placed the Italians with a like battery. In other places he likewise set those of other Nations against the Town; in so much as the besieged were soon brought into great straites. One battery play'd after another, and sometimes they plaid all together. The wall towards the river was very well defended by a great Tower; but the Spaniard did assault it so fiercely, as at last they lodged themselves there. Whereby the Town was still more infested on that side, and was still in more danger to be taken. Nor had the Italians reduced them to lesser straits on their side. Wherefore the besieged failing in their courage, and the Governour of the Town being sorely wounded, they began to think of surrendring. The Army was much incensed against this Town; for they found that the Townsmen were inclined to receive in the enemy; besides, many of the Inhabitants were hereticks, and were still openly disposed to favour that aforesaid Apostate Bishop *Truxes*. Whilst then there was a cessation of Arms by agreement, and that they were upon Treaty of Surrender, and that they were weighing the Conditions: The Spaniards and Italians despising all good Military discipline, assaulted the Town with blind fury on two sides at once. The enemy astonished hereat, endeavoured as much as they could to defend themselvs; but had no good success. For the Royalists being thereat more incensed after they had overcome all obstacles, entred the Town in a hostile manner, and in excess of anger, which soon turned into down right fury, they put all they met with to the sword. Nor did bloud satisfie their cruelty. Neglecting the avarice of plunder, they fell to fire the Town; which they did in so many places, as the Town which was almost wholly built of wood, was suddenly all on a fire. One house served to fire another; and the division of streets no whit availing, the flames flew from one side to the other, and in a rapid motion spread themselves over the whole Country. And that the Town might be the sooner, and the more miserably destroyed, the wind conspired with the fire, whereby it was in very few hours wholly reduced to ashes. With much adoe two Churches were saved, whereinto many sacred virgins, together with other women of the Town, had recourse for shelter. And the Marquis of *Vasto* did in particular shew himself generously pious in saving them all from the fury of the souldier; he being greatly respected by the Army, no less in consideration of his bloud, then of his valour and imployment.

Before the Duke of *Parma*, (for so we shall call him hereafter, his father Duke *Octavius* being now dead) went from about *Nuys*, the Bishop of *Vercelles*, who was the Popes Nuntio in the City of *Cullen*, came unto him, and in the name of Pope *Sextus Quintus* presented him with the Trunchion and Helmet, which the Popes do use to bestow as a token of their esteem and affection to such Princes as deserve well of the Church. The Ceremony was solemnly performed in the Camp; and the Elector of *Cullen*, and Duke of *Cleves* would be present at it for he was likewise come at that time to visit *Farnese*. And at the same time the Marquis of *Vasto* received the Order of the Golden Fleece. Which the King had sent

ſent unto him a little before; and *Ferneſe's* ſelf put it about his neck. The enterpriſe of *Nuys* having received this Tragical end, the Camp paſt to before *Reinburgh*, which Town depends likewiſe upon the Biſhoprick of *Cullen*, and lies lower upon the *Rhine*. It was then in the enemies poſſeſſion; and the Archbiſhop and *Ferneſe* did both of them deſire to ſee it reduced under the Catholick power. The enemy had fortified it very well: and had likewiſe munited a certain Iſland, which ſtands before the Town. *Leſter* thinking it too great a ſhame, that *Ferneſe* after having made ſo many acquiſitions, even as it were before his eyes, ſhould likewiſe make this; reinforced his Army as much as he could, reſolving either to relieve the Town, or to make ſome diverſion by beſieging ſome of the Kings Towns. He was on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, in the Province of *Overiſel*; ſo called for that the river *Yſel* runs through it. On the right hand thereof ſtands *Zutfen*; one of the Towns of greateſt importance in all thoſe parts. *Leſter* bethought himſelf to take this place; and in order thereunto, he would firſt take *Deoſburg*, a little Town upon the ſame river, but which might help him in his chief deſigne. There were 300 Walloon foot in *Deosburg*, who aſſiſted by the ſituation of the place, might make it good a long while; but as ſoon as the enemy had opened their Trenches on their ſide, and ordered their Batteries, the defendants offered to parley; and put the Town into *Leſters* hands. From hence he went with his whole Camp to *Zutfen*: the City had a great Fort made of earth on the ſide oppoſite to the River; and two leſſer ones which did ſo much the more defend it. *Leſter* incamped himſelf on both ſides the river, and having made a bridg of boats, the better to joyn his Camp together, he endeavoured firſt to take the Fort, hoping that the taking thereof would facilitate the taking of the Town. *John Baptiſta di Taſſis*, of whom you have heard before, was Governor of the Town. Who forthwith advertiſed *Ferneſe* what danger the City was in of being taken, unleſs it were very ſpeedily relieved: for they had not proviſions anſwerable to the circuit of the place. *Ferneſe* had already made ſome progreſs againſt *Reinburg*, and had taken the Iſland; yet fearing he ſhould not take the Town time enough to ſuccour the other, he left the Iſland well munited, and reſolved to tarry no longer before *Reinburg*, but to go ſpeedily to the relief of *Zutfen*. Wherefore in great haſte making a bridge of boats over the *Rhine* at *Burick*, and raiſing a Fort at each end thereof, he went with all his Army to the other ſide, and marched towards the enemy. As he was upon his march, he was advertiſed that there were 2000 Rutters on that confine of *Germany*, who were raiſed by the Count de *Meurs*, to aſſiſt the enemy. He therefore choſe out 1500 horſe, and put one of the Spaniſh foot behind each of them, commanding them that with all ſpeed they ſhould march thitherward. And he himſelf followed with more men to back them.

The Rutters expected not ſuch an incounter, and therefore marched not in any good order, nor any waies provided to fight; wherefore meeting at unawares with the Kings men, they were ſoon routed and defeated. The Duke continued his march from hence, and came ſo neer *Zutfen*, as he prepared to ſend in ſuccour; to this purpoſe he put all his Camp into battel array, and made the Marqueſs of *Vaſto* advance with ſome Troops of Horſe, all of them almoſt Italians; with a great Squadron of Foot, compoſed of Spaniards, Italians, and Walloons, and with many Cart loads of the neceſſarieſt proviſions to be brought into the City. The Horſe went in the Van, with whom the Marqueſs coming up unto the Enemies, ſome Troops of Engliſh Horſe boldly oppoſed them, and charged ſo home, as they diſorder'd them, and inforc'd them to give back; but reaſſuming courage, they fell to fight again; and the combat was ſuch, as for a while the ſucceſs was doubtful: The Marqueſs plaid his part manfully: The Italian Troops were commanded by *Apio Conti*, the Marqueſs *Hanibal Gonſaga*, the Marqueſs *Bentivoglio*, *Georgio Creſſia*, and Count *Nicolas Ceſis*; who ſtrove all of them who ſhould moſt ſignalize themſelves upon this occaſion. But the conflict ſeemed moſt to favour the enemy; for *Creſſia* was taken priſoner, and *Gonzaga* dangerouſly wounded. When the Kings ſquadron of foot advanced, and heartning the horſe, ſtopt the violence of the enemy; and afforded time for the Duke himſelf to come up. He came in battel array, with reſolution to fight,

if the enemy ſhould endeavour with all his forces to hinder the ſuccour. But *Leiceſter* would not hazard himſelf ſo far; but making a retreat be ſounded, ſuffered *Ferneſe* to paſs on; who entred himſelf in perſon into *Zutfen*, and left the Town well provided. Then going ſuddenly out again, he entertained himſelf thereabouts till *Leiceſter* had quite given over the ſiege; and winter drawing on, after he had put good Gariſons into all the Towns that formerly and of late were reduced into the Kings obedience in thoſe parts, he returned about the midſt of *November* to *Bruſſels*, with much honour for having made ſo many and ſo conſiderable expeditions in ſo ſhort a time. The Duke being gone from *Zutfen*, and having diſtributed his Army into their quarters, *Leiceſter* returned again to aſſault the Forts which were raiſed on the banks oppoſite to that Town. One of the leſſer was ſuddenly taken by aſſault. And Count *Hollack* was the firſt that entred it, the more to incourage the reſt; and in the action he received an honourable wound. The other leſſer Fort made no better reſiſtance. The greateſt Fort yet remained, which might have held out longer; but *Taſſis* inclined rather to withdraw the men into *Zutfen*, the better to defend the City in caſe the Enemy ſhould reſolve to beguirt it. *Leiceſter* did notwithſtanding diſpoſe of all his men about it, and did as it were beſiege it at a diſtance, that he might do it neerer at hand when the ſeaſon ſhould permit him; he returned from hence to *Holland*, and made his abode in the *Hague*, where the States of the Provinces were then met: They ſeemed but little ſatisfied with *Leiceſter*, either in his Civil or Military Government; they ſaw what atchievements the Duke of *Parma* had continually made, whilſt he was a looker on in moſt of them; nor could they endure that together with the Towns depoſited into the Queens hand, he ſhould put Engliſh garriſons into divers other Towns as he had done: they therefore ſtill grew more and more ſuſpitious, judging that ſuch proceedings tended more to domination then to defence; and that *Leiceſter* intended to uſe rather an abſolue, then a limited power; nor did they forbear to acquaint him with their ſenſe, in a decent and moderate way: but he ſtriving to juſtifie his actions ſundry waies, ſought to appeaſe the States, and to diſſolve the Aſſembly; which not being able to do, he reſolved to go for *England*, ſeeming to depart angry; and the States ſeemed no leſs offended: The diſtaſtes on both ſides paſt afterward ſo far on, as the Provinces ſent ſome of their Deputies to the Queen with complaints againſt *Leiceſter*: and he on the contrary ſought to croſs all their negotiations. Theſe diſcords made much for the Duke of *Parma*'s advantage; which as he very well knew, ſo

Anno 1587. did he not fail to make uſe of it. The new year of 1587 was already begun; and the Souldiers were all in their winter quarters; wherefore by divers practiſes he wrought it ſo as that ſome Towns of very great importance fell into his hands. *William Stanly*, an Engliſh Gentleman, was Governor of *Deventer*, and Colonel of a Regiment of the ſame Nation: This man agreeing with *Taſſis*, who was Governor for the King in *Zutfen*, reſolved to put the City of *Deventer* under the Kings obedience. *Stanly* was a Catholick, and ſeemed to do it chiefly out of the zeal to Religion; yet he was largely rewarded by the King; and ſo much the rather, for that he drew along with him to the Kings ſervice all the Engliſh which were with him at *Deventer*; which were the greateſt part of his Regiment and he ſtill kept the command of them, together with the title of Colonel. By his example, *Rowland York*, who kept the Forts of *Zutfen*, delivered them up not long after to *Taſſis*. The Caſtle of *Vonve* not far from *Bergenapzome* was likewiſe a little before faln into *Ferneſe*'s hands, which is a ſtrong place, and might much facilitate the taking of *Berghen*. The people of the confederate Provinces did mightily ſtorm at theſe new loſſes made by treachery, to boot with thoſe which were formerly taken by force.

Were theſe the aids; were theſe the advantages which they expected from England? *Was this the fruit that they reaped by the Earl of* Leiceſter*'s Government? At his coming into* Flanders *he made miracles be expected at his hands: but how ſoon were theſe miracles turned into ſhame? How many places had the Duke of* Parma *taken whilſt he looked on? And how much to his diſhonor, had he in particular relieved* Zutfen? *That hereupon departing for* England, *inſtead of ſiding with* Flanders, *he was become their enemy. Nay, he had rather made himſelf Soveraign*

then

then Governour thereof; having placed Engliſh *where he pleaſed in lieu of native* Flemiſh. *That he did now oppugne the cauſe of the Provinces before the Queen, inſtead of defending it. Since then it was not known when he would return, or how minded, wherefore ſhould not the Provinces the mean while by their own authority reſolve upon what was beſt for their common ſervice?*

They delayed no longer, but immediately ſummoned the States Generall. Who when they met, it was reſolved amongſt them, that Count *Maurice* of *Naſſaw* ſhould immediately take upon him the Government of the Militia, and that having Count *Hollack* for his Lieutenant, he ſhould provide for all neceſſary occurrences of the war. The Aſſembly took alſo divers other reſolutions, and ſent their complaints again into *England* againſt *Leiceſter*, and againſt the other Engliſh Commanders which he had left in *Flanders*; and preſt very much that the Queen would remedy ſo many diſorders. The Queen was hereat troubled: wherefore ſhe ſuddenly diſpatcht away the Lord *Buckhurſt*, one of her prime Privy-Councellors; to the end that he, together with Colonel *Norris*, (who had many years before ſerved the United Provinces with great praiſe and reputation) might endeavour to compoſe the differences between thoſe Provinces and *Leiceſter*, and free the Flemiſh from thoſe jealouſies which they ſeemed chiefly to be fallen into by reaſon of him. This mean while the ſharpneſs of the winter was over, wherefore the Duke of *Parma* reſolved to take to the field again. He much deſired to cleanſe the Province of *Flanders* ſo throughly, as that the Enemy might be maſters of no place there. They had ſtill therein (as hath been ſaid) *Oſtend* and *Sluce*. The Duke therefore reſolved firſt to beſiege the latter, that he might afterwards doe the like to the other, according as he ſhould find opportunity. His Camp was at this time very much leſſened; for many of his Souldiers were loſt in the ſo many expeditions of the laſt year, and many were imployed in guarding the Towns that were newly taken. He thought notwithſtanding that he might beſiege *Sluce* with but a moderate number of Souldiers, that Town ſtanding as it were in the midſt of Mariſh places, and having but little dry ground about it, where it was requiſite to take the Paſſes, and to defend them. He therefore reſolving upon this, try'd firſt to deceive the Enemy by feigning another enterpriſe. He ſent *Il Signor d'Altapenna*, together with Marquis *Vaſto*, into the utmoſt Confines of *Brabant*, and gave them ſo many Horſe and Foot as he thought neceſſary for that purpoſe. They went their wayes, and with ſeveral appearances infuſed fear into the Enemies in thoſe parts; in ſo much as Count *Maurice* and Count *Hollack* came ſuddenly thither. Having made this diverſion, *Ferneſe* turn'd preſently upon *Sluce*, and towards the end of *May* incamped before it. *Sluce* does not lie altogether upon the Sea-ſide, as doth *Oſtend* but a little more within land: yet there runs a Channel on the right hand of it, whereinto the Sea enters, and is large enough to receive any whatſoever Veſſel; on the other ſides thereof ſome other leſſer Channels joyn with this greater, ſo as there is but little manageable earth, unleſs it be of one ſide only, which is towards the part called *Bruges*, becauſe it lies neareſt to that City. An Iſland of about two leagues about lies almoſt over againſt *Sluce*, between the bigger Channel and ſome others on that part, which fall all of them into the Sea; and it is called *Caſſante*. *Sluce* might be relieved by Sea from *Fluſhing* particularly by this Iſland, and by Land from *Oſtend*, which lies upon the ſame Sea-coaſt towards the Weſt about ſome five leagues from *Sluce*, *Fluſhing* lying much upon the ſame diſtance towards the Eaſt. The Enemy had a Fort midway between *Oſtend* and *Sluce*, which was very commodious for bringing ſuccour to the beſieged on that ſide, which was called the Fort *Blanchemberg*. When the Duke was incamped about the *Sluce*, he forthwith went about to take the Fort. The Enemy had not provided very well for it; as well for that they were buſied about other things of greater neceſſity, as for that they did not expect the Kings Forces at that time thereabouts. This Fort being ſet upon by the Kings men, made not much reſiſtance: yet thoſe within it would wait till the Cannon was brought, which when they were preſented, they made no further defence. The Fort being left well guarded, the Duke returned preſently to his already begun enterpriſe. He had not much above 8000 Foot with him, and but a very few Horſe;

Horſe; for there was no need of any more, in that ſo low and watery ſituation. Many of his Souldiers were gone to the diverſion which was to be made by *Altapenna*, and the Marquis *Vaſto*. The Quarters being taken and fortified, the firſt thing the Duke did was to plant a Fort upon the Iſland of *Caſſante*, in a certain bending of the greater Channel which waſheth *Sluce*. By it ſuccour might be brought from *Sluce*. And becauſe the Fort was not able to hinder the bringing of it, there were ſome great Barks placed in the midſt of the Channel, faſtned one to another, and well furniſht with Mariners, Souldiers, and Artillery, whereby the paſſage of the Boats with which the Enemy might endeavour to relieve the Town was ſo much the more diſturbed. The Duke, the better to defend the Boats, made ſome Works over againſt them on each ſide of the River. The Channel was not notwithſtanding above three quarters of a mile over; and as for the reſt, no relief could be brought by them. Yet to be the ſurer on that ſide, the Duke ſent ſome Horſe and Foot into the Iſland of *Caſſante* to watch over all the proceedings of the Enemy on that ſide which was neareſt *Fluſhing*. He then bent towards the taking of the Town. He could not accoſt it (as hath been ſaid) ſave only on the ſide towards *Bruges*; and the ground was there likewiſe very ſoft. *Min heer Groneveld* was Governour of *Sluce*, a valiant Souldier, as he very well proved himſelf to be in this defence: He had with him 2000 good Souldiers, part of which were ſent unto him by the Governour of *Fluſhing*, at the firſt appearing of the Kings men. No ſooner then did the Kings men begin to approach, but that the Defendants iſſued out in accuſtomed ſallies to oppoſe them. The Fort of *Bruges* was well fortified with good Flanks; and the beſieged had likewiſe raiſed a Fort without the Gate to keep the Kings men the further from the Ditch. *Ferneſe* knew that this Fort was by all means to be won, which he reſolutely went about. It was oft-times aſſaulted, and as oft ſtoutly defended; but at laſt the Enemy were glad to quit it. Hereby the Royaliſts had the better conveniencie to make their approaches. The Marquis of *Renty* had the chief care of the Trenches, who was one of the chief Lords of *Flanders*, and of moſt credit for valour and fidelity. By him the Works were with great vigilancie led on: but being too fervent and forward therein, he was ill wounded, and was inforced to withdraw from thence. Monſieur *de la Motte* ſucceeded in his place, a man of quality likewiſe, and of like valour and fidelity: But he proved no more fortunate; for as he was with equal fervencie ſurveying the Works, he received ſo dangerous a wound in one of his Arms, as to ſave his life it was cut off. In the defence of the Trenches, *John d' Aquila* a Spaniſh Camp-maſter, together with many Captains, and Souldiers of inferior condition were ſo ſorely hurt, as the Royaliſts could not pay dearer for their endeavours on that ſide. And yet they ſuffered very much on another ſide. To come to the Trenches, the Kings men were of neceſſity to paſs over a Bridg which lay ſo open to the wall of the Town, as thoſe within might with great ſafety to themſelves ſhoot at them. The Royaliſts placed a great Cloth before it, ſo to make the Enemy ſhoot at leſs certainty. But notwithſtanding this, the damage was very great which they received, and continued ſo to be till the Royaliſts had advanced further, and ſo bereft the Enemy of that advantage. This was the condition of the Siege, when the Earl of *Leiceſter* being ſent by the Queen, who had agreed the buſineſs between him and the Flemiſh as well as ſhe could, returned from *England*. He arrived in *Zealand* about the middle of *June*, and brought with him a good recruit of Engliſh Horſe and Foot. When he came to *Fluſhing*, he met Count *Maurice* there likewiſe, who had left *Hollack* to grapple with *Altapenna* and *Vaſto*. When they came to treat of relieving *Sluce*, the reſolution was to endeavour it by Sea. To this purpoſe as many ſhips as was needfull being provided, about 5000 Foot and 600 Horſe were put aboard them, with all other neceſſaries to ſecure the City when they ſhould have brought in the ſuccour. Within a few houres the Fleet appeared in the Channel, and *Leiceſter* within ſight of the beſieged ſtrove to encourage them, and ſignified to them by ſigns, that for certain he would relieve them. But having diſcovered further into the Channel, he found that paſſage ſo blockt up, and ſo ſecured, as he thought it was impoſſible to be overcome. The Fleet ſtood in ſuſpence three dayes in the ſame place, between their deſire of effecting

fecting the succour, and the difficulty of doing it; at last weighing anchor, he steered towards *Ostend*, the Councel having resolved to endeavour the succour on that side by land. *Ferneſe* being aware of the designe, forthwith reinforced the Fort of *Blanchemberg* with some foot and horse: which obstacle was to be removed by the enemy, before they could relieve *Sluce*. And so they resolved to do, as soon as they had landed their men, to whom they added the whole Garison of *Ostend*; they marched against the Fort of *Blanchemberg*. The loss thereof was of as great consequence to *Ferneſe*, as the getting of it was to them: wherefore leaving the siege every where well provided, he himself together with all the rest of his men, marched towards the enemy. They were already ready to play upon the Fort; but when unexpectedly they saw the Kings men in their faces, after they had awhile consulted whether they should fight or retreat, they would not at last joyn battel; but withdrew again to *Ostend*. From thence they returned again with the same Fleet, to the same place where they were formerly near *Sluce*. But *Ferneſe* returning likewise suddenly back, gave them no greater hopes of succouring the besieged. So as they fell off again, and appeared there no more.

The hindring of this succour did much incourage the Kings men; and though it had the contrary effect upon the besieged, yet did they not omit to make resistance. The Kings men had not as yet made any formall batteries. The work of the Trenches was prolonged longer then they thought it would have been, by reason of the condition of the ground, of the opposition made by the enemy, and divers other things. But at last the Trenches were advanced as far forward as was requisite: wherefore they delayed no longer to play upon the Town. This could only be done (as hath been said) on the part towards *Bruges*. They raised but one only battery; marry it was one of the greatest that hath been seen in as many sieges as hath been made in *Flanders*. For 40 great pieces of Canon were planted thereupon. And at the first bout in the space of eight hours they made above 4000 shot, as was particularly counted: which made a breach in the wall neerest the gate, of above 20 yards long. The breach being made, before the Royalists resolved upon the assault, they saw that the defendants had raised a great half moon behind the wall, and that they had so fortified themselves there, that it would have cost them much bloud to enter by assault. Nor were some defences wholly taken away which were thrust forth from out the wall that was plaid upon. So as *Ferneſe* thought it better to advance by the wonted way of filling up of ditches, with mathooks and mines; and spare his souldiers bloud, though he were somewhat longer in getting the Town. By which way at last (after the enemies had made all possible resistance, in defending the ditch, in meeting with their Mines, and in all other manner of opposition) the siege was brought to an end, and the Town surrendred upon all the most honourable conditions that could be desired. The 2000 of the Garison that were in it, were reduced to little more then 600. and more of the Kings men were lost in this siege, then in the three preceding ones of *Graves*, *Venlo* and *Nuys*. This mean while the before mentioned diversion was made by *Altapenna* and *Vaſto*; but the motion was afterwards turned to necessity: for the enemy thinking likewise to raise the siege from before *Sluce* by diversion, had assembled a good strength of men about *Balduke*, and threatned that City. The Kings men being then past from *Brabant* into *Ghelderland*, had no other end but to wait upon the enemy, and rather to hinder their proceedings, then to make any further progress themselves. They notwithstanding advantaged themselves by getting the Town of *Ghelders*, which by Treaty was delivered up to *Altapenna*. Colonel *Paton*, a Scotchman was Governour thereof; who fearing lest *Lester* would take that Government from him, and bestow it upon some Englishman, would by this act of perfidiousness prevent the act of injury, at least by him so reputed. But the Royalists on the contrary received two great losses. The one was, that *Altapenna* as he would have relieved the Fort of *Engelen*, received a mortal wound whereof he died the next day. The other, that the Count of *Hollack* did within a few days take that Fort. The name whereof was afterwards changed to *Creve-coeure*, alluding to the sorrow which the loss thereof would cause in the Kings men; they were both really

really great loſſes. For *Altapenna* was a Gentleman of much valour, great command, and of very great fidelity; and that Fort guarded a Paſs over the *Mauſe*, which was of the greateſt importance for the ſervice of *Balduke* of any that was thereabouts. The Duke of *Parma* having taken *Sluce*, would preſently have beſieged *Oſtend*. But the enemy had ſo well munited that place, and it was ſo difficult a buſineſs to keep it from being relieved by reaſon of its ſituation, as the Duke forbore doing it at that time. Moreover the reſolutions which the King of *Spain* had put on againſt the Queen of *England*, ſummoned him to other deſignes. The loſs of *Sluce* had this mean while cauſed much quarrelling between the Flemiſh and the Engliſh; each blaming the other for not relieving it. The Flemiſh imputed it to *Leiceſter*, as having endeavoured it too late; and *Leiceſter* complained of the Provinces, for that they had not time enough furniſhed him with requiſite proviſions. Wherefore the Queen weary of hearing ſo many complaints; as alſo of being at ſo great expence; or rather finding her ſelf diſdeceived in her hopes of coming to greater Authority amongſt the Flemiſh: ſhe thought it better to move ſome Treaty of accommodation in the Affairs of *Flanders*. Which it may be believed ſhe was chiefly perſwaded unto, thereby to try whether ſhe could avoid the Tempeſt of Arms which the King of *Spain* already threatned her withall. She thought the King of *Denmark* might be a fitting Inſtrument for this purpoſe, wherefore ſhe turned her ſelf to him. Nor was he backward therein; but readily imbracing it, ſent *John Ronſovio* forthwith to *Bruſſels*, who was well received by the Duke of *Parma*, and was afterwards well approved of by the King of *Spain*. The Schools from whence the negotiations of Princes proceed, are always full of deep myſteries. And though it be deſired, their hidden and reſerv'd ends, either cannot or ought not to be penitrated into. It was notwithſtanding conjectured, that the Queen and King deſired interchangeably to delude one another in this kind of negotiation ſo as thoſe proviſions which were making on both ſides, might be a little ſlackned. The United Provinces ſeemed moſt averſe to this kind of negotiation. For their anſwer to *Leiceſter*, who had ſundry times made ſeveral propoſals to them about it, was reſolutely this.

That they would never return again under the King of Spains *obedience: and that though the Queen ſhould abandon them, they would not notwithſtanding deſiſt from doing what they could in their own defence even till the laſt gaſp.*

But whatſoever ſhould come of it, or what ever the end of this Treaty might be, the King and Queen reſolved to ſet it on foot; and choſing *Burborg*, a little Town between *Dunkirk* and *Gravelin*, for the place, they ſent ſome particular Commiſſioners thither to that end. In the Kings name there did intervene Count *Aremberg*, Knight of the golden Fleece; Mouſieur *de Campigni*, Lord Treaſurer; and *John Richardotto*, Preſident of the Councel of *Artois*. And for the Queen, the Earl of *Darby*, Knight of the Garter, and two others of her privy Councel: whilſt arms were handled in *Flanders* in one parr, and this Treaty was in hand in another, many frequent conſultations had been had, and were yet had in *Spain*, touching in what manner the King ſhould reſcent the injuries done unto him by the Queen of *England*. The King had been provoked long before this by the Queen of *England*, by her continual fomenting the troubles of *Flanders*; yet he thought he might diſſemble the offence, becauſe ſhe diſſembled the injuries: But the King was ſo moved at this laſt action, wherein ſhe had by ſo many helps ſo openly revived the rebellion of *Flanders*, when it was almoſt extinguiſhed, as he thought he could no longer forbear, ſhewing how ill he took it, by declaring open war againſt her: Yet openly to make war upon *England*, was of great conſequence to the affairs of *Spain*; ſo as the King before he would reſolve thereupon, would have it very well diſputed by his ableſt miniſters of State. *Alvaro di Baſſano* Marqueſs of *Sancta Croce*, a Perſonage very much cryed up for Naval Militia, was one of thoſe that perſwaded him moſt to this enterpriſe: he bore a great command at this time over the Kings Fleets in the Ocean; and by reaſon of his imployment, hoped it would fall to his ſhare to be the prime man in this famous expedition. Wherefore, whilſt they were treating one day of this buſineſs in preſence of the King, he ſpoke thus.

When

When I conſider (moſt mighty Prince) the glory and advantage of the propoſition in hand, and the hopes of ſeeing it happily effected, I confeſs I cannot forbear exhorting your Majeſty with all the power and efficacy I have, by all means to lay hold of it: your Majeſty may chiefly glory in the Auguſt Cognomen *of moſt Catholick: and that you have much more made it good in your actions, then uſed it in your Title. What greater glory can you then deſire, then, in the firſt place, to reſtore ſo great and ſo noble a Kingdom, as is* England, *to due obedience to the Church, and to the ancient veneration of the Altars? And what greater renown, then to beat down Hereſie there, where her moſt rebellious enſignes are raiſed up; that Iſland being made as it were an inexpugnable Sanctuary thereof? How much hath Piety and Religion flouriſh'd formerly in that Kingdom? How many Catholicks are there yet there? And how do they long to ſee an end of that bitter perſecution which they ſuffer there? And to proceed to the advantage of the propoſal: It is well known, that* Spain *can reap no greater advantage, then in being no longer oppoſed by* England. *From thence are the Indies infeſted, and your Fleets threatned. From thence is the Rebellion of* Flanders *fomented, and the manifeſt uſurpation of the Dominion therefore aſpired unto. And finally, From thence proceeds all the greateſt damages which the Crown of* Spain *ſuffers at this preſent: and from thence will the greateſt evils alwaies derive which ſhall at any time hereafter befall it. And for the happy ſucceſs of the enterpriſe; why ſhould not your Majeſty aſſure your ſelfe thereof? Your Forces at Sea have formerly been moſt powerful: How much more formidable wil they be made now by the addition of* Portugal? *And your reſent ſucceſſion to that Kingdom does plainly denote, that God hath been thereby pleaſed the more to facilitate this enterpriſe: 'Tis then to be beleeved that the Spaniſh Fleet by Sea will be of that Potency, as it will not to be withſtood by all the maritime Forces of* England, *though aſſiſted by* Holland *and* Zealand. *The Army by land which the Duke of* Parma *hath lately increaſed in* Flanders *may at the ſame time correſpond with the Fleet which ſhall come from* Spain. *When the Channel ſhall be poſſeſt by your Fleet, the Army may be eaſily conveyed over into the Iſland: where when it ſhall be landed, and all your Majeſties Forces joyned, what ſhall withſtand them from entring ſuddenly into the heart of the Kingdom? For it being an Iſland, nature defends it onely by ſituation, no uſe being made to fortifie it by induſtry. When this ſhall be once done, and* England's *fomenting be ceaſed, it is not to be doubted, but that the Rebellion in* Flanders *will ſoon ceaſe likewiſe. Fire laſts as long as do the materials wherewith it is fed; when thoſe fail, the greateſt fires go out, and end in aſhes.*

John Idiaques, one of the Kings Officers moſt imployed in Court at that time, appeared in Councel to be of a contrary opinion. *Idiaques* had been for many years Ambaſſador, firſt at *Genua*, then at *Venice*; and after his return to Court the King had always imployed him in managing the moſt important affairs of the Crown. He ſpake thus.

The firſt thing that is to be taken into conſideration (moſt mighty Prince!) is, in my opinion, the difficulties of the undertaking which is now in diſpute. And to ſpeak my mind freely, I think them ſo great, as there is but very little hope of good ſucceſs. England *(as every one knows) is ſo ſituated, hath ſuch Forces, ſuch Inhabitants, and is governed after ſo peculiar a manner, as it will be too hard a matter for any Foreign Nation to land there, much more hard to keep there when they are landed. That Kingdom is incloſed and fortified on all ſides by the Sea; the Havens there are but few, and any Fleet may be eaſily kept from entring thereinto. The* Engliſh *yield not to any Nation of the world for skill in maritime affairs; and their maretime Forces, together with thoſe that will be added to them by* Holland *and* Zealand, *may without doubt oppoſe whatſoever Fleet* Spain *can ſet forth, at leaſt by way of defence. But ſay that our men were landed in the Kingdom, how can we hope to eſtabliſh them there? Uſually in the making of Conqueſts, ſome internal diſpoſition is required, and there is a continual neceſſity of external aids to maintain them. There can no ſafe correſpondencie be hoped for from the* Engliſh, *it being a Nation which will ſuffer no other Government then its own: And ſuccours from elſwhere will be ſo hard to be effected, ſo expenſive, and ſo uncertain, as the Forces of* Spain *which are already ſo diſtracted will never be able to ſupply them. Hath not your Majeſty experience by your marriage with Queen* Mary, *how much the* Engliſh *doe hate all manner*

of Foreigners, and how contrary all the Laws of the Kingdom are there unto? Is not the Rebellion of Flanders *ſufficient to let out the beſt blood of* Spain, *without adding thereunto that which you ſhall ſuddenly ſee ariſe in* England? *Then ſince there is ſo little hope of any good ſucceſs in this affair, methinks it were better to let it alone, and ſo to reſent the wrongs done unto you by the Queen, as fighting with her at her own weapons, not to come to open war upon her States. If war ſhall be made, and the deſign not ſucceed, how much more will ſhe oppreſs the Catholicks of* England *and of* Ireland? *How will ſhe foment the troubles in* Flanders? *nouriſhing ſtill her own deſire of uſurping the government thereof? And how much more juſtly ſhall ſhe plot all manner of miſchief with the* Hollanders *and* Zealanders *to the Crown of* Spain *in the* Indies, *and in all other parts? So as by this enterpriſe no glory or advantage will redound to your Majeſty, but ſhame and loſs. Let your Majeſty therefore bend all your might to end the Rebellion of* Flanders. *The Duke of* Parma's *Army being reinforced by Land, and the Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand *being ſet upon by Sea with the ſame Forces which would be imployed againſt* England, *your Majeſty may ſafely believe to ſee that Rebellion ſubdued, and the Church reſtored to its former right, as alſo your Royal Crown. If in the mean while the Queen of* England *ſhall continue to aggravate her offences yet more againſt your Majeſty, then may you reſent your ſelf againſt her in open war with more expedition, more advantage, and more happy ſucceſs. The former ſucceſs will doubtleſly very much help the other: Whereas on the contrary, if the deſign of aſſaulting* England *miſgive, as it is to be feared it will; for my part I fear (and I wiſh my fears may prove falſe) the Rebellion of* Flanders *will never have an end.*

The Duke of *Parma* being deſired to ſignifie his mind in this point, ſeemed to incline to this ſecond opinion. And howſoever, if the buſineſs concerning *England* were to precede, he ſaid that ſome Port or Haven in *Zealand* was firſt to be won; and this out of two very important reaſons: The one, that upon any occaſion the Spaniſh Fleet might have ſome ſafe and near refuge; and the other, that the Kings Havens in the Province of *Flanders* might not be hindred by the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, in the Duke of *Parma's* tranſporting his Army into *England*. The King ſtaggering between theſe two opinions, was a while in diſpute with himſelf which of them to follow: But in fine it appeared, that the ſecuring of *England* did ſo abſolutely draw with it the putting an end to the Rebellion of *Flanders*, as it was reſolved in *Spain* to make all the ſpeed and all the greateſt preparations that might be for the execution of this enterpriſe. The King was afterwards the more encouraged herein, by the diſpoſition he found in the Pope not only of approving, but of favouring the deſign. *Sixtus Quintus* was then Pope, who appeared very zealous in maintaining the univerſal cauſe of the Church. In the particular of *England*, he conſidered what had befaln in the time of *Pius Quintus*, by whom he had been made Cardinal. When Pope *Pius* found that the Queen of *England* grew ſtill more perverſe in proſecuting the Catholicks, and to doe all ill to Religion both at home and abroad, he at laſt publiſhed an Apoſtolical Bull, wherein was contained ſuch puniſhments againſt her, as the Church in like caſes had alwayes wont to inflict. But inſtead of being thereby bettered, the Queen grew more cruel and impious: Nothing was ſeen or heard of in that Kingdom, but a perpetual, irremiſſible fury againſt Catholicks; ſome were baniſht, others impriſoned, others deprived of their goods together with their Country, and many bereft both of goods and life: The Prieſts were chiefly perſecuted; and Hereſie triumphing over their puniſhments, and to ſee their Miniſtery already wholly routed out, 'twas thought the Queen intended fully to extinguiſh all the remainder of Catholick Religion, and all the footſteps of that Piety which for ſo many Ages had ſo exceedingly flouriſht there. Nor was her hatred towards the Church bounded within her own Dominions; it was known how greatly, and how continually ſhe fomented the Heretical factions of *Germany*, *France*, and *Flanders*, to nouriſh troubles there, and particularly to beat down the Catholick religion: by her means likewiſe *Scotland* was greatly ſubverted; and her beheading of the Queen of *Scots*, who had been alwayes very zealous in the Catholick cauſe, was generally deteſted by all the Catholick Princes of *Europe*, and in particular had cauſed much horror in the Pope. Wherefore

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joyning this with many other actions whereby the Queen did ſo cruelly afflict the Church, and diſturb the publike peace almoſt every where, he conſidered he was not to let ſlip the occaſion now preſented of favouring the King of *Spains* aforeſaid enterpriſe, thereby to advantage the Catholike cauſe univerſally over all *Europe*, and particularly in *England* and *Ireland*. To this purpoſe he thought it fit to make a Subject of *England* Cardinal; and this was Doctor *Allen*, who was one of the antienteſt and moſt qualified Eccleſiaſticks, both for learning wiſdom, and goodneſs, of all thoſe of that Nation that were abroad. *Allen* was then at *Rome*; and the Popes intention was to ſend him into *Flanders*, and then into *England* (in caſe the deſign ſhould ſucceed) there to exerciſe ſuch Miniſterial duties, as ſhould upon ſuch an occaſion be moſt needfull for the ſervice of the Church, and particularly for thoſe Catholicks.

The Pope being thus minded, the King applied himſelf with all fervencie to the buſineſs, and to make very exceeding great preparations both by Sea and Land. He gave the care of the maritime preparations to the Marquis *de la Croce*, and deſtin'd him to the Naval command. As for the Land, he would have the greateſt Forces be raiſed in *Flanders*; and that the Duke of *Parma* ſhould carry that Army which was under his command over into *England*, and that he ſhould have the chief command thereof, as alſo of all the reſt who were brought in the Fleet to land in the Iſland. Theſe Orders being given out by the King, the noiſe thereof began to be heard throughout all his Kingdoms; each of them ſtrove which ſhould provide moſt ſhips, greateſt ſtore of victuals and warlike ammunition, in ſo great ampleneſs as ſo high a deſign did require. Great preparations of all theſe things were made in *Sicily*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and in all the maritime Coaſts of *Spain*, and eſpecially in the building of great abundance of ſhips whereof the Fleet was to be compoſed. Such men as were neceſſary for the ſervice were alſo raiſed in all parts; and in fine, the reſolution was to make an Armado ſo powerfull in all conditions, as the like had never been known at any time to be upon the Sea. The Duke of *Parma's* diligence in making preparations in *Flanders* in behalf of the enterpriſe, was this mean while no whit leſs. After the getting of *Sluce* he went to *Bruges*, and kept there as in the fitteſt place of all the Province of *Flanders*, to diſpoſe of all things neceſſary for the tranſporting of his Army into *England*: To recrute it with men, the King had given order that *Biaggio Cappizucchi* in *Italy* ſhould raiſe a Brigado of Foot in the State of *Urbin*: and that *Carlo Spinulli* ſhould do the like in the Kingdom of *Naples*; That the Marqueſs of *Brogaut*, brother to the Cardinal *Andrea d' Auſtrea*, ſhould raiſe another in *Germany*, greater then ordinary: That the reſt of the German Nation that were on foot, ſhould be filled up; and that the like ſhould be done amongſt the Burgonians and Walloons: That a good body of men ſhould be ſent from *Spain* to recruit the old Brigadoes: That in in fine, the field Army of *Flanders* ſhould be compoſed of 30000 Foot, and of 4000 choiſe Horſe; all of which, or at leaſt the greateſt part were to be imployed in the expedition for *England*. An infinite proviſion of things was required to tranſport ſuch an Army, and to provide it with all things neceſſary to lead on the enterpriſe ſucceſsfully on that ſide. They purpoſed to embarke the men at *Newport* and *Dunkirk*; and a great number of veſſels was neceſſary to tranſport them: And though theſe were rather to be for burthen, then war, and rather low built then high; yet the aſſembling ſo many of them, brought with it both great expence of time and monies: and amongſt other things, a great number of Artificers were requiſite to be had to do the workmanſhip, and of Mariners to govern them. The Duke of *Parma* had great ſcarcity of both theſe, and was likewiſe jealous of them, by reaſon of ſuch mens being inclined to follow rather the Hollanders and Zealanders, (in whoſe Seas they were for the moſt part born and bred up) then the Kings party, where their profeſſion was but little practiſed; inſomuch as the Duke was glad to ſend for ſome from the *Baltick* Sea, and to make proviſion of them in divers other parts of the lower ſide of *Germany*. The aforeſaid Veſſels were moſt of them built in *Antwerp*, and many in *Gaunt*, *Newport*, and *Dunkirk*. Thoſe of *Antwerp* were to be brought by the *Scheld* to *Gaunt*, and from thence to *Bruges* by a Channel cut by hand, which goes from the one City to the

other. And upon this occaſion the Duke cut another channel likewiſe from *Bruges* to *Newport*, to the end that the Veſſels might fall the more commodiouſly into the ſea, and there joyn with thoſe of *Dunkirk*.

During the noiſe of ſo great preparations made in all parts of *Italy*, *Spain* and *Flanders*, to aſſault *England*, that year ended; and the year 1588 commenced; which was particularly remarkable for this enterpriſe ſake. The deſigne was not notwithſtanding publickly declared; but the King ſtriving as much as he could to conceal it, made it be given out, that ſo great a preparation by land and by ſea, was intended againſt the Rebels in *Flanders*. And to keep them likewiſe in ſuſpence, he cauſed the begun negotiation between him and the Queen touching the accommodation of the Affairs in thoſe parts to be continued. Other reports were given out, that the King intended a good part of the Fleet by ſea for new deſignes which he had upon the *Indies*. Some times the preparations ſeemed to cool: But at laſt they grew to ſuch a greatneſs, and ſo many ſignes appeared of their being preciſely deſtin'd for *England*, as there was no room left for doubt. The Queen, ſeeing her ſelf threatned by ſo great a tempeſt, betook her ſelf to make all ſuch preparations likewiſe on her part, as might be neceſſary to withſtand it. She gave order to *Charls Howard*, Admiral of *England*, a Lord of a very Noble Family, and of great imployment, that he ſhould powerfully reinforce her uſual Fleet; and that he ſhould make all other ſuch proviſions as were needfull to furniſh it with Souldiers, Mariners, Victuals, and Ammunition of War. But ſhe gave unto him Sir *Francis Drake*, for a particular aſſiſtant herein; one that was then the moſt eſteemed amongſt all the Engliſh for ſea affairs, and famous likewiſe thorowout all other Nations, for many memorable ſea-voyages which he had made, and for many enterpriſes which he with great boldneſs had effected. Such a preparation required great expence, and a great inclination of the Kingdom to effect it: Wherefore the Queen called a Parliament: without the Authority whereof the Kings of *England* cannot receive any ſupplies of monies upon any extraordinary occaſion: The Parliament being met at *London*, the Queen would one day appear there in perſon, and went thither in the greateſt glory that might be. Where being placed under her cloth of State, and having ſo compoſed her countenance, and other geſtures of body, as might moſt take the Aſſembly, ſhe ſpake thus.

Anno 1588.

What a weight of war, my Lords, and you my beloved of the Houſe of Commons, is threatned againſt me at this time by the King of Spain, *each of you who know the preparation, will eaſily believe the deſigne: nor is the pretence leſs apparent. That King complains that I have always favoured his Rebels (as he is pleaſed to term them) of* Flanders. *And eſpecially with ſo many forces, and ſo openly in theſe their laſt neceſſities. I confeſs the action; and do ſtill more commend the advice given unto me therein by my Councel. Since in effect I could do nothing which was more praiſe worthy for juſtice, or more neceſſary for convenience. Every one knows the near Confederacies which paſt between the Kings my predeceſſors, and the houſe of* Burgony, *whilſt the Provinces of* Flanders *were under the Government thereof. Nor was this a bare Union between Prince and Prince; but it extended from Nation to Nation; and almoſt from private man to private man; ſo great were the conſiderations both of neighbourhood, Traffick, and the conformity of Government, and of all other Intereſts, to make both peoples as it were but one and the ſame. Every concern being then ſo united between the Flemiſh and the Engliſh, how could I abandon thoſe, and not abandon theſe? Nothing is more juſt then to defend the oppreſſed: nothing more becoming a regal condition, then to take ſuch into protection. And if the moſt remote people may merit ſuch a favour, how much more may our neighbours deſrve it, and thoſe between whom and us there is ſo near a conjunction. Nor ought the Flemiſh to be ere a whit leſs aſſiſted by me, out of juſtice, then out of conveniency. You ſee whether the vaſtneſs of the Spaniſh Empire is arrived. And how much more this Kingdom in particular, is now indangered by the addition of the Crown of* Portugal *thereunto. The deſigne of oppreſſing* Flanders *is apparently ſeen, to the end that ſuch Forces both by land and by ſea, may be planted there, as may ſerve to make* Spain *impoſe what Laws it ſhall pleaſe, both upon the North and Weſt. In this caſe* England *and* Ireland *being incompaſſed therewith, why may we not fear that they*

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may ſuffer the like evils as Flanders *ſhould have done? So as by my ſuccouring of thoſe Provinces, I pretend to have at the ſame time ſecured my own Dominions. Here it is that the King of* Spains *ſhoe wrings him; and hence it is that he accounts that an injury, which I have done in mine own neceſſary defence. And could I appear more moderate then in refuſing the Soveraignty which the United Provinces did ſo freely and unanimouſly offer me? And yet how juſtly may I complain of ſo many injuries done to me by him? What, hath he not endeavoured to make* Ireland *rebel againſt me? What are his continual machinations to the ſame purpoſe with the Catholicks in* England? *and what doth he not in all other parts in hatred to my Kingdoms and to my perſon? It may then be ſafely concluded that he now makes open war upon me, not out of any true reaſon, but out of a falſe pretence: and that his true end is to invade this my Kingdom, and to endeavour by all the power he hath to get the Dominion of it. I therefore ſummon and exhort you my faithfull Subjects to the defence thereof: to the defence I ſay of a Kingdom which is more yours then mine; I being more yours then mine own. The marriage from whence I derive, was eſtabliſhed by Parliament: by the Authority of Parliament was I brought to the ſucceſſion of the Crown which I wear. The Religion which I follow is imbraced by the Parliament. I have acknowledged the Parliament to be my Father: and as I may ſay, have taken the Parliament for my Husband. For I have forborn marriage to avoid bringing of a foreign Prince hither, who by new Cuſtoms and imperious demeanours might trouble, not ſo much my own quiet, as the common happineſs of the Kingdom. By the miſeries of* Flanders *it may be comprehended, what thoſe of* England *would be, if the Spaniards ſhould enter here. We ſhould ſoon ſee new Tribunals of Inquiſition, new yokes of Citadels, new Laws, new burthens, new Cuſtoms, horror, cruelty and violence every where. I know you would not willingly fall into this condition; and that to keep from doing ſo, you will of your ſelves do all that lies in your power. This conſiſts chiefly in providing ſuch ſubſidies as ſo great an occurrency requires. Wherefore I beſeech you to give them ſo, as that the preparations on our ſide, may juſtly counterpoiſe thoſe which the enemy doth by ſo many ways order on his behalf. For what remains, every one knows what advantage the aſſaulted hath over thoſe that do aſſail. We ſhall particularly have the advantage very much, by defending a Kingdom to which the ſea ſerves for a Bulwark on all ſides. With our Forces, thoſe of our Confederates in* Flanders *will joyn; and all the Northern parts will unite themſelves with us, when they ſhall ſee this new deſigne of the Spaniards to invade* England, *after having endeavoured ſo cruelly to oppreſs* Flanders. *I the mean while, who may term my ſelf no leſs your ſervant then your Queen, will perform what it becomes me to do; and though a woman, reſt confident you ſhall find a manly ſpirit in me. And that I will cheerfully incounter death, if it ſhall be requiſite, ſo to end my life upon ſo worthy an occaſion.*

The Queen was indued with a very great wit, and with almoſt all ſorts of learning: which ſhe had particularly ſtudied in her younger years. And by reaſon of her then great age, and the opinion which was had of her ſingular gift of Government, ſhe was generally no leſs reverenced then beloved by her Subjects. Wherefore it is not to be expreſt, what affection her Parliament ſhewed towards her, and what indignation againſt the King of *Spain*, in their anſwer. 'She was 'aſſured by both the Houſes, that in her ſervice, and the ſervice of the Kingdom 'they would ſpend both their fortunes and their lives; and that they would be as 'ready to give Subſidies, as ſhe had been in deſiring them.

To this their diſpoſition of will, the univerſal diligence of effects did ſoon correſpond. Exact Guards were forthwith put into all the Ports of the Kingdom. Many men were raiſed for the Fleet by ſea, and to make two Armies alſo on land. The one under the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was ſent for back into *England* by the Queen; and the other under the Lord *Hunſdon*, who was likewiſe very much eſteemed of in the Military profeſſion. *Leiceſter* was chiefly to defend the banks of the Thames which runs through *London*, and to keep the Spaniſh Fleet from entring thereinto. And *Hunſdon* with his Army, which was the greater, was to keep more within land, and to guard the City of *London*, and the perſon of the Queen. All this while the aforeſaid Treaty of agreement in *Flanders* was continued by their Commiſſioners between the King and Queen. But this

th is Treaty ſuddenly vaniſht: For the Spaniſh Fleet being ready to put to Sea, and ſuch preparations as were needfull being likewiſe made in *Flanders*, the King would no longer defer the execution of his deſign.

The Fleet conſiſted, as it was generally reported, of 160 Sail of Ships, moſt of them Men of War, the reſt were for Carriage: They were almoſt all of them Galleouns, except ſome Galleaſſes and Gallies, which were to be rowed upon any occaſion. The Galleouns were like ſo many Caſtles in the Sea; they had high Towers in their Fore and Hinder-Deck, their Maſts were of an unmeaſureable greatneſs, their bodies were of a vaſt bulk, and the very leaſt of them bore no leſs then 50 great Guns. 22000 Foot and 1200 Horſe, all of them almoſt Spaniſh, were imbarked in the Fleet; amongſt the which there were above 2000 Voluntiers, all of them of the beſt Families of *Spain*. Of ſo great expectation was this enterpriſe, and ſo much had the King laboured to have it perform'd in the gallanteſt way that might be. The Fleet was to ſet forth about the beginning of *May*, and to hoyſt ſail. To haſten the which, the Marquis of *Santa Croce* was gone to *Lisbon*, where he was ſeiſed upon by ſo ſudden and ſo fierce a diſeaſe, as he dyed thereon in a few dayes ſpace. A great loſs, and whereat the King was very much grieved; who preſently ſubſtituted *Alonſo Peres di Guſman*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, in his place; a Perſonage of a very great Family in *Spain*, but one who had never been out of thoſe Kingdoms, and who was no wayes knowing in the maritime profeſſion. He made haſte to *Lisbon* to execute the Kings commands; but howſoever, this change of Admiral retarded the expedition for many dayes, inſomuch as the Navy could not get from *Lisbon*, in the Haven whereof the rendezvouz was, till the end of that moneth. *John Martines di Ricalde*, one very much verſt in Sea-affairs, was next in command under the Duke; nor were there wanting other Commanders of very great experience, who governed the particular Squadrons into which the Fleet was divided. At the ſame time the Kings Army in *Flanders* was in a fitting poſture for the deſign on that ſide: All the new men which were expected were come, and a great many of the Gentry were likewiſe come to fight under the Duke of *Parma* upon this occaſion; He gave a very honourable reception in particular to the Marquis of *Burgaut*, a Prince of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. There were come thither from *Italy* Don *Amadeo* of *Savoy*, Don *John* of *Medicis*, *Veſpaſian Gonzaga* Duke of *Sabionetta*, together with divers other *Italians* of very good quality. And from *Spain*, the Duke of *Paſtrana*, with divers others of very good eſteem in that Nation alſo. But to return to the Fleet. As ſoon as it was well got out of the Haven, a great Tempeſt aroſe, which did greatly diſorder and divide it; and was cauſe of the loſs of ſome of their Bottoms that were rowed with oars, which could by no means be ſaved. So as it was neceſſary to gather the Fleet together again, which could not be effected till the midſt of *July*, at *Corugna* in *Galatia*, not without great labour and ſuffering. It put forth again to Sea from hence. The Generall went in a Gally called St. *Martin*, famous for the Victory which the Marquis of *Santa Croce* had got in it in the buſineſs of the *Terzeri*. This ſhip was the *Capitana* or Admiral, and from this did all the other ſhips receive their orders. The Fleet advanced with a favourable wind, and about the end of *July* came within ken of *England*. Nor did the adverſe Fleet delay appearing, which conſiſted of not above one hundred Men of War, all of them very much inferior in body to thoſe of *Spain*, but much ſuperior in nimbleneſs and agility.

As ſoon as the *Spaniards* were entred into the Engliſh Channel, *Luis di Guſman* was inſtantly ſent by the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* to the Duke of *Parma*, to let him underſtand of his arrival in thoſe parts, and to ſollicite him to doe what was requiſite on *Flanders* ſide. The Spaniſh Fleet deſired nothing more then to fight and to grapple with the Enemy: wherefore as ſoon as the Engliſh Fleet appear'd, the other put themſelves in order. The Ocean never ſaw a more glorious ſpectacle then now. The Spaniſh Navy put it ſelf into the form of a Half-moon, there being a huge ſpace between the one Horn and the other. The Maſts, Sail-yards, the towring Fore and Hind-Caſtles which were ſeen to riſe up in ſuch an height and number from ſo great Piles, appear'd a Horror full of wonder, and made it be doubted whether it was a Wood upon the Sea or Land;

and

and whether of those two Elements had the greatest share in so glorious a fight. Thus was the Fleet ordered. It came but slowly on, even when their sailes were full; and the waves seemed even to groan under, and the windes to be weary in ruling such a weight.

Their end was, as I have said, to come up close up to hardy blows with the adverse Fleet; thinking themselves much too good for them, the difference between their ships and souldiers being considered: but the design of the English was clean otherwise: they desired to shun all formal battel, knowing their disadvantage therein. They considered that if they should be worsted, *England* would be lost: whereas if the Spaniards should come by the worst, all their indamagement would consist in the loss which they should thereby suffer. The English therefore resolved to annoy the Spaniards onely aloofe off, and to wait till some one of so many great Machines might quit the company of the rest, which then they might assault; for they thought it impossible but that this might happen among the Spanish ships, either by some tempest, or change of winde, or some other accidents which are usually seen in Navigation: and it was not long ere they met with such an occasion; for a great Galleoun of *Biscay* falling on fire, it was forced to tarry behinde; as likewise the greatest Galleoun of *Andalusia*, the main Mast whereof broke in two: Wherefore Sir *Francis Drake* invironing both the one and the other of them, with divers of his ships, took them both. In the first which was torn and consumed was *John di Guerra*, paymaster to the Fleet, with good store of money. And in the second, *Pietro di Valdes*, Camp-master of a Spanish Brigado, and a very valliant souldier. This first loss was a great one, and did forebode others which ensued. In the beginning of *August* the two Fleets were in sight one of another again: it fell out, that the Galleoun St. *John* of *Portugal*, wherin was the Admiral *John Martinus di Ricalde*, was divided from the rest: The English did not let slip the occasion of assaulting it; and were likely to have tane it, had not the General himself with his great Galleoun St. *Martin* come into the aid thereof: which for some hours did almost it self alone sustain the violence of the whole adverse Fleet. The English ships had a great advantage, as I have said, in being so manageable and dexterous; they were equally nimble in assaulting and in retreating; they tack'd about with all windes; they joyn'd and then sever'd again in an instant, as it made best for them. And their building was chiefly advantagious, in that they could easily shun the banks of sands, whereof the Englisn Channel is full, and all the Sea Coast thereabouts. To this was added, that their canon shot did seldom or never miss: whereas the Spanish ships which were built so very high, did still thunder in the air, without almost ever touching the Englisn vessels; and therefore the two Galleouns of the General and Admiral were ill handled by their Cannon shot: and upon that occasion a Galleas was likewise but ill treated, which at last ran on ground on the Coast of *France*, neer *Haure de Grace*, the Captain thereof being slain, and but few saved that were in her. The Catholick Fleet advanced afterwards further into the Channel, and came at last between *Calis* and *Dover*: from thence the Duke of *Medina* sent *Rodergio di Telio* to the Duke of *Parma*, who was still at *Bruges*, to advertise him thereof, and did very much solicit him to imbark his men, and to do whatsoever fell to his share. The Duke of *Parma* went presently from *Bruges* to *Newport*, and began to imbark his men; shewing notwithstanding, that it was impossible for him to put from that place and *Dunkirk* unless the D. of *Medina* would first free those two Havens from the ships wherewith the Hollanders and Zealanders did as it were besiege them. He affirmed, That this was the agreement made with the King; That his ships were therefore only to transport the Army; That they had no provision of Artillery; That they were no waies able to buckle with those of the Hollanders and Zealanders; And that, in fine, he would not rashly make the King of *Spain* lose the most flourishing Army that was ever seen in *Flanders*, and consequently *Flanders* it self; which would be left without any Forces or defence. This mean while the Spanish Fleet was advanced so far, as it might be seen from *Dunkirk*; where it cast anchor by reason of a great calm, which rendred it immoveable; and so happened to be in the midst between the Englisn Fleet, and that of the Hollanders

ders and Zealanders. Thus did all the Fleets ſtand ſtill for one whole day, till the night came: when it was dark ſome veſſels all on fire of a middle ſize might be ſeen to come at unawares towards the Spaniſh ſhips; they were eight in number, and came at a diſtance one from another, that they might enter on divers ſides upon the Spaniſh ſhips: they had not yet forgot the ſo hideous Fire-boats which were ſeen in the ſiege of *Antwerp*. Wherefore the Spaniards on the ſudden thought that theſe flaming veſſels of the enemies were of the ſame ſort, and were to work the ſame effect: They made no delayes; but aſtoniſhed with blinde fear, which was yet made more blinde by the darkneſs of the night; not ſtaying till the Enemies fire-boats came amongſt them, they began to weigh anchor, that they might run away. And ſuch was the fear, that many of the ſhips cut their cables, leſt they ſhould not ſave themſelves time enough: And as if Fortune would favour the Enemies invention, the winde roſe on a ſudden, by the blowing whereof the Spaniards feared the flames would gather force. One ſhip gave againſt another; thoſe that were fartheſt off thought the danger neareſt: the confuſion was ſuch as would allow of no command; and the horror of the night increaſed the diſorder every where, which howſoever would have been great enough by day. The aforeſaid fire-boats were notwithſtanding chiefly made for terror, and to make it be beleeved that they were ſuch as were thoſe of the ſiege of *Antwerp*. The Spaniſh Ships having avoided thoſe imaginary fears of fire, could not ſhun the other true apprehenſion of indamagement by a ſtorm which aroſe at Sea. At the appearing of day the Fleet found it ſelf in a great diſorder, and ſo parted, as many of the greateſt Galleouns being ſever'd from the reſt, they were ſuddenly ſet upon by the two adverſe Fleets. In one of thoſe Galleouns called the St. *Mathew*, was the Camp-maſter, *Diego di Pimentel*; and in another which was called the S. *Philip*, was *Francis* of *Toledo* for Captain. Both theſe ſhips fought a good while, and were ſuccour'd by the *Capitana*, which made them hold out the longer; but ſhe being likewiſe many times ſhot through and through, was at laſt forced to leave the other two, and ſeek to ſave her ſelf; the other two continued a valiant fight, till being born by the winde upon the ſands, both of them periſht; *Franciſco Tolledo* being drowned in the Sea, and *Pimentel*, with ſome others taken priſoners. A Galleaſs of *Naples*, over-ſet likewiſe upon the Coaſt of *Calis*, in which was *Hugo di Moncada*; who together with almoſt all that were in her, betaking themſelves to ſwim, were moſt of them drowned. Theſe great loſſes being had, and the Sea ſtill threatning greater; the Duke of *Medina* and his Councel thought fit, by all means, to carry back the Fleet to *Spain* as ſoon as poſſible might be: and it was already plainly ſeen, that it was impoſſible to cleanſe the coaſt of *Flanders* from the Enemies ſhips, as it was abſolutely neceſſary to do, if the Catholick Army were to be tranſported into *England*. Moreover, it was already known how well the Queen was provided for them within land: to which purpoſe, ſhe being pleaſed to ſhew her ſelf courageouſly on Horſe-back to both the aboveſaid Armies; the applauſe of ſuch an action is not to be expreſt, nor what courage the Queen did both receive her ſelf, and infuſe into o hers by doing it.

The Duke of *Medina* reſolving then to return for *Spain*, it was thought beſt to lanch farther into the Northern Sea, and take a greater compaſs, to ſhun the danger of the ſhelves of ſand which lye ſo thick upon the Weſtern coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. The General gave orders to this purpoſe; and amongſt other orders, commanded, that if the Fleet by occaſion of new Tempeſt ſhould be again diſordered, all the ſhips ſhould come to *Corugna*, and there ſtay one for another; nor was it long ere the apprehended danger hapned; and ſo unfortunately, as the former order could by no means be obeyed. Hardly had the Fleet ſet ſail towards the North, when one of the fierceſt tempeſts aroſe, that peradventure was ever ſeen at Sea: The day was at an inſtant turned to night; nothing but thunder and lightning, and other fatal ſignes were ſeen or heard every where throughout the air; the winde aroſe, and grew ſo high, as the waves transformed into mountains, and mounting up unto the skies, made voraginous caverns in the Sea: inſomuch, as the Mariners did almoſt loſe the uſe of their eyes; all the operation of their hands, and all ſuch orders as are

uſed

uſed to be obſerved between Pilot and Pilot, between ſhip and ſhip. Which driven on by the fury of the winds, gave forceably one againſt another; till enlarging themſelves by the ſame violence, they were at laſt diſperſt here and there, and whither ſo great an oppoſition of fortune would carry them. The Admiral *Ricalde* was one of the firſt that vaniſht from the Navy, and ſome other ſhips followed after his, more by conſtraint then choice. They thought at firſt that they were carried to the Iſlands of *Orkney* in *Scotland*: but at laſt they fell upon *Ireland*, where after being ill dealt withall by the Sea, they were but badly treated by the Inhabitants of thoſe parts. Yet before they could get thither, and afterwards in their return for *Spain*, ſome of thoſe ſhips periſhed unfortunately; and amongſt the chiefeſt and beſt qualified *Spaniards* which were there loſt, was *Alonſo di Leiva*, Generall of the Gallies in *Sicily*, who choſe to quit that Command, and to be a Voluntier in this ſo famous Enterpriſe.

It would be too long to relate how many others of Quality periſhed in this imployment: It will ſuffice to ſay, that there were not any parts of the Engliſh, Scotiſh, or Iriſh coaſts which were not innobled either by ſhipwracks, or by the death or impriſonment of ſome of the choiſeſt and beſt born Perſonages of all *Spain*. Some other ſhips came up to the Admiral *Ricalde* in *Ireland*; but all of them ſo ſhattered, as they had much adoe to recover *Spain*, and in the remainder of that voyage many of them periſhed. The place whereunto the reſt came for refuge, was St. *Anderos*, where *Ricalde* within a few dayes dyed, as alſo another chief Commander at Sea, called *Oquendo*; together with divers other perſons of quality, who through their ſo great ſufferings at Sea, dyed almoſt as ſoon as they came to Land. The Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, after having together with the common dangers fallen into many particular hazards of his own, arrived likewiſe about the end of *September* at the Port of St. *Anderos*, from whence he acquainted the King with his arrival, and gave him a full account of the whole ſucceſs of that expedition. This was that which befell the Spaniſh Armado which was ſent to aſſault *England*. Few enterpriſes were ever longer premeditated; few ever made with greater preparations; and none ever executed with greater misfortune. So fallacious doe the deſigns of Mortals uſually prove: And thus the Divine Providence doth often in the ſecret Decrees of Heaven determine things contrary to what Humane wiſdom hath in her pride determined here below.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Second Part.

BOOK V.

The Contents.

After the unfortunate ſucceſs of the Spaniſh Fleet, the Duke of Parma *goes from the Province of* Flanders *into that of* Brabant. *The ſituation of the Enemies new Fort, called* Schinck-Sconce: *What was the occaſion of making it, and how prejudicial it is to the Kings affairs and thoſe of the Archbiſhop of* Colen *in theſe parts. At the Archbiſhops deſire, the Prince of* Samay *is ſent by the Duke to recover* Bona. *The Duke hopes to get* Bergen ap Zome *by ſecret intelligence, but is deceived He ſends Count* Charles Mansfield *to beſiege* Vachtendonch, *who takes it.* S. Getrinburg *is delivered up unto him by the Garriſon thereof. The mean while he again ſtraitens* Reinberg. *Schinck dyes in attempting to ſurpriſe* Niminghen. Reinberg *ſoon after is ſurrendred. A Spaniſh Brigado mutinies, to* Ferneſe's *great diſpleaſure: which is increaſed by the loſs of* Breda. *Count* Maurice *raiſeth a Fort-Royal againſt* Niminghen. *The Duke of* Parma *prepares to go into* France. *The King of* Navar *and Duke of* Parma *compared together in Military qualities. The Duke goes from* Flanders, *comes to* Meos; *finds* Paris *reduced to the greateſt extremity of famine; reſolves to uſe all means to ſuccour it. The King of* Navar *oppoſeth him with all his Forces. The Dukes ſtratagem in ſhunning Battel, when he ſeems moſt deſirous to fight. The mean while he unexpectedly aſſaults and ſtorms the Town of* Lagny *upon the* Mearn, *and relieves* Paris *with great ſtore of victuals. The King of* Navar *retires much incenſt from thence. The Duke of* Parma *beſiegeth, and takes* Corbel *upon the* Sene. *From thence he returns to the* Low-Countries. *The King follows him, and endeavours*

to diſcompoſe him. But the Duke marches in ſo good order, as with ut receiving any conſiderable damage, he leaves France, *and returns to* Flanders.

THe Spaniſh Fleet being departed with ſo unfortunate ſucceſs, the Duke of *Parma* went preſently with his Army from *Bruges*. Whilſt he was in thoſe parts attending the expedition for *England*, he had not omitted to do what was fitting for the ſervice of the affairs of *Flanders*. We told you before that at the inſtant intreaties of the Archduke of *Colen*, the Duke had recovered the Town of *Nuys*, and beſieged *Reinberg*, both which places appertain to that Church. Being diverted from *Reinberg*, and drawn to relieve *Zutfen*, he could not as then do more in ſervice of the Archbiſhop. This mean while things went very much the worſe for him. *Schinck* was never quiet. Neither was it well known whether the vivacity of his underſtanding, or his vigorous proceeding was the greater. The *Rhine* after having run for a long ſpace in one only Channel, not being able any longer to keep within its own bounds, falls into two Currents, which become almoſt as capacious as the firſt. By theſe two is the Iſland of the antient Battavians formed, and the ſame name (though ſomewhat corruptly) is at this time preſerved there. *Schinck* thought it would be very convenient to build a Fort upon that point which the two arms of the river make. Wherefore preſenting himſelf before Count *Maurice*, he ſpake in a Military manner thus. *Anno* 1588.

Since my fortune was not (moſt illuſtrious Count) to ſerve under your Fathers Enſignes, I will wholly dedicate my ſelf to you, who are left in his place. And doubtleſly you will imitate him much more in valour then in bloud. What Martin Schinck *is, his actions have already ſhewn. Being ungratefully dealt with by the adverſe ſide, I will never be at quiet till I have revenged my ſelf. To this end I beſeech you hear a Propoſal of mine. Why do not we fortifie that point which is made by the* Rhine, *where it divides into two branches? How much advantagious will it be to raiſe a Fort there? All Veſſels which paſs from the one or the other part, will be inforced to ſtrike ſail, and to pay Tribute to it. It may be called the Bridle of the* Rhine. *And from thence may the banks thereabouts be overrun, and ſtill new progreſſes be made; and thoſe already made the better confirmed. In fine, no fort can be more advantagiouſly ſeated. I deſire no more but the trouble of building it, and of keeping it; and that it may be called by my name, that I may be the more obliged to defend it. Either my Military induſtry deceives me, or the enemy cannot receive a greater blow then this upon the banks of* Rhine.

Count *Maurice*, though he was yet very young, knew that *Schincks* propoſal muſt needs be of great conſequence: and he repreſented it ſo unto the States, as they reſolved it ſhould be done. And it was not long ere the Fort was made defendable, with ſuch flanks every where as the ſituation moſt required. It was afterwards munited with a good Gariſon, and with all things elſe that was thought neceſſary for the ſecurity thereof. This is the ſo famous Fort called *Schincks* Sconce, poſſeſt for almoſt fifty years together by the United Provinces: but which is of late years ſo much in every mans mouth, by reaſon that the Cardinal Infanta of *Spain*, did firſt ſo fortunately ſurpriſe it, and made it be ſo valiantly defended ſince; and for having been immediately indeavoured to be regained by ſo many ways, and by ſo great Forces by the United Provinces. From this Fort did *Schinck* every day make excurſions thereabouts, watching continually for ſome occaſion of ſurpriſal. *Niminghen* is not far from thence; the taking of which by ſtealth, it being a City of ſuch importance, was his chief deſign. But not thinking that he was then able to do it, he betook himſelf to ſurpriſe ſome Town belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, which might make amends for the late loſs of *Nuys*. Upon the ſame ſide of the *Rhine*, a little above *Colen*, ſtands the Town of *Bona*, which is one of the beſt that ſtands upon that river. *Schinck* gathering a number of men ſuddenly together, came by night to the aforeſaid Town; and through intelligence that he held with ſome that were within, placed a Petard againſt the gate which opens upon the river, broke it open, and ſuddenly made himſelf Maſter of that Town. The Archbiſhop of *Colen* had

recourſe immediately to the Duke of *Parma* for help; who though his mind were then fully bent upon the expedition for *England*, would notwithſtanding ſend him aſſiſtance. Whilſt then the preparations to aſſault *England* were at the hotteſt, the Duke diſpatched away *Charls de Croy*, Prince of *Simay* with 6000 foot, and 1200 horſe, to endeavour therewithall, and with thoſe which the Archbiſhop ſhould add thereunto on his part, the recovery of *Boxa*, and to put it abſolutely into his hands. *Simay* went his way, and came before the Town. The foot which he had along with him were Italians, Loraineſes and Germans: and the horſe were almoſt all Spaniards and Italians. *Schinck* had provided the beſt that he could for the Town; but yet not ſo as that it could make any long defence. The Kings men drawing near it began to ſtreighten it: it might be eaſilyeſt relieved on the ſide next the water; wherefore *Schinck* had raiſed two Forts on the contrary ſide of the river. The Kings men thought it therefore requiſite to raiſe one themſelves on the bank where the Town is ſituated, which they forthwith did. The chief care of this was given to the Italians, whoſe Campmaſter was *Carlo Spinelli*. But as much as they endeavoured to advance this work, as much did the beſieged ſeek to hinder it. Divers actions followed therefore hereupon, wherein the Royaliſts had the better at laſt; with particular praiſe to *Alexander di Monti*, who was one of the Captains of that Brigado. The Kings men having placed themſelves thus advantagiouſly in the chiefeſt part of the river, they thought it was beſt to take away the two aforeſaid Forts from the enemy, which were on the oppoſite ſide of the river, before they ſhould begin to play upon the Town; to the end that they might have no hope of relief. To this purpoſe *Simay* ſent over as many men as were needfull to the other ſide of the river, and playing firſt upon the weakeſt Fort, they ſoon took it. The other was ſomewhat greater and better munited; they were therefore ſomewhat longer in falling into the ditch, when as the Italians could not be kept from falling to the aſſault, though the batteries which were begun, were not yet perfected. But they paid dearly for their too great boldneſs; for they were beaten back, many of them being wounded, and many ſlain. The Fort was again plaid upon, and at laſt taken. The Kings men intending then to ſtorm the Town, prepared batteries in divers parts againſt it. But the defendants, weighing their hopes of keeping it, with the apparent danger of loſing it, would not hazard themſelves in making any longer defence. Wherefore they reſolved to put the Town immediately into the Archbiſhops hands. And the ſouldiers which were come into it from elſewhere, were ſuffered to go out upon honourable conditions. *Simay* having thus acquitted himſelf of that ſiege, returned immediately to the Duke of *Parma*, who was already preparing to go from the Province of *Flanders*. Before he went from thence two Scottiſh ſouldiers who were of the the Gariſon of *Berghen ap Zome*, came ſecretly to treat with him, and had plotted with him how to put a great Fort which was cloſe by *Berghen* into his hands, which when he ſhould have gotten, he might eaſily make himſelf Maſter of the Town: the having whereof would be of great advantage to the King. The Duke liſtned therefore willingly to this practiſe, and promiſed great rewards to the two ſouldiers who were the projectors. Reſolving therefore to make tryal of it, he ſent Count *Mansfield* before, with ſuch men as was thought neceſſary; but he deſired that the Count might firſt get footing in the Iſland of *Tolen*, near unto *Berghen*. Which paſs being taken, the chief execution of the ſiege would be afterward the more eaſie. When *Mansfield* was come thither, inſtead of finding the enemy unprovided, as he hoped he ſhould have done; he found them ſo well prepared, as he could by no means get into the Iſland. They were to wade through divers Channels; and then to paſs over certain banks, and they met every where with ſo ſtout oppoſition, as he was forced, and not without great prejudice, to retreat. The river of *Zome* paſſeth thorow the Town of *Berghen*, and a little beyond, it falls into a great Channel; where the enemy had raiſed a great Fort, and this was the Fort which was by ſecret intelligence to be put into the Dukes hands. When the Fort ſhould be taken, all relief would be cut off from the Town, and conſequently it would be the ſooner taken. The Duke himſelf was already come into the parts about *Berghen*: and one of the two Scots was in the Camp, who ſtill fed him more and more

more with hopes of effecting the buſineſs. VVherefore the Duke, chuſing out 3000 Foot, the greateſt part whereof were *Spaniards*, the reſt *Walloons*; and giving unto them the Camp-maſter *Zanchio di Lieva* for their Commander, he ſent them towards the Fort upon the coming on of night. The Souldiers were divided into Squadrons; the firſt whereof being come unto the gate, the Scotchman entred, and was followed by many who thought the buſineſs already done. But the fraud quickly appeared; for ſome thirty or forty of them being entred, an Iron Percullis was ſuddenly let down which ſhut up the gate, and all thoſe the Kings men that were within were cut in pieces; and a great hail of musket-ſhot was poured out upon thoſe without that were neareſt the gate, ſo as many of thoſe were likewiſe ſlain, and many wounded. The cheat being diſcovered, the Duke withdrew from *Berghen*; and fortifying ſome neighbouring places, the better to bridle that Garriſon, and the excurſions which it was uſed to make, he returned to *Bruſſels* about the midſt of *November*.

Before the Duke went from theſe parts, he ſent Count *Mansfield* into *Ghelderland*, to take *Vachendunch* from the Enemy. This is a little Town, not far from *Venlo*: but the low ſituation thereof, and the Fortifications which the Enemy had made about it, made it conſiderable, and the neighbouring Country was thereby much indammaged. The Count went, and having paſt the *Manſe* at *Venlo*, he ſate down before *Vachendunch*; the men that were with him were almoſt all of them Germans. The Souldiers that were in the Town, though they were but few, ſeemed notwithſtanding reſolute to defend it. Wherefore when the Count drew near, thoſe within failed not in making all neceſſary defence. Yet the Royaliſts advanced every day, till at laſt they might come to their Batteries: Then entring into the Ditch, and falling to work with their Mathooks and Mines, they proceeded ſo far, as the Defendants not being able to hold out longer, were inforced to ſurrender the Town.

With the end of this Siege did the Year likewiſe end, and the next of 1589. began. The Kings Army was this mean while mightily diminiſhed. The Marquis of *Borgaut* with the moſt of his Germans was gone from *Flanders*; and all the Souldiery of the other Nations were much leſſened. The Pay grew likewiſe every day ſcarcer; inſomuch as it was feared ſome diſorder might happen by way of Mutiny, to avoid the which the Duke had been ſtill very carefull. And though he had acquainted thoſe in *Spain* with the danger, yet he found but little remedy, by reaſon of the exceſſive expence the King had been particularly at in the late expedition for *England*. *Ferneſe* was much afflicted to find himſelf in this condition; but chiefly for fear leſt the King ſhould quickly ſend him to ſuccour the Catholick League in *France*, to the ſo great prejudice (as doubtleſly it might be feared) of the affairs of *Flanders*. To theſe afflictions of his mind, the like of his body was added. The Duke had abſtained from all ſorts of wine from his firſt coming into *Flanders*, for fear leſt the Gout (a diſeaſe hereditary to his family) might make him the leſs able for military exerciſe. In his ſtrongeſt dayes he might have ſuffered ſuch an abſtinence: but increaſing in years, his blood began to be corrupted, and ſome ſigns of a Dropſie appeared in him; which being increaſed by his labours and ſufferings, grew to that paſs, as it brought him (as you ſhall ſhortly hear) irrepairably to his end. Now to return to the new Year, and to relate the ſucceſſes of the beginning thereof: The Duke had an occaſion of making an acquiſition of great importance; but which ſoon drew with it a much greater loſs. *Edward Lanzavecchia*, a Souldier of great experience, and who of the Italians was well eſteemed by the Duke, was Governour of *Breda*. *Breda* is a place of great conſequence in *Brabant*: not far from St. *Getrenberg*, a place likewiſe of very great concernment. In St. *Getrenberg* was a Garriſon which was almoſt wholly *Engliſh*; who being ill paid, and but badly ſatisfied in divers other things, made it be feared that ſome novelty might happen there. Count *Maurice* knew how affairs went there, and ſought to appeaſe the Garriſon with ſome Pay; but the Souldiers having received part of their monies, grew more earneſt to have all the reſt: wherefore growing again importunate, they came from deſires to threats, nor was it long ere they broke forth into open mutiny. They ſaid notwithſtanding, that they would maintain the Town for the Queens ſervice. Nor could

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could Colonel *Norris*, a gallant Countryman of theirs, who was ſent to them by Count *Maurice*, and told them that the Queen would be offended at this action of theirs, prevail any thing with them. The mean while *Lanzavecchia* would not loſe this opportunity. From the very firſt time that the Garriſon had begun to be in commotion, he had underhand uſed all means to increaſe it, and to bring them at laſt to deliver up the Town to the Duke of *Parma*. To this purpoſe he offered them large rewards in the Dukes name; and particularly, that whatſoever Pay was due unto them by the States ſhould be forthwith paid them, and five Payes more by way of donative. Such a practice was ſhamefull, and would admit of no colour to honeſt it: yet the Garriſon kept it ſtill on foot, till growing more familiar with infamy, they reſolved privately to conſent thereunto, and to put it preſently into execution. Count *Maurice* was this mean while upon his march with a conſiderable ſtrength, to force the garriſon to their due obedience. On the one ſide he had taken a certain Bank, whereby to draw nearer to the Town, which is ſeated very low; and had provided certain ſhips in the Channel by which the Town is watered, on the other ſide, from which he prepared to play upon them with his Canon. The Garriſon delayed then no longer. The intelligence being ſoon diſcovered, they oppoſed Count *Maurice* every where, and made the Kings men march at the ſame time, that they might deliver the Town up unto them: The Duke himſelf would be preſent at this ſucceſs: wherefore leaving *Bruſſels*, and gathering the Garriſons of the neighbouring Towns haſtily together, he ſuddenly marched towards St. *Getrinberg*, reſolving to inforce *Maurice* either to fight, or to retreat. *Maurice* was not ſtrong enough to oppoſe the Kings men by land; and his men who were in the Channel could not eaſily be brought to joyn with thoſe on land. So as drawing off from the Town, the Duke entred thereinto; and cauſing full ſatisfaction to be given to the Garriſon according to the agreement made by *Lanzavecchia*, he put a Garriſon of the Kings thereinto, and returned again to *Bruſſels*. St. *Getrinberg* about the midſt of *May* fell into *Ferneſes* hands, who left the ſame *Lanzavecchia* there for Governour, continuing him ſtill notwithſtanding in the government of *Breda*. All the Souldiers who had ſurrendred the Town, paſt immediately under the Kings Colours; and the States made a ſevere Proclamation againſt them for ſo deteſtable and perfidious an act. A little before this the Archbiſhop of *Colen* was come himſelf in perſon to the Duke of *Parma*, and had very earneſtly deſired him that he would by all means beſiege *Reinberg* again. The Duke ſeemed willing thereunto; and gave order to the Marquis of *Barambone* Governour of *Ghelderland*, that he ſhould immediately ſtraiten the Town; but rather with intention to hinder the Garriſon from making excurſions at the preſent, then to make a formal ſiege before it. The Marquis of *Barambone* was one of the chief Lords of *Burgony*, and had the command of a Regiment of that Nation. He then went his way with that his Regiment, and with ſome other Regiments of *Walloon* Foot, and ſome Troops of Horſe. *Schinck* had fortified a little Village near *Reinberg*, called *Bliembech*, from whence the Enemy might the better make excurſions into the neighbouring parts. Wherefore *Barambone* reſolved firſt to take this place from them: Yet he had a tough buſineſs of it; he was forced to batter it, and to ſpend ſome time before it; till at laſt the Enemy agreed to come forth, and the Kings men entred the Village. Hence *Barambone* went to *Reinberg*, and ſate down before it; but not by way of any cloſe ſiege, becauſe (as hath been ſaid) he had not men enough to that purpoſe: wherefore it was not hard for *Schinck* to relieve it often; though upon a certain occaſion he was routed, and loſt many of his Souldiers. The Duke of *Parma* in this interim, after the taking of St. *Getrimberg*, hoped to get further advantages thereabouts. He therefore diſpatcht away Count *Charles Mansfield* with a great body of ſouldiers, to take firſt ſome weaker places, that he might afterwards the eaſilier force *Hueſden*, a good Town, very well fortified and garriſon'd. The Count took *Hemert*, and *Brachel*, places of ſmall importance, and hoped by intelligence to get into *Romerſvel*, a more conſiderable Town, and by the getting thereof to come the more eaſily by *Hueſden*. But neither did his intelligence take, nor could he by any means compaſs his other great deſign. This expedition proving but weak, the ſame *Mansfield* was ſent by the

the Duke towards the *Manſe*, to try whether he could get the Caſtle of *Loveſtein*, ſituated upon the lower point of the Iſland of *Bomele*, as hath been formerly ſaid. But he found both that Town, and all others in thoſe parts ſo well provided for by the Enemy, as he could doe nothing conſiderable there. *Schinck* this mean while overran all thoſe parts; and the terror occaſioned by the Sconce which he had newly built, and which was uſually called by his name, ſtill increaſed. Finding out an occaſion to aſſault ſome of the Kings Foot-Companies, who paſt over the *Rhine* to aſſiſt *Verdugo*, and who conveyed ſome monies to *Groninghen*, he haſted towards them; and meeting with them at unawares, he routed the men, took away their monies, and retired ſafely to his own Sconce. His chief deſign was, as we have ſaid, againſt *Nimínghen*. Where the *Rhine* divides it ſelf at the point of *Schincks* Sconce, leaving its former name, the left branch thereof is called *Wahale*, upon the right ſide of which branch ſtands *Nimínghen*, not above ſixe hours march from *Schincks* Sconce. *Schinck* being exalted in his imagination by ſo many advantages which he had gotten in thoſe parts, watcht continually for ſome opportunity to ſurpriſe *Nimínghen:* the Citizens whereof were very watchfull, and already a great hatred was conrracted between them and *Schink*. But it was not long ere he loſt his life in that deſign. And thus it fell out. Having made a great preparation of Boats and men, he went from his Sconce, and from thence entred the *Wahale*, to try a new ſurpriſe upon *Nimínghen*. He intended to come thither unexpectedly in the greateſt obſcurity of night, and to aſſault the City on the Rivers ſide, where he thought he might eaſilieſt atchieve his enterpriſe. But were it either that he did not well compute his Navigation, or that his Boats were over-heavy loaded, he could not get within ſight of *Nimínghen* till it was day. Yet the greater the difficulty was, the greater grew his daring. Wherefore advancing ſome of his fleeteſt Boats, he gave order that by all means the Souldiers which were in them ſhould endeavour to get upon the bank, and to make it good, till he with the reſt of his men ſhould come up to them. The firſt Souldiers ſucceeded in what they undertook: But a great rumor ariſing amongſt the Citizens at the firſt news hereof, many of them haſted to that place. *Schincks* men were on the contrary coming up againſt them; and thoſe that were firſt landed having taken a certain houſe which ſtood near the wall, and near one of the gates, ſtaid there, and fought very manfully. In this interim comes *Schinck* himſelf, and with couragious words, which were accompanied with no leſs couragious actions, he began to hearten his men, and chiefly with the hopes of plunder which they ſhould have by the winning of ſo rich a City. Thoſe within the Town were already in danger; when all the people joyning together, and men and women, old men and children, ſacred and profane perſonages, ſtriving who ſhould outdoe one another, the Enemies were beaten back on all ſides; who could hold out no longer, but being driven from the houſe which they had taken, and from the gate which they threatned, they were forced at laſt to think of retreating. Nor could that be done without great diſorder and prejudice, by reaſon of the difficulty in imbarking, and of the advantage which thoſe of the Town had over them upon ſuch an occaſion. Yet *Schinck* for a while made an undaunted reſiſtance, and many of his men proved themſelves to be Souldiers worthy of ſo valiant a Commander. But at laſt being wounded and bleeding apace, and a great many of his men being likewiſe wounded and ſlain, he could withhold his men no longer from throwing themſelves headlong into the Boats. Many of them could not get to them time enough, who were all cut in peeces; others ſtriving to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, periſht in the River; and others who were got unto the Boats, not finding any room there, for that they were already too full, were made a prey either to the River which ſwallowed them up, or to the Enemy who ſlew them from the bank. Five of their Boats ſunk, as being too heavy-loaded; in one of which unfortunately was *Schinck:* So this was the end he made. At which thoſe of *Nimínghen* were ſo overjoyed, as for many dayes there was nothing but feaſting and jollity heard of in the Town.

It was now *July*, at which time the Marquis of *Barambone* had not advanced much nearer about *Reinbergh:* wherefore the Enemy hoping to relieve it, prepared ſuccour, and ſent it chiefly under the Command of Colonel Sir *Francis Vere*,

Vere, an Engliſh-man, who had already gain'd the opinion in thoſe parts of being a gallant Souldier, and whom the United Provinces made uſe of in their moſt weighty military occurrences. *Barambone* was advertiſed hereof, who ſpeedily made it known to *Mansfield*; deſiring him either to joyn with him in perſon, or elſe to ſend him ſome of his men. *Mansfield* promiſed to come ſpeedily to him, and in the mean while ſent ſome Companies of Spaniſh and Italian Foot. *Vere* withheld not for all this; but haſtening his expedition the more, began his march with 3000 choiſe Foot. Which when *Barambone* underſtood, he began likewiſe to move. They came with great reſolution, the one to relieve the Town, the other to hinder the relief: So as the buſineſs was gallantly diſputed for a while, and many fell on both ſides; but at laſt *Vere* prevailed, and routing the Kings men, and killing many of them, he entred Victor into the Town, and did ſo provide for it, as it might preſerve it ſelf, though amidſt the Enemy, for ſome months. A little after the conflict came *Mansfield*, who took upon him the managing of that Siege, *Barambone* having occaſion to leave it. The Town kept from ſurrendring afterwards till the beginning of the next moneth of *February*. And becauſe nothing inſued of great importance, we will therefore here rid our ſelf of this ſucceſs, to continue the narration of others which more require it; though little conſiderable hapned that Summer, or the Autumn following, either in the field, or any where elſe.

Wherefore the Duke of *Parma* having this leiſure, went to the Mineral waters of the *Spaw* in the Country of *Liege*; which being drank, are obſerved to be very good for obſtructions. He went thither to apply that remedy to the infirmity of the Dropſie, which began already to threaten him very ſorely. About the end of Autumn he returned to *Bruſſels*; and to his great grief, ſaw the year end with the Mutiny of a Spaniſh Brigado under *John d'Aquila*. That Brigado was many Payes behind-hand, and was quartered in *Cortray*, a great Town in the Province of *Flanders*: where the Souldiers beginning to reſcent themſelves, and breaking ſoon after out into terms which ſavour'd much more of threats then of complaints, it was not long ere they threw off all obedience, and at laſt reſolved to mutiny. The remedy was, ſuddenly to apply all means which might ſatisfie them; which was done: For the Duke finding, though not without much difficulty, monies ſufficient to ſatisfie them, made them be paid; ſo they returned readily to their former obedience. This was the firſt Mutiny that hapned after the Duke of *Parma's* ſo many years government in *Flanders*. And he was very much troubled thereat, as well the condition of the diſorder conſidered within it ſelf, as for fear it might take deeper root by example.

Now the Year 1590 began. In the beginning whereof the Kings party ſuffered a loſs which did likewiſe very much affict *Ferneſe*. *Edward Lanzavecchia* was Governour of *Breda*, as likewiſe of St. *Getrinberg*, as hath been ſaid. He kept at this time in St. *Getrinberg*, upon occaſion of the making ſome Fortifications in that Town, the better to ſecure it from the Enemy. Yet he went often over to *Breda*, which is not above three houres journey from the other place. The mean while his ſon *Paulo Antonio* commanded in his ſtead in *Breda*, who was Captain of an Italian Foot-Company; and with him were five other Captains of the ſame Nation, all which had their Foot-Companies in *Gaſton Spinola's* Brigado, a Sicilian; and moreover the Marquis of *Vaſto's* Troop of Horſe was there, commanded by his Lieutenant *Tarlatino*. A River called *Merch* runs by *Breda*, upon which ſtands a noble Caſtle, which is rather for habitation then for ſtrength. Three leagues from this Town the River fals into a large Channel in *Holland*, and ſome Barks of merchandiſe were to paſs to and fro (having Paſports to that purpoſe) upon that River. All the while that the Governour *Lanzavecchia* kept in *Breda*, he had always cauſed diligent ſearch be made in every Boat that paſt, leſt by ſome trick or other he might run hazard of ſurpriſal. But his Son being but young in years, and yet younger in experience, was neither ſo conſiderate, nor yet ſo diligent. In other parts of this Hiſtory you have heard of a certain kind of earth called Turf, which for want of wood ſerves for firing. This is much uſed in *Frieſland*, *Holland*, and in other of the lower parts of *Flanders*. It fell out ſo therefore ſometimes, as that ſome Barks of Turf came from *Holland* into the

Merch

Merch, it being the ſpeedier way to bring them either into *Breda* or ſome neighbouring Towns thereabouts. Upon this occaſion there was a Mariner, a maſter of a Boat, that was better known then the reſt, and particularly by thoſe ſouldiers who did moſt uſually guard the Caſtle, whereby all thoſe Boats were firſt to paſs. This Mariner went to Count *Maurice*, and told him that a good many ſouldiers might be hid underneath the Turf in his Boat, and that ſo he might hope through ſome ſtratagem to ſurpriſe the Caſtle by night, and by a freſh ſupply of men enter eaſily afterwards into the Town. *Maurice* was pleaſed with the plot, and reſolved to make trial of it as ſoon as he could. The Turf-barks are uſually of a great length, ſupplying in length their want of breadth the leſſer Rivers and Channels not being capable of broader. The Bark being fitted as it ought to be, the Mariner came to *Breda*. Underneath the Turf, which was upheld by great Poles, were 80 Souldiers, all choiſe men; and Captain *Charles Harawger*, an antient and valiant Souldier, had the command of them. The Bark being come into the Caſtle, *Paul Antonio* gave order that it ſhould be ſearched according to cuſtom, but the order was ſo careleſly given, as the other Officers were as careleſs in the execution thereof. The Mariner was hereby encouraged; and paſſing from one thing to another, and from more ſerious affairs to ſports and jollity, he wrought it ſo, as to delay the time till night came on: His craft increaſing in him, he mingled wine with his paſtimes, inviting thoſe few ſouldiers to drink who were come to ſearch the Boat. Nor did they refuſe the offer. Being well warm'd with wine, it was not long ere they fell aſleep; the reſt were already withdrawn into the Caſtle to take their reſts. When lo the Enemies came out of the Bark, and aſſaulted the Kings men on all ſides: who being aſtoniſhed at the firſt, were ſoon aware of the ſurpriſal; and being more dejected then they ought to have been, not making almoſt any oppoſition at all, they poorly left the Caſtle to the Enemy; ſome of them were hurt, and ſome ſlain in this firſt aſſault, and *Paul Antonio* was taken priſoner. The oldeſt and moſt eſteemed Souldier of thoſe in the Town was *Tarlatino*; to whom all the reſt had recourſe, intreating him to take upon him the care of defending the Town, till ſuccour might be had from ſome of the Kings neareſt Towns: but he would oblige himſelf to nothing, but to doe his part on horſ-back. Wherefore all the other Captains being much abaſed, and in great confuſion, they could neither break down the Bridge whereby the Town was joyned unto the Caſtle, nor yet ſecure ſome one Gate of the Town, were it but for ſome few houres, to allow time for ſuccours to come in on the Kings behalf. This mean while in aſſiſtance of the Enemy came Count *Hollack*, and ſoon after Count *Maurice*; at whoſe entrance the Garriſon went ſhamefully and baſely out, and left the Town wholly unto the Enemy. The Italian ſouldiery never did a more unworthy act then this: But the chief of the aforeſaid Garriſon did ſoon pay dearly for their ſhamefull dealing; for being by order from the Duke brought to *Bruſſels*, ſome of them were according to Martial law ſentenced to death, and others to other puniſhments, which were publikely performed.

The Duke deſired to try immediately whether he could recover *Breda*, before the Enemy ſhould have fortified himſelf more ſtrongly there. Wherefore he preſently ſent Count *Charles Mansfield* away to take a Fort which the Enemies had upon the mouth of the *Merch*; hoping that when that Avenue ſhould be ſhut up, *Breda* might be kept from being ſuccour'd by that River; and that the ſame impediment being put on St. *Getrinbergs* ſide, the Town could not make any long reſiſtance. *Mansfield* endeavoured to take the Fort, but in vain. Wherefore he raiſed up another in oppoſition to it, and began afterwards to begirt the Town. Count *Maurice* had provided very well for it; yet for his greater ſecurity, he betook himſelf to the uſual remedy of Diverſion: He therefore went with very conſiderable Forces towards *Nimingben*, and threatned a ſiege. This loſs, which would have been much greater then the other, made *Verneſe* uſe all means to prevent it: wherefore he ordered Count *Mansfield* to riſe from before *Breda* and to go with all ſpeed to relieve *Nimingben*. Count *Maurice* had this mean while paſt from threats to effects, and had begun with great vigilancie to begirt that City. Yet *Mansfield* came time enough to bring in ſuccour, nor

would he depart from thence till he ſaw it totally ſecured. And *Maurice* on the other ſide, before he would depart from thence, would leave a curb there which might keep it in great ſubjection. To this purpoſe the Enemy had formally endeavoured to build a Fort on the oppoſite bank of the River, but were always hindred. *Maurice* returning now with greater reſolution to the ſame deſign, reſolved to erect there a Fort-royal, which might command *Nimínghen*, and which might ſerve as then as it were for a ſiege at large; which as ſoon as might be he might reduce to one much ſtraiter. Having therefore got together a great many Pioners, and making the Souldiers work as well as they, he began to erect the Fort in the very face of *Mansfield*; & to ſecure the work, placed ſufficient guards whereſoever it was requiſite. *Mansfield* had orders from *Ferneſe* not to hazard the Kings men, which were the Flower of all his Army; but to return, when he ſhould have relieved *Nimínghen*. *Ferneſe* gave him this Commiſſion, becauſe he himſelf had received a very ſtrict one from the King, to go into *France* with all the ſpeed he could, to aſſiſt the Catholick League in that Kingdom: wherefore *Mansfield* would not adventure further, to keep *Maurice* from building the Fort; though he knew how much the making and keeping of it would redound both to the honour and advantage of the Enemy, and that undoubtedly it would at laſt be the loſs of *Nimínghen*. All which fell out. For the Enemy were puft up with pride, to ſee the Kings Forces withdrawn thus: *Nimínghen*, by the continual playing of the Enemies Artillery, was forced to leave the commerce of that River free; and ere a year was over, *Maurice* returning to ſtraiten that City, compell'd it to yield, and to come under the Flemiſh Union.

The Duke of *Parma* was again returned to the *Spaw*-waters; hopes being given him, that the more he ſhould uſe them, the more good he ſhould receive by them: But he could not tarry there ſo long as he ought. A little before this, the Duke *De Mayn*, Head of the Catholick League in *France*, had received a ſore defeat by the King of *Navar* at the Battel of *Jury*, where Count *Egmont* was kill'd who had brought a great body of Horſe from *Flanders* to aſſiſt the League, by order from the King of *Spain*, who began already openly to favour it with his Forces. After this misfortune, the Duke *de Mayn* was gone himſelf in perſon into *Artois*, to ſpeak with the Duke of *Parma*, and to agree with him in what was beſt to be done for eſtabliſhment of the Cauſe, which the Catholick King had publikely declared he would imbrace as his own. Wherefore ſetting all other things apart, the Duke of *Parma* was gone to treat with the Duke *de Mayn* upon the obcurrent neceſſities of the League; and the reſult was, that *Ferneſe* ſhould goe himſelf in perſon with powerful Forces, as ſoon as poſſibly he could, to aſſiſt it. Wherefore applying himſelf wholly to this ſo important expedition, the affairs of *Flanders* muſt of neceſſity be very much weakened every where; in ſo much as before the Duke departed, Count *Maurice* made many incurſions, to advantage himſelf particularly in the Provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, by the taking of many places, but yet not of ſuch weight, as requires any more expreſs declaration of them here.

July was now well nigh over, and *Ferneſe* was ſtill ſollicited to paſs into *France*, and to provide againſt the danger of *Paris*; about which City the King of *Navar* was incamped, threatning to reduce it to ſuch neceſſity as it ſhould ſoon fall into his hands. At this time Pope *Sixtus* had likewiſe very fervently imbraced the Catholick cauſe of that Kingdom; and Cardinal *Henry Cajetan* was already in the City of *Paris*, from the Pope, by title of Legate; a perſonage who for the nobleneſs of his blood, and for his perſonal adornments, made that imployment the more remarkable. *Bernardino di Mendoza* was at the ſame time likewiſe there as Ambaſſador from *Spain*; to whom the King would have *John Baptiſta de Taſſis*, come from *Flanders*, Muſter-maſter General of his Army in thoſe Provinces; both of them men excellent at councel and government. *Ferneſe* was continually more egg'd on by all theſe to paſs ſpeedily into *France*. He foreſaw to his infinite diſpleaſure, how prejudicial this would be to the King in his own States of *Flanders*, and had oftentimes with much efficacie repreſented the danger thereof, and ſhewn the natural inſtability of the affairs of *France*, and how uncertain the event of affairs then on foot in that Kingdom was to be reputed. But the contrary

opinion

opinion being more prevalent in *Spain*, he could not chuſe, but muſt apply himſelf to execute the Kings commands with all vigilancy and induſtry. Preparing then for his departure, he by the Kings appointment left Count *Peter Erneſtus Mansfield*, father to Count *Charles*, to execute his place in *Flanders* : and with him was his ſon, who had the chief care of the Forces ; and with ſuch men as were thought more neceſſary for defence, then offence during the Dukes abſence. To follow then this ſo great, and ſo memorable diverſion, we will accompany the Flemiſh Forces, and will paſs into *France* with them; not med ing notwithſtanding with any other negotiations, of which that Kingdom was then full : for we will not have this our Hiſtory to tranſgreſs its confines ; and we do beleeve, that as it will not be irkſome to us to relate, ſo it will not be unpleaſing to others to read the ſucceſſes of war, which upon this occaſion happened between two of the moſt famous Commanders, and doubtleſly the moſt cryed up that were then in *Europe*.

The King of *Navar* was not as yet full forty year old ; and the Duke of *Parma* was ſome few years above forty, each of them in faces very much differing, had an equal Martial aſpect ; each of them were naturally addicted to arms ; the King was upon occaſions bred up therein ; and the Duke likewiſe did upon occaſions ſpend his time therein : they were both of them popular in winning the ſouldiers love ; but no leſs ſevere in maintaining the power of command. The King was more ready in reſolving ; and the Duke more circumſpect in ripening his reſolutions. The King loved battels, it being the cuſtom of *France* ſo to do ; the Duke a wel-wiſher to induſtrious advantages, according to the manner of waging war in *Flanders* : but in the diverſity of action, they were notwithſtanding ſo conformable in reputation, and in the glory of ſouldiery, as few will be found amongſt either the modern, or ancient Commanders, more famous at one and the ſame time, who in ſuch a difference have continually ſo much reſembled one another.

The Duke of *Mayne* had very much preſt the Duke of *Parma* at their meeting, that if *Ferneſe* could not go then himſelf in perſon to relieve *Paris*, he would at leaſt furniſh him *Du Maine*, with ſome men to recruit his Forces in *France*, whereby he might indeavour that ſuccour ; the which *Ferneſe* eaſily granted ; and to that purpoſe gave him a Brigado of Spaniſh Foot, under the amp-maſter *Antonio di Zunica* ; and another of Italians, under *Camillo Capizucchi*, and moreover 500 Horſe. But *Du Maine* could never compaſs his deſign : wherefore the Duke of *Parma* haſtning his departure, went from *Bruſſels* in the beginning of *Auguſt*. The Army which he carried with him conſiſted of 14000 Foot, made up of Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and Walloons ; and 2800 Horſe, which were of two ſorts ; the one of the Flemiſh uſual Train-bands, and the other of the aboveſaid Nations. The Prince of *Semay* commanded the former, and Marqueſs *de Renty* the others, for that Marqueſs *Vaſto* was not then in *Flanders* : and the Lieut. General of the Horſe being likewiſe wanting, *George Baſti* ſupplyed his place, who was Commiſſary General of the Horſe, and a gallant ſouldier. With the Duke were the Princes of *Aſcoly*, and of *Caſtelvetrano* : the Counts of *Aremberg*, and *Barlemonte*, with divers other Flemiſh Lords ; and Count *Charles Mansfield* General of the Artilery, not being to be diſpenſt withal in *Flanders*, the Duke had aſſigned that command over to Monſieur *de la Motte*, one whom he greatly eſteemed, and who for many famous military acts, had won the ſame opinion of all men. Amongſt the Camp-maſters, *Peter Cajetan*, Nephew to the Legat was particularly in very great eſteem ; and *Alonſo a' Ideaques*, as well in conſideration of himſelf, as for the reputation that *John* his father was in, in the Court of *Spain*, who hath been ſpoken of before. The Duke of *Parma* being come with this Army to the Frontiers of *Flanders* towards *Picardy*, he called all the Commanders together, and gravely advertiſed them whether he was going. He told them,

That the Kings Forces were now entring into a Country which did naturally hate the name of Spaniard. That thoſe of the League had now invoked the Kings Forces, and deſired his protection, meerly out of neceſſity of Intereſt. That therefore they were to be reputed of the like nature ; that is to ſay, ſoon jealous, and therefore apt to

change. That then out of all conſiderations, as well Civil as Military, they were to proceed ſo in the leading on, and in the ordering of this Army, as not to hazard any action, nor put any in execution without great maturity. He deſired, that if Military Government were ever well obſerved under him in Flanders, *it might be now exactly obſerved in* France, *that therefore he ſtraitly commanded every Captain to be all of them very diligent in the performance of their duties. That they ſhould not permit the ſouldier to do any the leaſt imaginable prejudice unto the Country people. That they ſhould always march in as good order as if they had the enemy before them. That they ſhould be very accurate in fortifying their quarters. That to afford the better commodity for all things neceſſary, he would make ſhort marches. That he would be moving by the ſun-riſing, and be in his lodging before it ſhould ſet; Munite the Camp continually well: bring it into as little a compaſs as he could; have diligent Gards kept on all ſides; and eſpecially in ſafely conveying the victuals which were to ſerve for the great neceſſity of* Paris. *For what remained, that they ſhould all follow him couragiouſly; That he hoped that* France *would now prove a Theatre ſtill more and more to confirm the honour due to the King of* Spain's *Forces in* Flanders, *that he would not be wanting on his behalf; but that he would expoſe himſelf to all labour, and ſhew himſelf no leſs equal to every one of them, in incountring dangers, then he was ſuperior to them all in point of command.*

Ferneſe preſt very much the obſervance of theſe things: and to move others the more by his example, after he once began to march, he was almoſt every hour every where, and more by night then by day: he alwaies marched with his Army in good order, which he divided into three parts. The Marqueſs of *Renty* had charge of the firſt: the Duke himſelf took the charge of the ſecond, and Monſieur *de la Motte* guided the third; after whom followed twenty peeces of Canon. In this manner, and with ſhort marches, the Duke came on the 23d. of *Auguſt* to *Maux*, a City not above ten leagues from *Paris*: Here did the Duke *du Mayn*'s Army joyn with him, which was about 10000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe: the ſouldiers of both the Camps were ſelected men, and under well diſciplin'd Enſignes. *Paris* was this mean while reduced to the very utmoſt of neceſſity; after that ſo numerous a people had ſuffered what poſſibly was to be undergon in point of Famine, their neceſſity grew at laſt ſo great, as they muſt either dye, or throw open the gates to the King of *Navar*. The Duke of *Parma* was much troubled at this news; for he would by no means be precipitate in his councels, and yet found the neceſſity of haſtening the ſuccour. He therefore incouraged the Pareſians, and put them in great hopes, that he would in a very ſhort time free them from that ſiege. The Legate incouraged them to ſufferance, and the Spaniſh Officers; but chiefly the Duke of *Nemours*, who was Governor of *Paris*, and brother by the Mothers ſide to the Duke *du Mayne*. Wherefore the people overcoming their miſery with new conſtancy, did with unexpreſſible anxiety number the hours, in expectation of being ſuccour'd. When the Duke of *Parma* marching from *Meos* with both the Armies joyned in one, came towards *Paris*. The King of *Navar* was then in his hight of hopes, that that City would every day fall into his hands. The *Seene* runs through it, and two other rivers accompany the *Seene* neer *Paris*: the one is the *Marne*, two leagues before the *Seene* come to the City walls; and the other the *Oyſe*, a little lower on the contrary ſide. Theſe rivers are the nurſes which continually give milk to this vaſt City; to boot with the wonderful abundance of its own Territories. The King had poſſeſt himſelf of all the Avenues as well by the rivers as by the land. Upon the *Marne* he made *Laigny* in particular be guarded; a good Town, having a large bridge, and *Corbel* upon the *Seene*, on the ſame ſide, which is a great Town, and provided likewiſe of a bridge. He cauſed likewiſe the places of greateſt paſſage upon the *Oyſe* to be guarded. And thus *Paris* being kept from victuals on all ſides, it was reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity of Famine. When the King heard *Ferneſe* was on his way, and that he already drew neer *Paris*, he called together all the chief of his Army, and exhorted them, that they now would make their accuſtomed military worth appear more then ever. He ſaid,

That the Duke of Parma *was now in* France *with the Forces, and ſenſe of* Spain.

That

That the true intention was to oppreſs that Kingdom, under pretence of defending the League; and that the Duke came with ſo great Forces to effect it as ſoon as he could. That thoſe of the League who called in ſuch aſſiſtance were perfidious: and the reſt no leſs perfidious who made ſo falſe a cloak thereof. That therefore ſuch oppoſition as was fitting was to be made by thoſe that were true French-men by birth, and faithfull to their legitimate King, againſt the Forces of theſe Rebel French, and the Spaniards their enemies. That it was Gods pleaſure the Crown ſhould fall upon him; and that he hoped the Catholicks ſhould very ſhortly receive ſuch ſatisfaction as they deſired in matter of conſcience. That the adverſe forces were great; but his no whit inferior. Nay for number and goodneſs of horſe he was far above them. That therefore he deſired to come to battel as ſoon as might be. And that he thought to endeavour it on his ſide, was a no leſs generous, then profitable reſolution. That when the enemy ſhould once be routed, they knew not where to get new Forces; and ſo the battel being won, the war might be ſaid to be ended. That on the contrary, if any ill ſhould befall his men, he could much more eaſily return again into the field. But why ſhould they doubt victory? were not many of the Spaniards forces of Flanders *joyned with the Rebels of* France *in the late battel of* Yury? *yet where the cauſe was juſteſt, there was the greateſt valour ſhown, and there did fortune ſmile. That doubtleſly the preſence of ſo gallant a Commander as was the Duke of* Parma, *in the enemies Army, ought to be conſidered: That therefore it was more neceſſary to uſe all ſuch preparations as ſhould be thought moſt advantagious upon ſuch an occurrency, not only in point of valour, but alſo of diſcipline. That to this purpoſe he had called this Counſel wherein were ſo many and ſo famous Commanders in War. He deſired them that they would ſpeak their opinions: as well for what concerned the continuing of the ſiege, or the raiſing of it, as in the other point of provoking the enemy to battel. That he would ground his opinion upon theirs; nor ſhould his acts come ſhort of thoſe words which he now had ſpoke.*

The principal and moſt eſteemed Chieftains of war that were with the King, were the Duke of *Monpenciere*, Prince of the bloud; the Duke of *Nevers*, the grand Prior; the Mariſhals of *Aumont* and *Bironne*: the Lord his ſon: *Meſſieurs de Ghiſhe*, and *de l' Avardine*, who were all Catholicks. The Duke of *Tremullia*; the Vicecount *Tureine*, and *Meſſieurs de la Nue*, and *de Chatillion*, who were *Hugonots*. It was firſt conſidered whether the Kings Forces were ſufficient both to continue the ſiege, and to march to withſtand the Duke of *Parma*. And it was joyntly reſolved they were not ſufficient to do both theſe at one and the ſame time. Wherefore the common opinion was, that they ſhould raiſe the ſiege, and go with their whole ſtrength to incounter with the Duke of *Parma*, and to endeavour by all means, but alſo upon all advantages, to provoke him to battel. That very oft, and in very many wars, the moſt cry'd up Commanders had raiſed ſieges; that to do ſo now would little advantage *Paris*, if thereby the Duke of *Parma* might be kept from relieving it: for that numerous people would ſoon conſume whatſoever victuals they could at the preſent receive from the inlarged Country; that the relief being hindred, the King might ſoon reaſſume the ſiege; and that then that City would immediately fall into his hands: and he ſhould with the greater glory compaſs his deſigne. The King was very much troubled to think he muſt be inforced to riſe from before *Paris*; but conforming himſelf to the opinion of his Captains, and to what his own Military experience did dictate to him, he raiſed his Camp on the laſt day ſave one of *Auguſt*; and marched towards where the Army of the League was quartered. In the Kings Army then was above 20000 foot, and above 6000 horſe. His whole body were French, except it were ſome Dutch and Swiſſers. All the cavalry were choice men; for the better half of them were Gentlemen, who ſerved upon their own inclinations, and much more out of honour then for gain: The King went from *Paris* to lodg in the Village of *Celles*, ſome four leagues from thence. This Town is ſituated in a ſpacious Champian, having notwithſtanding ſome appearances of waters and woods about it. From this plain you mount by eaſie aſcents upon two little hils, betwixt which when you have gone a little, you afterwards deſcend towards *Maux*. The King poſſeſt himſelf of all that Champian about *Celles*, till he came to thoſe two little hils. And the Army of the

League

League was come to lodge on the other ſide towards *Maux*; where the Duke of *Parma* had fortified himſelf in all places where it was neceſſary, and the King of *Navar* failed not to doe the like on his ſide. Who was not well got thither, when deſirous to make his Enemy acquainted with his intention to fight, he ſent a Herald with a Challenge to the Duke *Du Mayn*, telling him,

That it would be much better to end all the Differences by another pitcht Battel, then to carry them further on to the Peoples ſo great miſery.

The Duke *du Mayn* excuſing himſelf, that he could not give the Anſwer, for that he had not now the ſupreme Command, ſent the Herald to the Duke of *Parma*; who returned anſwer,

That he was uſed to fight as he thought fit himſelf, and not at the pleaſure of his Enemy. That he would not refuſe battel, when it ſhould not become him ſo to doe; and that upon other occaſions, he himſelf would offer it, when he ſhould think good.

There was only the two aforeſaid Hills between the Kings quarters and the Dukes; wherefore their being ſo near, cauſed ſome skirmiſhes daily. The Duke kept four whole dayes in his quarters; in which time he himſelf had ſeveral times advanced towards where the King lay, to the end that he might the better and more diſtinctly obſerve his Quarters. He then began to move with his whole Army. He had with great ſecreſie reſolved to cozen the Enemy, and his own men too; and when he ſhould feign as if he intended to joyn battel, to avoid it, even when the two Armies were neareſt falling on, and to gain the Paſs over the Rivers on the upper ſide, and ſo free *Paris* from the ſiege. This was the deſign, which he thus executed. He made the Marquis of *Renty* advance with the Vantguard; and with him were the Prince of *Semay*, and *George Baſty*, with moſt of the Horſe, all of them almoſt Lanciers. He placed the Duke of *Mayn* in the Battel with the greateſt ſtrength of Foot; and put Monſieur *de la Motte* in the Rear with the reſt of the Foot and Horſe. As for his own perſon, he would not oblige himſelf to any one part, but be at liberty, that he might the better effect what he intended. Having cauſed the Army to move in this manner, and giving out that he would draw the Enemy to battel, he gave order to the Marquis of *Renty*, that when he ſhould be come to the top of the Hills, he ſhould deſcend ſlowly, and ſhould extend the Lanciers on both ſides in large wings, the more to obfuſcate the eyes of the Enemy. He commanded him therewithall, not to offer, or to accept of any occaſion of fighting, without ſome new orders from him; and that he would in the mean time let him know what ſhould happen from time to time. The Army of the League appearing thus, the King of *Navar* thought verily that they came with an intention to fight, and all his Captains were of the ſame mind; inſomuch as it is not to be expreſt how much they were overjoyed, and eſpecially the King, in ſeeing that offered which they had ſo much coveted. His Army was then ſuddenly put into the beſt and moſt advantagious order that could be; and was likewiſe divided into a Vantguard, a Battel, and a Rearguard, over each of which the King appointed a Head, reſerving leave to himſelf to be every where where need ſhould moſt require. The Marquis of *Renty* marched this mean while in the ſame order as he was commanded by the Duke, and after him followed the Duke *Du Mayn*. When *Renty* had extended the Lances, and darkned the ſight of the Enemy, *Ferneſe* made then no longer delay; but coming up to the Duke *Du Mayn*, and taking him by the hand, ſaid unto him with a merry and ſmiling countenance,

We ſhall have fought very well, and have overcome too, if we relieve Paris.

He then commanded *Renty* to halt in that p'ace, but yet ſtill to make as if he meant to fall on, till the night ſhould come. Then turning the Battel into the Van, and ordering *La Motte* to follow, ſo as *Renty* might fall into the Rear, he bent on the left hand towards the *Marn*, and towards *La Laigne*, which was not far from thence, reſolving to make himſelf maſter of that Town. He then acquainted *Renty* with his deſign; and commanded that Trenches ſhould be raiſed both there, and every where elſe towards the Enemy, and Fortifications, to the end that the reſolution which he had taken might not be diſturbed by the Kings

Army.

Army. Drawing towards night near *Lagny*, he ſtaid at *Pompona*, a Village within leſs then half a mile of that Town; giving order that the whole Army might be aſſembled thereabouts, and with all diligence might there munite themſelves. The King this mean while could not imagine why *Renty* firſt halted, and then returned back; Nor could he ever perſwade himſelf, that the Duke of *Parma*, in the face of ſuch an Army as was his, ſhould aſſault *Lagny*, eſpecially the Town being on the other ſide of the River, and the paſſage over the Bridg in the Governour of the Towns hands. He therefore advanced ſome Troops of Horſe to diſcover the Duke of *Parma's* deſign; who being entertained by *George Baſty*, returned as uncertain as before. In which time, the Duke cauſing the Fortifications about his Camp to be made with incredible vigilancie, he brought them to ſuch a paſs, as he thought he might now prepare to batter the Town. *Lagny* lies, as it hath been ſaid, on the left ſide of the River; on the right hand, (on which ſide were both the Camps) there is an open Borough juſt over againſt it, to which men paſs from the Town over the ſaid Bridg. *Ferneſe* ſuddenly poſſeſt himſelf of the Borough or Suburbs; and that very night, which was the 5. of *September*, planted ten Peeces of Cannon there to play from that oppoſite ſide without delay upon the Town. Monſieur *de la Fin* had the keeping thereof, and had 1200 *French* in garriſon, who ſeemed all very ready to defend it, hoping chiefly in the King who was ſo very near them. *La Fin* thought the Duke would doe little good with his Battery, the Bridg being between him and them, which would hinder the aſſault. But he was ſoon deceived: For the Duke cauſing a Bridg of Boats to be thrown over the River three miles more upward, he paſt over a good number of Foot, and ſent over *George Baſti* with them with ſome Troops of Horſe; he ordered the Foot to prepare for the aſſault, ſo ſoon as the Battery ſhould have made its operation. The King of *Navar* ſtorm'd at this ſucceſs, when he came to know it; and would not willingly ſuffer *Lagny* to be loſt, whilſt he looked on. Some of his Captains propounded that he ſhould paſs over the River, and go with his whole Army to the relief of that Town. Others were of opinion, that he ſhould go with all his Forces againſt the Works which the Enemies Camp had begun to make, and ſhould endeavour to throw them down, and to fight the Duke. The firſt advice was very dangerous; for the Duke of *Parma* might aſſault the Kings Army, and defeat ſome of them at leaſt, as they paſt over the River. And the ſecond might be thought bootleſs; for the Dukes Works, eſpecially towards the Enemies Camp, were already raiſed to a good heighth, and ſo well guarded, as there was ſmall hopes of forcing them any where. The King notwithſtanding took the ſecond advice; and having drawn out his Army into large Squadrons, came to aſſault the Army of the League: but he found it in ſo very good order within its Fortifications, which were continually increaſing, as he was at laſt forced to retreat, and much to his grief, to ſee the Town of *Lagny* not long after ſtorm'd, taken, and plundred before his eyes; for ſo indeed it was. For the Duke of *Parma* having given order that a Battery ſhould be planted againſt the Town, and that his men ſhould paſs over in manner aforeſaid, cauſed the Walls of the Town to be immediatly plaid upon abundantly, and preparation to be made at the ſame time for the Aſſault. The Walls were but weak of themſelves, and had no Rampiers: wherefore a ſufficient Breach being ſoon made, the aforeſaid Souldiers ſtrove who ſhould firſt get upon the Breach. The *French* for a while ſhewed equal courage; but being overcome by the firſt number, and by new Recruits which came hourely in to aſſiſt the Enemy, they muſt yield at laſt. Monſieur *de la Fin*, with ſome few others, was taken priſoner; the reſt were put to the ſword, and the Town ſuddenly ſackt. *Lagny* being taken, great ſtore of victuals was immediately conveyed into *Paris*: where the Joy and Jubile was ſo great as is not to be expreſt; nor can it be ſaid how much they celebrated *Ferneſe's* vigilancie, cunning, and military worth. The Bridg of *Chiarranton* and of St. *Maure* did without any conteſtation fall almoſt at the ſame time into his hands; places ſituated likewiſe upon the *Marne*: And ſo *Paris* might be the more ſecurely victualled likewiſe on that ſide.

After

After this ſo proſperous ſucceſs on the behalf of the League, the King of *Navar* thought, that if the Duke of *Parma* had formerly refuſed to fight, he would much more doe ſo now that he had compaſt his ends. And as for bringing him into any other difficulty, he thought it would be too hard a matter to effect, *Ferneſe* having ſo great Forces and being ſo well provided of all things neceſſary. On the contrary, the Kings Forces began already mightily to decreaſe, both through great ſickneſſes which had happened amongſt them, and for that the Gentry that were in his Army, having no more hopes neither of getting *Paris*, nor yet of coming to a pitcht Battel, were not willing to be any longer under Command in that condition; moreover, maintaining themſelves for the moſt part upon their own expence, they could no longer be at ſo great charges. The King then reſolved to be gone from about *Paris*, and to go to S. *Dennis*, intending to diſmiſs moſt of his men for the preſent, and to reſerve only a flying Army, that he might wind and turn about every where, where it ſhould make moſt for his advantage. When he was gone from his Quarters, thoſe wherein the Army of the League was were wholly free; yet the King in his retreat would try whether he could doe that unexpectedly by way of ſtratagem, which he could not effect by ſiege. He thought it might ſo fall out, as that the *Pariſians* being relieved, and wholly drowned in enjoying the effects thereof, and in reſtoring themſelves with ſleep and reſt, and with the eaſe of negligence, might neglect to keep that Guard about the walls by night which they formerly had been very vigilant in doing. He therefore reſolved to try whether by Scalado he might come to aſſault the Town by night. Paſſing therefore over the *Sene*, (for he thought the Walls might be more negligently kept on the other ſide where the Armies were not) he with great ſilence formed three Squadrons of Foot, and ſent them with many Ladders about midnight towards the Walls; the one of them came to the Walls of St. *Germains*, the other to thoſe of St. *Mihil*, the third to that which is between St. *Jaques* and St. *Marcelles*. But the ſucceſs did not any where anſwer the expectation. The Duke of *Nemours*, who was Governour of *Paris*, was exceeding vigilant, and had not any wayes leſſened his Guards, though the Siege was raiſed; wherefore the Kings men were every where couragiouſly repulſed and beaten back. *Paris* had not well eſcaped this firſt danger, when it fell into another greater then the former: For the King entertaining himſelf thereabouts, and ſuffering the preſent fear of the City to paſs over, he turn'd to make the ſame trial again on St. *Marcelles* ſide only. There were but two Ladders ſet up at firſt, to diſcover in what poſture the Guards were thereabouts; and truly they found them to be ſo weak, as if the number of Ladders had been greater, the Surpriſe might eaſily have been effected: but the firſt that got up being thrown down to the ground, ſo many others came afterwards to defend the Walls, as the King had no more hope of any good ſucceſs. Wherefore retiring with all his Forces to St. *Dennis*, he lighten'd himſelf as 'twas ſaid before he meant to doe; and kept with himſelf the Marſhal of *Byroun*, and the Baron his Son, together with a ſelect and choice number of men, to make uſe of them upon all occaſions where it ſhould be moſt neceſſary.

This mean while the Duke of *Parma's* Army was likewiſe much leſſened. To the ſickneſſes which reigned more there then in the Kings Army, many other ſufferings and diſaccommodations were added, and victuals began to grow ſcarce, by reaſon of ſo many Souldiers having lain thereabouts, and particularly the Kings Army ſo long. For theſe reaſons the Duke reſolved to return to *Flanders*: and carrying with him the honour of ſo glorious a Succour, not to wait the hazard of ſome unthought of adverſe Fortune. To boot that the King of *Spains* occaſions touching his own affairs of *Flanders*, which every day received prejudice by the Dukes abſence, did apparently require his ſpeedy return into thoſe Provinces. He acquainted the Duke *de Mayn* with this his reſolution, who was thereat mightily afflicted: He had well hoped that the Duke of *Parma* would have tarried much longer in *France*, and that the League would have received many more advantages by his abode there. He was therefore very much preſt by thoſe of the League who were of greateſt power, not to depart; at leaſt not ſo ſoon. And finding him reſolute in his opinion, they fell into divers ſuſpi-

tions

tions and Complaints. They ſeemed to beleeve,

That this proceeded more from the premeditated cunning of Spain, *then from the particular neceſſities of* Flanders. *That the intention in* Spain, *in their aſſiſtance of the Leagne againſt the King of* Navar, *was onely to make it be able to reſiſt, not to prevaile. That* Paris *was no ſooner relieved, but the Duke of* Parma *would be gone. That he had let ſlip the occaſion of giving the King of* Navar *Battel, though he were much ſuperior to him in Forces: and now that the King had diſmiſt a great part of his men, wherefore would not the Duke make uſe of ſo apparent an advantage? Wherefore did he not with all ſpeed endeavour to ſuppreſs totally the Heretical Faction, and eſtabliſh the Catholick party for ever in that Kingdom?*

Ferneſe was much ſcandaliſed to hear of theſe ſpeeches; yet thinking it was beſt to diſſemble, ſpoke to the Duke *Du Mayne* in moderate terms, and which might ſerve to ſatisfie him and the reſt of the Adherents to the League. Saying,

That the King of Spain's *intentions could not be more ſincere in his ſuccours which he had ſo often afforded unto* France. *And in theſe his laſt ſo potent Powers, what could he do more, then almoſt wholly abandon his own particular affairs of* Flanders? *Did he ever demand any Towns or Hoſtages in pawn for his ſecurity? He alwaies meaſured the Faiths of others by his own: And in matter of Religion, made that the intereſt of* Spain, *wherein* France *was particularly concern'd. That even for the benefit of the League it ſelf, it was not fit to loſe* Flanders: *For that if the Catholick Forces ſhould be wanting there, thoſe would certainly be wanting which had at all times been, and might ſtill be the greateſt and readieſt for the ſervice of Religion in that Kingdom. That he was therefore inforc'd by all means to return to* Flanders: *but that he would leave ſuch a ſtrength of men in behalf of the League, as the cauſe thereof might not onely be alwaies ſuſtain'd, but by new achievements, be ſtill more advanced.*

The Duke *Du Mayne* finding this to be *Ferneſe*'s reſolution, earneſtly deſired him, that before his departure he would at leaſt endeavour to take in the Town of *Corbel* upon the *Sene*; ſo as that River might be free likewiſe for the bringing of victuals to *Paris*.

The Legat *Cajetan* was at this time gone from *France*, upon the death of *Sixtus Quintus*; and had left in his place Monſignor *Sega*, a Bullonian, Biſhop of *Piacenſa*, a Prelate of great worth, for divers imployments of Nuntiature, and for other negotiations which had won him great honour. This Monſignor *di Sega* was induced by the Duke *Du Mayne* to make the ſame intreaties, which he effectually did to the Duke of *Parma*; who was unwilling to hazard himſelf in a new ſiege; eſpecially knowing that the chief Commander in *Corbel* was a Frenchman, and a very gallant ſouldier, called *Rigant*, who had given proof of his worth in *Flanders* under Monſieur *de la Nne*. Yet not to give further occaſion of jealouſie to thoſe of the League, he reſolved at laſt to beſiege that Town, and encamped before it about the midſt of *September*. *Corbel* lies upon the *Sene* on the left ſide, and hath a ſtone-bridge which paſſeth over to the other ſide: the Town is but little, and no waies ſtrong, having walls after the ancient form, without any barworks: the defence thereof conſiſted therefore in the valour of the ſouldiers, and in the example which they ſhould receive thereof from their Commander. The Duke of *Parma* was not long in drawing neer it with his Trenches. Thoſe within the Town ſallied out, and couragiouſly reſolved to oppoſe him: *Rigant*'s vigilancy was very great; he was alwaies the firſt at undergoing labour, at incountring dangers, and in whatſoever elſe was neceſſary, as well in action as in command; inſomuch as the Duke had already loſt many men, and the ſiege proved much longer then at firſt it was thought it would have done: But reſolving to ſee an end of it ſuddenly, after a great Battery, he made it be ſo furiouſly aſſaulted, as *Rigant* being ſlain, the Aſſailants entred the Town, and cutting the Gariſon in peeces, did with great hoſtility plunder it. The Duke was notwith-

ſtanding troubled about it till the midſt of *October* following; and had not *Rigaut* been ſlain in that aſſault, the Town peradventure would not have been taken ſo ſoon. *Corbel* being taken, the Duke ſuffered his men to reſt till the beginning of the next moneth: he then betook himſelf to return for *Flanders*; and the more to deceive the Enemy, he went not the neereſt way through *Picardy*, but through *Campania*; thinking that the King of *Navar* would quickly follow him; and that it would be beſt to leave the King in doubt what his intention in retreating might be. He kept the ſame order in going out of *France*, as he did in coming into it. He divided his Army into four parts, to the end that each part being leſs incombred, they might all of them proceed on the faſter; and upon occaſion be the readier to ſuccour one another. He gave the Van to the Marqueſs of *Renty*: the firſt Battle to Monſieur *de la Motte*: he kept the ſecond Battle for himſelf; and gave the Arrear guard to *George Baſti*. In this laſt part was the greateſt danger likelyeſt to conſiſt: for the King of *Navar* might infeſt them behinde: this was therefore furniſht with ſelect men; and in particular *Peter Cajetan* was placed therein, and *Alonſo Idiaques*, with their two Brigadoes of Foot. The Duke of *Parma* being gone from *Paris*, he was not well got into *Campania*, when he might hear of the loſs of *Corbel*; and not long after, the like of *Lagny*: ſo ill were they kept by the Pariſians, who had taken upon them the care thereof. Upon this occaſion the Duke was agian intreated to ſtay, and to return back to the recovery of thoſe two Towns: But he being ſcandalized to ſee his pains ſlighted through ſo much negligence; to boot, that his neceſſity of returning into *Flanders* did daily more and more increaſe, would not any whit delay the purſuing of his intended journey. The King of *Navar* was by this time got to *Compigny*, a Town which lies towards *Champagnia* and *Picardy*: and having here gathered together a choice number of Foot, but more Horſe, wherewith the eaſier to infeſt the Enemies Camp; as they retreated, he paſt on and followed them. He loſt no occaſion of drawing neer them, and of endeavouring to indamage them, or any waies to moleſt them: he ſet on them ſometimes on the ſides, ſometimes on the front, but ofteſt on their back: ſometimes onely threatning, ſometimes ſuddenly aſſailing them; but never adventuring upon any greater engagements, by reaſon of the too much inequaility of his Forces. This his altering of places, and of aſſaults, did not notwithſtanding make the Duke of *Parma* any whit vary his order in marching. His Squadrons marched the ſame pace, kept the ſame diſtances, environed on all ſides with the carriages, which ſerved for well fortified Trenches; ready to fight if provoked, but ſtill upon ſuch advantages, as might cauſe the Enemy repent. The way was continually cleared by the Carabines: and their quarters were every night very carefully fortified. Thus did the Duke of *Parma* march amidſt ſlight skirmiſhes for ſome dayes. He was already entered into *Picardy*. The King willing to have one other bout with the Duke, ſent ſome Squadrons of Horſe againſt the Dukes Van about the end of *November*: the Dukes Horſe came out to oppoſe them, and the diſpute grew very hot. Of the French, the Baron of *Birone* in particular, ſhewed himſelf very forward; who unwilling to yeild to the greater power of the Enemy, was ſo engaged amongſt them, as his horſe being ſlain under him, he had undoubtedly been taken Priſoner, had not the King himſelf, deſpiſing all danger, reſcued him and fetch'd him off. The night coming on, ended the diſpute. The next day the Duke of *Nevers* came in to the Kings aſſiſtance with ſome new Forces which he had gathered up thereabouts, and ſome other Forces from elſewhere came likewiſe in to the King. The Duke of *Parma* was at this time about *Guiſe* upon the utmoſt confines of *France* towards *Flanders*. Here did the King again aſſault the Duke in the Rear. At firſt the Dukes Carabins came forth againſt the Curaſſiers; and the former not able to withſtand the Curaſſiers, had been ill handled, had not *George Baſti* come in unto them with a great Squadron of Lances and beaten back the ſhock of the Curaſſiers. But theſe being again reinforced by ſome of the Kings men; and on the other ſide *Idiaques* and *Cajetan's* Foot coming in to aſſiſt *Baſti's* Horſe, a very hot skirmiſh had likely to have been

been; had not the King considering his disadvantage made his men retreat in a warlike posture. The Dukes men pursued them no farther, least they might break their establish'd order of marching. And here did end the King of *Navar*'s assaults & all the molestations which *Ferneſe* till then had suffered by them. Who being come with all his Army safe into the confines of *Flanders*, he and the Duke *Du Mayne* parted. He again confirm'd more then ever hopes in the Duke *Du Mayne* of new and potent succours in assistance of the League; and assured him that he himself would very speedily be their Conductor. The mean while he left with him about 4000 Foot, and 500 Horse; thinking that such a recrute might serve for the present, to boot, with a Regiment of Germans which was formerly maintained in the service of the League, and defray'd by the King of *Spain*, under the command of Count *Colalto*. The Duke passed forward, and distributing the souldiery into Garisons, to rest themselves after so great labours: he came about the beginning of *December* to his winter quarters which was usually in *Brussels*.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Second Part.

BOOK VI.

The Contents.

The Duke of Parma, *after his return from* France, *findes the Kings affairs in* Flanders *but in ill condition. Advancements made in many parts by the Enemy. They take* Zutfen *and* Deventer : *both of them places of great importance. The Duke incamps before the Fort, opposite to* Nimingben ; *does all he can to take it from the Enemy : Count* Maurice *draws neer it with great Forces to relieve it. This mean while* Ferneſe *receives preciſe orders from the King, to prepare ſuddenly to return again to* France : *he therefore immediately raiſeth his ſiege.* Maurice *maketh uſe of this occaſion. He goeth to before* Hulſt *a Town in the Province of* Flanders, *and quickly takes it. From thence he goes to before* Nimingben, *and hath the like good fortune there. The League in France does this mean while decline daily. Their danger of loſing the City of* Roan, *which is ſtraitly beſieged by the King of* Navar: *Wherefore the Duke of* Parma *preſently enters* France. *The Army of the League joyns with his. They march towards* Normandy *to relieve* Roan. *The King of* Navar *marches to oppoſe them. A noble fight between both the Camps at Umaile, wherein the King is hurt, and in danger to be taken. The Army of the League advances, draws neer* Roan, *and puts ſome ſuccour into it : It then falls further off, and the King reinforceth his ſiege. But at laſt the Duke of* Parma *forceth him to quit it. The Colleagues enter forthwith into the* Peninſula *in the County of* Caux, *and beſiege* Caudebeck. *In diſcovering the Place the Duke is wounded, and is much diſturb'd in continuing his command. The King makes uſe of this occaſion. He poſſeſſeth himſelf of the entrance into the*

the Peninſula, *and reduceth the Colleagues to great ſcarcity of all things. The Duke that he may not be forced to fight upon too much diſadvantage, reſolves to ſecure his Army by paſſing over the River. Which he fortunately doth. He then leaves* France, *and returns with ſpeedy march to* Flanders. *New ſucceſſes on that ſide to the advantage of the enemy; and to* Ferneſe's *great grief. His affliction is increaſed, by his growing every day worſe and worſe in his health. And yet he is again commanded by the King to return with all ſpeed poſſible into* France. *To this purpoſe he goes to* Arras; *and deligently prepares for his third paſſage into* France. *But his ſickneſs increaſing ſtill upon him, he dies.*

With the Dukes return to *Flanders*, we will return to our former narration: though we ſhall be ſoon diverted from it, by the new neceſſity put upon the Duke of returning again into *France*. Great had the ſufferings been which he had undergone in his firſt journey; wherein thoſe of his mind were more then thoſe of his body. He had learned by experience how hard a buſineſs it was to joyn the Kings deſignes together with thoſe of the League. That the King after the vaſt expence he had been at in his late expedition againſt *England*, did now conſume himſelf in theſe diſburſments which he was at for the League of *France*. And that in the interim his own Territories of *Flanders* was but ill furniſhed with men, mony, and almoſt all things elſe; in ſo much as doubtleſly much damage was to be expected thereby. To boot with the men that were left with the Duke *Du Mayn*, it was neceſſary to place many on the Frontiers which lay towards *France*: to encourage the League nearer at hand; and that they might be ready to march in the behalf thereof, when it ſhould be needfull, at any hours warning. So as the Kings Gariſons in *Flanders* were much leſſened; even in the moſt important places. And the Towns themſelves left but ſlenderly provided with victuals or warlick ammunition to maintain a ſiege, if the enemy ſhould ſit down before them. Which they, knowing their own advantage, were not long adoing, as we ſhall ſucceſſively relate. Amongſt other things which had mightily afflicted the Duke of *Parma* whilſt he was in *France*, one was the mutiny which happened at that time in *Emanuel de Vega's* Spaniſh Brigado which remained in *Flanders*: which the Duke after his return, did very much reſcent at both the *Mansfields* hands; they not having been diligent enough, as he thought, in preventing it. And the diſorder grew ſo much the greater, becauſe it was above a year before thoſe people could be paid, and reduced to their former wonted ſervice.

Anno 1591. At the beginning of the year 1591. the enemy did not delay ſeconding the good conjunctures on their parts. Colonel *Norris* an Engliſh man, of whom we have often ſpoken was in *Oſtend*; who with that Gariſon which was then very numerous, by reaſon of a new recruit of men which the Queen of *England* had newly ſent thither, overran all the parts thereabouts. Yet the Fort of *Elanchemberg*, which lies between *Oſtend* and *Sluce*, as hath been ſaid, was a great obſtacle in his way. Reſolving therefore to free himſelf thereof, he aſſaulted the Fort ſo unexpectedly, and upon ſuch advantage, as he ſoon took it; and it was ſoon after diſmantled. This happened in the Province of *Flanders* about the midſt of *February*. Not long after the enemy made two other ſurpriſals in *Brabant*. The one was of the Caſtle of *Weſterlo*; and the other of *Turnehaut*, which is one of the greateſt Villages in all *Brabant*. There is likewiſe a Caſtle in this Village, into which, as alſo into the Village, ſome ſouldiers did enter in country attire; as having ſomething to ſell, and without any difficulty made themſelves Maſters of them both. But theſe were but ſlight acquiſitions in reſpect of others which Count *Maurice* intended to make, and which he ſufficiently did that year, as you ſhall hear. He prepared neceſſary forces for this purpoſe. And therefore aſſoon as the ſeaſon would permit him to go into the field, he deferred not to be moving. He judged that his greateſt advantage did at this time invite him to the further ſide of the *Rhine*, towards *Frieſland*, by reaſon of the great diſtance from thence of the Kings ſtrongeſt Forces; as alſo of the Duke of *Parma's* own perſon. Wherefore

wherefore turning thitherward about the midſt of *May*, he reſolved to beſiege *Zutfen*; and with an Army of 10000 foot and 2000 horſe, well furniſhed with Artillery, and with whatſoever elſe was neceſſary for this and other ſieges, he ſate down before it. A little while before he came thither, the Fort which did defend the City on the contrary ſhore, was fallen into his hands, by the like ſtratagem as the aforeſaid Caſtles of *Weſterlo* and *Turnhaut* had formerly done. Having got this advantage, he ſuddenly begirt the Town on all ſides; and with great celerity opened his Trenches, and prepared for battery. But the Gariſon in *Zutfen* was ſo ſmall, and the Town was ſo weakly provided of all other neceſſaries, as at the end of three days thoſe within the Town, before the Artillery had played ſo much as once, began to treat, and ſoon after ſurrendred the Town. *Deventer* is but two leagues off from *Zutfen*. Both theſe Towns lie upon the *Yſel*. And you have already heard how Colonel *Stanly* an Engliſh-man, put *Deventer* into the Duke of *Parma*'s hands. Amongſt other Commanders of great eſteem, Count *Maurice* had with him Colonel *Vere*, an Engliſh-man. This *Vere* did of all the reſt, chiefly deſire that they might immediately go to the recovery of *Deventer*; and that he might have the greateſt ſhare in that affair, to make amends for the fault which was by all the Engliſh attributed to *Stanly*. Count *Maurice* was eaſily perſwaded hereunto. He therefore without delay turning upon that City, began to beſiege it on both ſides the River; and ſecured the paſſage to his own men by two bridges, whereby he alſo hindred the enemy from bringing in relief. Count *Herman de Berg*, was Governour of *Deventer*: he was eldeſt ſon to *William de Berg*, who married a ſiſter of the Prince of *Orange*, ſo as this *Herman* was full Couſin-german to Count *Maurice*. He proved to be very judicious and ſtout, and very faithfull to the King, though he was very young. But he had ſo ſmall Forces in the Town, and was ſo ill provided of all things elſe, as he could not think to make any conſiderable reſiſtance. He prepared notwithſtanding to do what he could: and acquainted Colonel *Verdugo* (who commanded the Kings Forces in chief in thoſe parts) with the danger that he was in. Count *Maurice*, having advanced his Trenches, raiſed batteries on three ſides. The greateſt was placed towards that part of the City which looks upon the River. And Colonel *Vere* took upon him the guidance hereof, to do it ſo as might ſpeedilyeſt effect the work. And immediately he began to batter the walls with ſuch violence, as above 100 yards thereof fell at the very firſt battery. The defendants retreated more inward; and Count *Herman* was not wanting in valiantly performing his part; when he received ſo grievous a wound, as he could no longer continue in the work that was begun. Wherefore the beſieged being the more diſcouraged; and the Townſmen doubting leaſt the enemies aſſault might occaſion the plunder of the City, a Treaty was had of ſurrender upon fair conditions: whereunto Count *Maurice* eaſily gave way. And thus in a few days he made this ſecond acquiſition, which was far greater then the former. From thence he went hoping to ſtorm *Stenwich*; but *Verdugo*, who had not men enough to relieve *Deventer*, had enough to ſecure *Stenwich*. Wherefore Count *Maurice* turning upon *Delfziel*, (a place of importance of it ſelf by reaſon of its ſituation; and more particularly to facilitate the ſiege of *Groninghen*, when (as was his intention) he ſhould be in a fitting poſture to incamp before it) made himſelf ſoon Maſter thereof; and then faced about, to effect by theſe his advantages, other premeditated reſolutions. The Duke of *Parma* was this mean while on his march; and having muſtered all the Forces he could get in *Ruremonde*, he marched towards the parts about the *Rhine*, intending to paſs over it; and hoping to relieve *Deventer*, and ſecure it, which next to *Groninghen*, was the place of greateſt concernment in thoſe parts. But hearing that it was loſt, he reſolved to attempt ſome enterpriſe; and feigning (to abuſe the enemy) that he would aſſault *Schinck* Sconce, he paſſed over the *Wahall* at another place, and incamped himſelf before the Camp oppoſite to *Nimiughen*, from whence the Inhabitants of that City received much prejudice. That ſide of the City which was oppoſite thereunto was continually infeſted by the perpetual playing of Artillery from that Fort; in ſo much as all the houſes on that ſide were already beaten down. The Gariſon of the Fort did as much command the paſſage of the River; as did the Inhabitants

of

of the City. Excurſions on all ſides were very frequent. And in fine ſuch, and ſo grievous were the moleſtations, as it was apparently ſeen that the Royaliſts muſt either win that Fort, or elſe they muſt very quickly loſe the City. It was about the midſt of *June* when *Ferneſe* began to beſiege that Fort. But he could not come before it ſo on the ſudden, but that Count *Maurice* had reaſon to ſuſpect his intention. Wherefore he ſent the Count of *Solmes* thither with good forces, and new proviſion of Victuals; whereby the Fort was ſo well provided, as Count *Maurice* did no wayes fear the loſs thereof, at leaſt not ſo ſoon. The Duke having ordered his Quarters, and fortified them on the out-ſide, he began to advance inward with his Trenches: But the Kings men paid dearly for all their works: for the Enemy ſallying out oft-times, made ſtrong oppoſition on all ſides: Yet after ſome dayes they came to Battery, of which Monſieur *de la Motte* had the chief charge, and wherein he uſed all diligence; but yet proceeded but ſlowly. For the walls of the Fort being made of earth, which as it was thick, was alſo ſoft, the ſhot of the Artillery could not any ways conſiderably indamage it. And it was likewiſe very hard to come to the filling up of the ditch, which was very broad and deep, and was well defended on all ſides. But in this interim *Ferneſe's* Cavalry received ſuch a blow, as did ſtill much leſſen his hopes of getting the Fort. Count *Maurice's* Camp lay very near the Dukes Camp, in ſo much as there paſſed divers skirmiſhes betwixt them. And the Kings men could not provide neceſſary forrage for their horſes, without continual danger of ſome ambuſcado. The Duke had given command that his men ſhould avoid coming to any ſet buſineſs, by reaſon of the condition of the Country, which was very advantagious for the adverſe party. *Pier Franciſco Nicelli*, Captain of the Dukes lifeguard, going one day forth for forage, with divers other Captains of horſe, he could not guide himſelf as he ought to have done: but ſuffering himſelf to be ſurpriſed in a narrow paſſage, wherein he was inforced to fight, he was quickly routed by the enemy, and loſt many of his men. He himſelf, and divers other Captains were taken priſoners: and of 400 of the Kings horſe which were in this conflict, very few were ſaved. The Duke was mightily diſpleaſed hereat; but yet he did not give over his ſiege, but ſtreightned the Fort more and more; when expreſs Orders came to him from *Spain*, whereby the King did preciſely command him that leaving ſuch Forces in *Flanders* as ſhould be ſufficient for defence, he ſhould paſs again with all the reſt as ſoon as might be to ſuccour the Catholick League in *France*. This Order being received, the Duke prepared preſently to riſe from before the Fort. In his retreat his men were to paſs over the *Wahall*; not without danger of being indamaged by the enemy. But he with very great forecaſt ſoon ſecured himſelf from all danger: For cauſing a great Trench to be ſuddenly raiſed, and making it be continued even to the River, with redouts and flankers to ſhelter and defend his men at their imbarking, if the enemy ſhould go about to hinder them, he paſſed over the River without any obſtacle, Count *Maurice* not being minded to moleſt him, by reaſon of the difficulty he ſaw he ſhould have to do it. At this retreat, wherein the Duke won great applauſe, it being done in the face both of the Fort, and of the Enemies Camp, was Prince *Rannucchia*, the Dukes eldeſt ſon, who was then come from *Italy* to ſerve under his father in *Flanders*. And he was not only preſent at the ſucceſs, but had his ſhare in the execution thereof, it being his fathers pleaſure that he ſhould be the laſt man that ſhould ſee the retreat compleated. The Army being brought ſafely over to the other ſide, the Duke came to *Nimínghen*. This City would never accept but of a very ſlight foreign Gariſon, to preſerve it ſelf in the greater liberty, and becauſe it thought it was able to defend it ſelf of its ſelf alone. The Duke was greatly diſpleaſed hereat: And knowing that there had been already ſome underhand dealing in the City, in favour of the enemy, he uſed all poſſible diligence to get the Inhabitants give way to the augmenting of their Gariſon; but he could not prevail with them: wherefore he went his ways, and left *Verdugo* the better provided with Forces; to the end that if need ſhould require, he might the eaſilyer ſuccour that City. It was now about the end of *July*; and becauſe the Duke had received good by the the *Spaw* waters formerly, he went thither again to ſeek help for the Dropſie, which daily threatned

threatned him more and more. Being come thither, he began to give all requiſite Orders for the raiſing of Horſe and Foot in *Germany*, in *Burgony*, and in the Low-Country it ſelf, to the end that he might leave ſufficient Forces for defence in *Flanders*, and yet carry ſuch a ſtrength of men with him, as the ſuccour which he ſhould now bring unto the League might exceed the former.

Count *Maurice* this mean while did not omit making further advancements. Leaving the aboveſaid Intelligences on his behalf on foot in *Nimínghen*, he went from thence to go where he might make his deſigns the more advantagious, by their being the leſs expected. Great was the accommodation he had of tranſporting his men from one place to another by Rivers and Sea-gulfs. Imbarking about the midſt of *September* with 4000 Foot and 600 Horſe, he unexpectedly landed with them in the Province of *Flanders*, and fell upon the Country of *Walſe*, to take the Town of *Hulſt*. This is a place lowly ſituated, and of great concernment; for it commands all the Country thereabouts. The Kings men, for the better defence of that Town, guarded ſome neighbouring places; which Count *Maurice* ſoon made himſelf maſter of: Then begirting the Town, wherein there was but a ſmall Garriſon, and but ſlender proviſion of all things elſe, he ſoon brought the Inhabitants to Parley, and afterwards to ſurrender the Town. Colonel *Mandragone*, Governour of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, was upon his way to relieve it; and the Duke had ſo wrought with the Spaniſh Mutiniers, though they were not yet altogether appeaſed, as they were content to joyn with *Mandragone*. But the Surrender prevented the Succour. Wherefore the Kings men returned back, and the Town was by Count *Maurice* furniſht with all things neceſſary. He then imbarked his Army again, and recruiting it both with Foot and Horſe, he overran all the Maritime Coaſts of *Flanders*, threatning *Newport* and *Dunkirk*; but did this rather more to deceive the Royaliſts, then for any ſetled deſign he had in thoſe parts. His true deſign was to turn upon *Nimínghen*, & to uſe all poſſible means to take it. Wherefore reentring by the ſame way of the Rivers and Maritime gulfs into *Ghelderland* about the midſt of *October*, he ſtaid in the *Wahal*; and throwing over a Bridg near *Nimínghen*, to the end that he might have that paſſage free, and that he might the better be victualled, he diſpoſed of his Camp thereabouts. At the ſame time that he prepared with Forces without, Inelligences were held on his behalf within the Town, which had ſo good ſucceſs, as there was little need of the Forces without. The Garriſon, which conſiſted of ſome few *Germans* and *Walloons*, went ſometimes out, but were not able to make any conſiderable oppoſition. *Verdugo* was at this time alſo moving, though not ſo ſoon as need required; for his Forces were no ways anſwerable thereunto. Wherefore thoſe who favoured Count *Maurice*, taking occaſion upon his delay, began to make a Tumult. This boldneſs ſoon ſpread from a few to many; who ſtill increaſing the commotion, drew all the reſt to be of the ſame mind; and they all agreed to ſurrender the City: To which *Maurice* was as gracious as could be deſired in the Conditions which were eſtabliſhed on both ſides at the Surrender. He then entred the City, and was received with great honour: And before he went from thence, he did largely repay this honour to *Schinck*'s bones, making them be interr'd with much pomp in the chiefeſt Church, and in the very Sepulcher of the former Dukes of *Ghelderland*. Count *Maurice* having added this laſt acquiſition of ſo great concernment to the ſo important former, went to the *Hague* in *Holland*, where the Ordinary Deputies of the General Union of the Provinces had already made the place of their conſtant abode; and where he was received with unexpreſſible demonſtrations of joy and affection: For though he had not met with any great oppoſition in the atchievements which he had made, yet he had ſhewed ſo great vigilancie in his Command, ſuch adviſedneſs in his Councels, and ſuch vigor in Execution, as doubtleſly he might even then be expected to prove that Gallant Commander, which our Age for his ſo many other famous enterpriſes hath fully declared him to be. This mean while the Duke of *Parma* was returned to *Bruſſels*; and wholly intent upon his paſſing again into *France*, he endeavoured to get as great a ſtrength for that purpoſe as he could. The news which he heard from thoſe parts was, That the affairs of the League did every day decline; that the Forces thereof were very

much

much diminiſhed; and that the King of *Navar* did ſtill grow ſtronger; and that being Maſter of the Field, he had beſieged *Roan*, which is the chief City of all *Normandy*, and the ſecond of all *France*. The Duke *de Mayn* had ſent Count *Briſack* a little before this, to acquaint the Duke of *Parma* with thus much. And the danger of *Roan* every day increaſing, *Ferneſe* was again the more ſollicited to come for *France* as ſoon as he could. Preparing then for his departure, he left as formerly the two *Mansfields* his Deputies. And a ſolemn Ambaſſie being at this time ſent by the Emperor into *Flanders*, to endeavour ſome accommodation in the affairs of thoſe Countries, the Duke upon that occaſion did ſtay ſome dayes at *Bruſſels*. The Emperor had likewiſe ſignified the ſame intention to the United Provinces. But they fearing that the Ambaſſie was ſent by the King of *Spains* procurement, would not conſent to any Treaty. About which though neer upon a Moneth was ſpent, yet we have choſen to acquaint you with the reſult thereof briefly here, to diſpatch the account of a Negotiation wherein there was hardly any Overture made.

The Duke being gone from *Bruſſels*, went towards *Picardy*; and there in *Peroun* met with the young Duke of *Guiſe*, who not long before having eſcaped out of the Caſtle of *Tours*, where *Henry* the Third had ſhut him up after his Fathers death, and where the King of *Navar* had likewiſe detained him, was ſuddenly come to find out his Uncle the Duke *Du Mayn*. From *Peroun* the Duke of *Parma* went to the Town of *Guiſe*, where the Duke *Du Mayn* came to ſpeak with him. In the ſame place was likewiſe *Hercules Sfondrato*, Duke of *Montemarchiano*, who a little before was ſent by his Uncle *Gregory* the 14. with a very conſiderable ſtrength both of Foot and Horſe to aſſiſt the League. But *Gregory* dying, and *Innocent* the 9. ſucceeding him, his men were much diminiſhed; *Innocent* excuſing himſelf that he could not continue ſo great an expence, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of monies which the Apoſtolick Sea was then in. Nor did the Duke of *Montemarchiano* know whether he were to continue in that Command or no: though in all things elſe, *Innocent* ſeemed as if he would protect the League of *France*; to which purpoſe he had made the Biſhop of *Piachenſa* Cardinal, declaring him alſo to be Apoſtolick Legat in the place of Cardinal *Cajetan*, who as we have ſaid was already returned to *Italy*. At this meeting of the Duke of *Parma* and the Duke *Du Mayn*, the firſt thing that was agreed upon was, That *Fera*, one of the moſt conſiderable Towns of *Picardy*, ſhould be delivered up to the Duke of *Parma*, that upon all occaſions he might have a Town upon that Frontier towards *Flanders*, which might ſerve for better ſecurity to his Army. Here all their Forces joyning, each of the chief Commanders muſter'd his men, and the whole amounted to about 25000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe; the greateſt part whereof belonged to the King of *Spain*, and were compoſed (as uſually) of *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans*, and *Walloons*; the Foot were about 16000: and the Horſe 3000. The Duke of *Lorain* had ſent the Counts of *Vaudemonte* and *Shalligny* with 700 Lances and Curaſiers in aſſiſtance of the League. Of all the Forces which the Duke of *Montemarchiano* brought with him into *France*, there remained little more then 2000 Foot *Switzers*, and 200 Horſe: The reſt of the Forces were made up by the League. The Duke of *Parma* commanded over all in chief, and next to him the greateſt authority lay in the Duke *Du Mayn*; with whom were then the Dukes of *Umale* and *Guiſe*, the firſt his Couſin-german, the other his Nephew; to boot with the aforeſaid Counts of *Vaudemonte* and *Shalligny*, who were of the ſame houſe, but in a degree further off.

During the preparation, muſtering, and marching of this Army, the year ended, and the next of 1592 began. All their men being met at the entrance into *Picardy*, the Army began to move about the midſt of *January*, and marched towards *Amiens*, that it might enter on that ſide into *Normandy*, and endeavour to relieve *Roan* as ſoon as might be. The King of *Navar*, as hath been ſaid, was before this City; and had advanced ſo far forward already in his ſiege, as the beſieged were not likely to defend it much longer. Yet Monſieur *de Villiers* ſuſtained the ſiege valiantly, and endeavoured by all ſtout reſiſtance to afford time for the aforeſaid ſuccour: And much encouraged to hear that the Leagues Army was upon its march to that purpoſe, he continued in his defence more reſolute *Anno* 1592.

then ever: though by reaſon of the ſtraits that he was in, he preſt the Colleagues very much to come to his relief as ſoon as they could. *Roan* lyes upon the banks of *Sene*, and this River doth there much inlarge it ſelf. Some leagues above it the King had a Town called *Pont d' Arke*, which is the laſt bridge which is now upon the *Sene* in its current to the Sea; ſome of the Arches of that bridge being broken and gone to decay, which the Engliſh did anciently build at *Roan*, whilſt they were Lords of *Normandy*. The Town of *Cawdebeck* lyes ſome leagues beneath *Roan*, upon the banks of the ſaid River; which was likewiſe in the Kings hands; inſomuch as he commanding the River both above and beneath, by means of theſe two Towns, and by ſome men of war which ſcour'd up and down the River, had reduced that City into great ſtraits. But hearing of the Duke of *Parma*, and that the Army of the League was already on its march towards *Normandy*: he called his Councel of war to conſider what was beſt for him to do upon this occaſion. The King had very great Forces; he had between nine and ten thouſand Horſe, and his Foot were as many as thoſe of the Colleagues: all the Horſe, unleſs it were ſome Dutch, were French; in the Foot there were likewiſe ſome conſiderable number of Dutch, and ſome Engliſh which the Queen had ſent to aſſiſt the King: and three thouſand Flemiſh Foot were likewiſe ſent from *Holland* in his aſſiſtance. It was argued in the Councel of war, whether it were better to abandon the ſiege, and to march againſt the Army of the League to fight them in the field, as it was formerly determined in the buſineſs of *Paris*; or continuing the ſiege, to wait the Enemy within the works, and to defend thoſe works ſo as the ſuccour might by that reſiſtance be hindred. The Mareſhal of *Biroune* inclined particularly to this opinion; who by reaſon of his long experience and worth in military affairs, was highly eſteemed throughout the whole Kingdom; and of whom the King did alwaies make uſe in all his moſt important, and moſt difficult enterpriſes. In maintenance of his opinion he ſpoke thus,

'Tis now (moſt glorious Prince) ſomewhat above a year ſince your Majeſty was with your Army about Paris; *every one knows that the end of that ſiege was onely to inforce that City to ſurrender by Famine; ſince ſo great a circuit of walls, and ſo thick a forreſt of houſes and inhabitants were not otherwiſe to be forced There were no quarters therefore fortified about it, no trenches were opened, no batteries raiſed, no aſſaults made. When afterwards the Army of the League drew neer, it was thought fitting that your Army ſhould encounter it, and endeavour by all means to engage it in battel, ſince there was no other way to hinder the relief then by a field fight. I, together with the reſt of the Commanders, was of that opinion, which was likewiſe approved of by your ſelf, who do no leſs excel others in counſel, then in command. Let us now conſider this preſent ſiege. In this, the end of begirting* Roan *conſiſts much more in uſing opugnancy, then means of Famine. It makes much for us doubtleſly, that we are maſters of the River on the upper ſide by means of* Pont d' Arke, *and on the nether ſide by the Town of* Cawdebeck; *ſo to keep* Roan *from victuals, but the hopes of winning lyes chiefly in our arms and ſwords. And how far are we already advanced with our trenches, with our batteries, with our works in the ditch, and with aſſaults? I am therefore of opinion, that upon this occaſion we ought to ſhun giving battel, and that we ought with all induſtry to fortifie our quarters, and uſe all vigilancy in defending them, ſo as the Leagues Army may not be able to force them; ſuccour being hindred from without, it is not to be doubted but for what within, our ſiege will advance fortunately againſt the walls. We have already made ſuch progreſs, as the City is in great terror: the Inhabitants whereof being accuſtomed to Traffick; and not acquainted with the Military profeſſion, will not run the hazard of expoſing themſelves to ruine, plunder, and other dreadfull calamities, which often accompany the taking of places by ſtorm and violence. Doubtleſly Monſieur* de Villiers *doth ſufficiently diſcharge his part in making defence. But when he ſhall want victuals, when his ſouldiery ſhall leſſen, and when he ſhall deſpair of ſuccour, how can he then hold longer out? As for us, the river furniſheth us with plenty of victuals; we doe ſo abound in gallant horſe, as we ſhall keep a good part of the neighbouring parts at our devotion. We expect new ſuccours by ſea from* Holland, *we receive freſh aid daily by land from the Provinces hereabouts. Wherefore ſince the advantages doe every*

day

day increase on our side by way of siege, Why should we not with all fervor and constancy prosecute it? These neighbouring Wars of France *and* Flanders *have begot a common saying, that sieges are there learn'd, here battels. Let it be once seen that* France *can do both the one and the other. And that though it use to prevail by the force of field-fights, yet it can use patience in bringing oppugnations, when it shall be requisite, to their right end. It cannot be denyed but that the Duke of* Parma *won much praise the last year, by taking* Lagne *whilst our Army looked on. But how much greater will your Majesties glory be, if you shall take* Roan, *in the face of his Army? Roan, which is the second City of the Kingdom, and which will quickly give you entrance into the first? For it is not to be doubted but that the Duke of* Parma *being recalled by his own necessities into* Flanders, Paris *will soon be reduced to your Majesties obedience; and that by the example thereof all the rest of the Kingdom will strive to do the like.*

But the Vicecount of *Turein* (not long before made Duke of *Bullion* by the right of his wife) who was one of the chief Commanders in war amongst the Hugonots of that Country; and who through his valour, and by his knowing how to make use thereof, by a particular vivacity of wit, became afterwards likewise one of the most esteem'd Marishals of *France*, was of another opinion, and spake thus.

I must confess (unconquerable Prince) I know not wherein the so great difference lies between the siege that was before Paris, *and this which is now before* Roan, *as that the resolutions which were then taken should be now shun'd. It was thought then that your Majesties Army was not sufficient at one and the same time, both to maintain the siege before* Paris, *and to fight the Army of the League; but that either the one or the other of these resolutions must be pitched upon. At last the latter prevailed over the former; and therefore we marched with all our Forces against the enemy, to give them battel in the field, and by that means to keep* Paris *from being relieved. 'Tis true there were no quarters taken nor fortified in that siege: nor was there any sort of oppugning made. But notwithstanding I shall never be of opinion, that to hinder the present relief, we should rather shut our selves up within our own quarters, then march with our Army into the field, as we did then.* Roan *is of such a bigness, and doth consequently require that our Fortifications about it be of such a compass, as we cannot bring them to such perfection as to be able to keep within them, and to defend them. Wherefore shall we expect to be doubly assaulted within them at one and the same time? Once by the Leagues Army without, and again within, by the Garison of the City? What will our danger be when we shall be thus invironed by so great Forces on all sides? The Duke of* Alva *some years agoe, at the siege of* Mons, *waited for the Prince of* Orange, *within his Trenches; the Prince came, drew near, was beaten back, and the Town was afterwards surrendred. But what?* Orange *did then assault high and well munited Rampires, defended by ancient and experienced souldiers, against Tumultuaries. And Count* Lodovick, *brother to* Orange, *had a very weak Garison within the Town, and a people as contrary to him as well might be. Let us pass from this President of* Flanders, *to another of* Italy, *which may be much better applyed to our present case. The memory thereof is sad, and will ever be so to* France. *I speak of the unfortunate siege of* Pavia. *King* Francis, *as it is well known, suffered himself upon that occasion to be reduced to between the Spanish Army without, and the German Garison within; who were all of them men trained up in Arms: and being set upon on both sides at once, these misfortunes and calamities befell him which are sufficiently known to all men. The Army of the League comes now, and is furnished with particular choice foot. There is in* Roan *a great and valiant Garison; and the Citizens, though not accustomed to Arms, are yet ready upon all occasions to take them up. Wherefore then, say I again, shall we expect a double assault of such Forces, between weak and distant works; and where our horse which do so far exceed those of the enemy, shall not have those advantages which they may have in the field? I therefore advise by all means to give the enemy battel in the field. It hath formerly been seen that the Duke of* Parma *hath always shun'd it. He will certainly be now of the same opinion. And why should not we be as forward to provoke him to battel, as he is backward thereunto? his foot may be thought somewhat the better, but our horse are almost twice as good as his, and*

may ſo advantagiouſly ſpread themſelves in theſe ſpacious fields of Normandy, *as the Flemiſh may oft-times have reaſon to wiſh themſelves within thoſe Dikes, Ditches, and Channels, which are ſo frequent in thoſe Countries. Hence it is that ſieges are there ſo much uſed. And what greater glory can we have, then to ſee battels more frequent here? Where true Military force and worth is manifeſted on the bright Theatre of the day, not amidſt blind Trenches, and buried Mines, and baſe fighting in ditches; but in open field between Squadron and Squadron, between Colours and Colours both of Foot and Horſe, orderly drawn out. For what remains, the former reaſons will be equally valid now. When your Majeſty ſhall once have won the battel, the war will ſoon be at an end: And ſay that any misfortune ſhould befall you, you may without much difficulty gather new forces, and take the field again. But it may aſſuredly be hoped that the misfortune of the war, or to ſay better, the puniſhment of Juſtice will fall upon your Enemies; who joyned together by the true reaſon of Intereſt, and the falſe pretences of Religion, imbrace the wickedeſt and moſt unworthy Cauſe that was ever at any time imbraced and defended.*

Theſe two opinions being duly weighed, the King on the one behalf thought that the Siege being ſo far advanced, was not to be abandoned; and on the other ſide he thought he did ſo far exceed the Enemy in Horſe, as he might ſpare a conſiderable ſtrength thereof to go againſt the Enemy, and ſo infeſt them, as that they ſhould either not be able to advance, or at leaſt too late to relieve the Town. But the event ſhewed, that the not wholly adhering to either the one or the other advice, made them both prove unfortunate. The King having taken the above-ſaid reſolution, reſolved to go himſelf in perſon with 5000 Horſe to encounter the Army of the League; and the mean while left the Marſhal of *Byron* with all the reſt of his Forces, who ſhould continue to ſtraiten *Roan* as much as he could. With theſe people the King went firſt to *Chaſtreauneuſe*, and then to *Aumale*; Towns which confine upon the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*. He was not well got out of *Normandy*, when he was advertiſed by his Scouts, that the Enemy were well advanced into *Picardy*. The Army of the League marched in the ſame manner, as by the Duke of *Parma's* orders it had done the time before: The Foot were placed in the midſt, the Horſe with long wings in the Flanks, and the Carriages on both ſides without. Monſieur *de la Motte*, together with his place of Generall of the Artillery, was Campmaſter Generall of all the *Flanders* Souldiers; and the ſame office was diſcharged in the proper Forces of the League by Monſieur *Rony*, a valiant Souldier, and great Commander, and who had a particular dependencie upon the Duke *du Muyn*. Each of them were very carefull in keeping the whole Camp in order, and in ſecuring their quarters; and yet the Dukes of *Parma* and of *Muyn* ceaſed not to be every where in their own perſons. The Vantguard was led on by the young Duke of *Guiſe*, who had with him two French-men of experienced valour, the Baron of *Scutres*, and Monſieur *de Vitry*: In the Battel were the Dukes of *Parma* and *Muyn*, the Duke of *Montemarchano*, and Count *Vaudemonte*; and the Rear guard was guided by the Duke *du Maine*, and Count *Saligni*: Prince *Rannuchio* marched uſually with the prime Horſe in the Van, and Marquis *Vaſto* took his place moſt commonly there alſo; who repenting his having given over his former place of Generall of the Horſe in *Flanders*, to command the Horſe in the State of *Milan*, being to that purpoſe gone the year before into *Italy*, was now (born by a deſire of glory) come to ſerve as a private Voluntier in the Duke of *Parma's* ſecond expedition into *France*. Ten peeces of Artillery did precede the Vantguard; and from the Front thereof was thruſt forth a flying Squadron, compoſed of Spaniſh and Italian Foot, who might be ready either to ſtand or charge the Enemy, according as occaſion on either ſort ſhould require. The Army of the League made but ſhort marches, that they might the better keep their ranks, fortifie their quarters the better, and to keep their ſouldiers from being weary. So as the Camp came not till the beginning of *February* near to *Aumail*, where (as was ſaid) the King of *Navar* was himſelf in perſon. Here the Scouts of both Camps met to learn news; but the King, not very well ſatisfied with the tidings which his Scouts brought, would be an eye-witneſs thereof himſelf. The King was ſo naturally given to waging battel, as oft-times wholly forgetting himſelf, he would be preſent

upon

upon the moſt common occaſions, and would therein meet with the moſt frequent dangers, as it now befell him, and thus it was. The King going out of *Aumaile* with 500 Horſe, gave order that the Baron *Jury* and Monſieur *de Laverdin* ſhould follow him with more Horſe, and with 400 Dragoons; and commanded likewiſe that the Dukes of *Nevers* and of *Longueville* ſhould be ready with the reſt of the Horſe which were in *Aumaile*. The King advancing further then he ought to have done with the firſt Horſe, fell upon the Scouts of the Enemies Camp, which he eaſily routed and put to flight: but *George Baſti* coming in ſoon after with a great body of other Horſe, charged thoſe of the King ſo home, as the King himſelf was in apparent danger; and ſo much the more, for that his perſon was known by many tokens. This danger forced the King to retreat; which he did the hardlier, for that the Enemy charging him ſtill more, the greater was the ſlaughter of his men. The Enemy endeavoured all they could to cut off the Kings way on all ſides, and to take him priſoner. He on the contrary ſuſtaining their force with incredible courage, endeavoured to bring himſelf as ſoon as he could into ſafety. In this interim many of his ſtouteſt men dropt by his ſide; nor could the King himſelf ſcape unhurt; for as he deſcended a little riſe, whilſt he gave back, he was ſhot with an harquebuſe about the reins, which made him haſten his retreat. At the news hereof the Dragoons came in, and lighting on foot, were of great ſervice to the King in ſuſtaining the fury of the Enemy. But almoſt all of them being ſlain, the King had run the like hazard, had not *Jury* and *Lavardine* advanced to defend him, though they were accompanied but with few of their men; for the reſt frighted with the news that was given out, that the King was either ſlain or taken priſoner, had moſt of them abandoned the field. So as their ſuccour was not ſufficient neither; for freſh horſe of the Leagues coming in, the Kings men could not ſtand this new tempeſt: *Jury* had his horſe kill'd under him, and *Lavardine* was ill hurt. The Leagues Vantguard was already all in Arms, and the Flying Squadron in particular was ready to move: And the Duke *du Mayn* ſaid unto the Duke of *Parma* with a loud voyce,

That ſuch an advantagious occaſion was not to be loſt: That the King of Navar *was upon his flight, moſt of his horſe full of ruine and terror; wherefore what labour would it be to diſſipate all the reſt? That wanting Foot, and having raſhly run into ſuch ſtraits, the King could by no means eſcape, if they would be but as reſolute to aſſault him, as it was eaſie to oppreſs him.*

'Tis ſaid, that the King ſeeing himſelf in ſo great danger, made one of his Captains of ſet purpoſe be taken priſoner, who was to affirm (as he did) that to boot with the Horſe which the King brought with him, he was followed by a good body of Foot. The Duke of *Parma* detained by this relation, and by his diffidence of being in a Country which he was not acquainted with, and with Forces which did not fully depend upon his command, would by no means hazard himſelf further in this conflict, fearing ſome ambuſh, or ſome other ſiniſter accident which might befall him. And he was chiefly perſwaded thereunto, for that he thought in reaſon of war it was impoſſible the King of *Navar* ſhould with ſuch reſolution have expoſed himſelf to ſuch a conflict againſt the Army of the League, unleſs he were accompanied with a great ſtrength of Foot alſo Wherefore the King being no further charged, the Dukes of *Nevers* and of *Longueville* came the mean while in to his aid; and affording him ſufficient commodity firſt to get into *Aumaile*, and then to get out of it, (For it was no place wherein to reſiſt the Leagues Army) he put himſelf quickly into ſafety. He loſt a great many of his men in this action, and Noble blood was mingled with blood which was more ordinary. There were very few of the League that were either ſlain or hurt. This was the Action at *Aumaile*; ſo conſiderable eſpecially, for that on the one part the King of *Navar* through too much raſhneſs was wounded, and likely to have been taken or ſlain; and for that on the other part the Duke of *Parma* through too much warineſs did not bear away a victory, which might have put the King into his hands either dead or alive, together with the whole Kingdom.

The King retreated from *Aumaile* to *Chaſteauneuſe*: which was not a conſiderable place to make reſiſtance. But becauſe it mightily imported the King of

Navar

Navar to entertain the Duke of *Parma* as much as might be, the Baron of *Jury* seemed ready to tarry there, and within it to make what resistance he could. To this purpose the King leaving with him such men as were needfull, drew off with the rest, to have his wound cured, and that he might again upon the first design turn to infest the Enemy. *Ferneſe* being come to *Chasteaunneuſe*, did so narrowly beset the Town, as he took it within four dayes, suffering *Jury* to goe out at the particular instance of the Baron of *Shatres*, who was very near a kin to him. Here the Duke staid some dayes longer, to provide himself of victuals, with part whereof to keep his Army in good plight, and to succour the besieged with the rest. The Duke having *Chasteaunneuſe*, continued his march as formerly; which was but slow, because he would have it sure. Wherefore the King being cured, returned again to infest him, and to use all means of detaining the succour, till such time as he might be master of *Roan*. Continual skirmishes were therefore had between the two Camps; no great advantage being at any time had on either side, save only that in one of them the Count of *Saligni* was taken prisoner. The Leagues Army was now come so near *Roan*, as there remained nothing but to resolve of the manner how they should endeavour to effect the succour. In that upper part of *Normandy* wherein the two Camps now were, there is a *Peninsula*, which contains the Country of *Caux*. It is flankt on the one side by the *Sene*, and on the other by the River *Diep* even to the Sea, which incompasseth the greatest part thereof; so as there remains but a narrow entrance into it by land, between the two Rivers. Upon the *Sene* beneath *Roan*, the King was master (as hath been said) of *Caudebeck*; and upon *Diep*, he was master of the Town called *Diep*, and of *Arques* not far from thence. The King with almost all his whole Horse was towards this side of the *Peninsula*, as being the neerest part to annoy the Leagues Army: having taken those horse from the siege, as well because there was no need of them there, as for that they might be the better kept in those spacious situations where he was. His Horse-quarters were therefore five or sixe leagues distant from where his Foot were quartered about *Roan*. *Ferneſe* was the more encouraged by this distance of the King of *Navar's* Forces. Wherefore rejecting the counsels of some who advised that they should endeavour to steal in some relief into *Roan* by night, he marched with his whole Camp in Battel-array; and going towards *Pont del Ark*, at the furthest distance that he could from those places where the Kings horse lay, he drew near *Roan*. The resolution which was taken was, to march as quietly as they could by night, and to come unexpectedly about the break of day to the Enemies trenches, and violently to assail them on the outside: whereupon the Garrison sallying out from within, and the assault being thus doubled, and the King by reason of the too far distance not being able to succour his Foot time enough with his Horse, it was not doubted but that the Enemy would forsake their Trenches, and full of terror raise the siege wholly. With this resolution and hope the D. of *Parma* was ready to march on the 26. of *February*, when a Messenger came who was sent to him and the D. *du Mayn* with this advertisement from Monsieur *de Villiers*, That the Garrison sallying out at four gates the day before about break of the day, they had furiously assaulted the Enemy; that great fear and execution had insued thereupon, and their quarters had been much indamaged; that many Peeces of their Artillery had been clog'd, and many of them brought into the City; that their munition was in part spoil'd, and their victuals prejudiced; that the Marshal *Biroun* himself was hurt in the fight, divers other Captains and Officers of quality slain, together with above 600 common souldiers: That since they had no other urgent occasion, Monsieur *de Villers* desired only a small recruit of men; and advised that the Army of the League might bend somewhither else, where it might be more necessary or more advantagious to imploy their Forces. In this Sally was *Villiers* himself in person, and had shewed singular valour, for which he wan great praise throughout the whole Cawp. But as for his present advice, *Ferneſe* seemed not to approve thereof: He rather thought,

That by all means the occasion ought to be seconded; that it did manifestly invite to finish what had been so well begun; and how could it be believed but that to the Assault within, this other of so great Forces without being added, the Enemy must needs

needs raiſe the ſiege. That it was to this purpoſe that the Army of the League was joyned had marched, and were come ſo near; and not onely to bring a ſmall relief to Roan. *If this ſo advantagious an opertunity ſhould be now loſt, when ſhould they ever expect the like? And what doubt was there but that when their Army ſhould be drawn off the Enemy would return to beſiege the City more ſtrickly?*

But the Duke *Du Mayne* urging many reaſons to the contrary, ſaid, *That for the preſent, the ſuccour which was required would ſuffice; and that the Army ought not to be adventured to another more dangerous conflict; That it might be imagined the Enemy had been more afraid then hurt within their Trenches; That it was to be imagined the King of* Navar *would immediately come out of his quarters upon the news of ſuch a ſally, upon the noiſe of ſuch a ſuccour: That he was very ſtrong in Horſe, wherefore his forces being ſoon joyned, it would be a very dangerous buſineſs to aſſault them: That it would be better therefore to ſecure the City for the preſent with the deſired ſuccour: That in the mean while the King would grow weary ſo would his Nobility alſo; and many of them would abandon him, when they ſhould ſee the ſiege ſhould be again prolonged, and all hopes of coming to a battel loſt: That the ſharpneſs of the winter was yet very great; great the ſufferings in the Enemies Camp: And that therefore the Army of the League going now upon ſome more important deſign, and where they might be more commodiouſly lodged: they might afterwara with greater advantage imploy themſelves to a total freeing of* Roan.

The Duke of *Parma* would have his opinion to yield to that of the Duke *Du Mayne's*, though he thought it a manifeſt error to loſe the preſent advantage in expectation of an uncertain futurity. Wherefore ſending 800 Foot to *Villars*, part French, part Walloons, the Duke made the Army ſuddenly turn back, and brought it almoſt in its former quarters from *Normandy* into *Picardy*. The King of *Navar* was this mean while on his march to relieve his Foot; and ſeeing the League's Army draw off, he thought that the Duke of *Parma* continued ſtill his former opinion of evading battel: wherefore aſſuming the more courage, for that he thought his Enemies cooled therein, he forthwith returned to remake the Trenches, which had been prejudiced in the ſally. He endeavoured to fortifie them better every where: and with all neceſſary proviſions applyed himſelf intentively to continue and to ſtraiten the ſiege on the other ſide. The Army of the League when it was entred into *Picardy*, and was got beyond the *Some* towards the confines of *Artois*, it was brought to beſiege the Town of *Rue*, a place ſeated low and which together with the advantage of its ſituation, was made very ſtrong by works. This place was at the King of *Navar's* devotion; though almoſt all the reſt of the Province adhered unto the League. At the firſt begirting of it, they began their uſual work of Trenches, but ſlowly and reſervedly, that they might ſave their men as much as it was poſſible, and not to imploy them ſo much here, but that they might be alwaies ready to return again to *Roan* when the occaſion might peradventure require it; which was not very long before it did. For the King of *France* growing ſtill hotter upon that ſiege, the City grew into ſo great neceſſities, as it was reduced to the ſame danger as before. The Dukes of *Parma* and of *Mayne* were hereof advertiſed by *Villiers*, to *Ferneſe's* great aſtoniſhment, who could hardly perſwade himſelf that *Villiers* would have deſired ſo weak an aid in the former ſuccour, unleſs he had known he had not needed a greater. This mean while daily news is brought of the beſieged's neceſſities. And though what the Duke *Du Mayne* had gueſt at touching the diminiſhing of the Kings Army had partly proved true; yet were his forces ſufficient doubtleſly to have taken *Roan*, if it had not been quickly relieved again. 'Twas thought the King had not then above 5000 Horſe, and 16000 Foot; wherein was comprehended 3000 which were lately come from *Holland* with ſome men of war, that they might the better command the River. But on the other ſide, the League's Army was likewiſe much leſſened. The Pope's Zwitſers were not above 2000, and the change of Pope had made the Duke of *Montemarchiano* leave *France*, and almoſt all the reſt of that aid vaniſh. *Lorain's* Forces were likewiſe brought very low, and being ſo near *Artois*, many Walloons and Flemiſh were run away from the Army, and returned to their own homes. Yet was the League's Army as numerous as the King of *Navar's*, and their

their Foot were much the better. Upon theſe terms were the Forces on both ſides when Monſieur *de Villiers* renued his deſires of being ſpeedily ſuccoured, with much more earneſtneſs then before; and proteſted openly afterwards, that if he were not relieved before the twentieth of *April* he ſhould be forced to deliver up the Town. Wherefore the Duke of *Parma*, riſing ſpeedily from before *Rue*, and paſſing the neereſt way over the *Some*, re-entred *Normandy*, to come ſpeedily where the greateſt neceſſity of ſuccour required. He ſaw he muſt of neceſſity aſſault the Enemy within his Trenches, and conſequently come to a down right battel. Great certainly was the advantages which the Enemy had in his rampiers; but *Ferneſe* thought his advantage the greater, by the double aſſault which ſhould be given to the Enemy at one and the ſame time, by his Army without, and by the Gariſon within. The Duke of *Parma* drew near with this deſigne to *Roan*. He marched after his former faſhion, thinking that the King of *Navar* might peradventure meet him, and rather chuſe to give battel in the open field to the Leagues Army alone, then adventure to receive and to ſuſtain the two afore mentioned aſſaults at one and the ſame time. At the hearing of the Duke of *Parma*'s march, the King was in great diſpute what to do. But conſidering well his Forces, and not thinking them ſuch, as that he was upon ſo great uncertainties to place all his hopes in them, he ſet aſide the more hardy advice; and for the preſent giving way to the more cautious, reſolved not to undergoe the hazard of either of both theſe bickerings. Wherefore he raiſed his Camp from before *Roan* on the 20 of *April*, and marching in great order to *Ponte d' Ark*, he ſtayed there to obſerve the enemies proceedings, and to do what ſhould make moſt for his advantage afterwards.

The King of *Navar* being gon from before *Roan*, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Main* preſently entred the Town, and ſtaid there the next day, to the great joy of all the Inhabitants who ran from all parts to meet them and to receive them. The Army was quartered in the neighbouring Towns, till they might conſider, and reſolve what deſigne to fall upon next. Concerning which there were ſeveral opinions in the Councel. But that which was moſt purſued, eſpecially by the French Commanders, was, that *Rean* not being to be reputed totally free till ſuch time as it had the free paſſage of the river, it was therefore neceſſary to take *Caudebeck* from the enemy; by which Town they might be always much prejudiced in receiving their victuals by way of the river. The Duke of *Parma* endeavoured upon all occaſions to ſecond the opinion of thoſe of the League, and particularly in working their advantages more in one part then in another of that Country, wherein he was not well vers'd. Though that reſolution was to prove the ruine of the whole Army, as ſhall be ſeen. The Duke turning to the aforeſaid ſiege of *Caudebeck*, incamped before it with his whole Army. This Town lies, as hath been ſaid, upon the right hand of the banks of *Seene*. It is three leagues diſtant from *Roan*; of an indifferent bigneſs, and without any conſiderable Fortification. Yet thoſe within the Town, ſeemed as if they would defend it: ſo as a battery muſt be prepared againſt it. The Duke of *Parma* for his better ſatisfaction, would go himſelf in perſon to diſcover the ſituation of the place. And whilſt in company of one *Propertio*, an Italian Ingeneer, and only three more (having advanced too far) he was obſerving the walls, it ſo fell out, as ſome within the Town giving fire to their Harquebuſes, he was wounded by one of them on the left arm, between the hand and the elbow. He ſaid not a word; nor ſeemed to be any ways concerned in the wound; but with ſingular ſufferance continued the work begun: when great ſtore of bloud was ſeen to fall from his arm, and he was neceſſitated to retire. Being come to his lodging, his wound was dreſt, and it was judged not to be mortal, but that the cure would be long and troubleſome. A great diſturbance inſued upon this accident throughout the whole Army: it not being known how the Government ſhould be ordered. The Duke *du Main* had the chiefeſt part in the general command: but the Duke of *Parma* would have the Prince his ſon, to command over all the *Flanders* Forces.

The former reſolution of forcing *Caudebeck* was thus continued, A great battery was planted againſt the walls, which quickly made a great breach: wherefore

fore the next day the defendants began to parley, and upon good Conditions went out of the Town. The Duke of *Parma* was brought in thither that his wound might be the better tended; nor was there any resolution taken wherewith he was not acquainted. Good store of provision was found in *Caudebeck*; and the gaining of that Town, made the River more open in the behalf of *Roan*: though the Hollanders men of war did continually infest it. But this mean while new Forces flock'd continually to the King of *Navar*, and particularly the Nobility on horseback, out of new hopes of a field-battel, since the siege had succeeded unfortunately. The King hereby incouraged, went from *Pont d'Arke*, and began to inlarge himself in the field, intending to keep it as much as he could from the Leagues Army. The designe was to hinder them especially from that Pass which lies between the Rivers of *Seene* and *Diepe*, and which serves for the coming by land into the Peninsula of *Caux*, as hath been said. The Army of the League was of necessity to return by that way, as they should go out of *Normandy*, to re-enter into *Picardy*. And this sort of opposition might certainly put it into great straits. After the taking of *Caudebeck*, the Duke *du Main*, and the Prince of *Parma*, with the approbation of the Duke his Father, led the Army to quarter more within the Country, and came to the Town of *Yuetot*, little more then an hours match from *Caudebeck*, that they might the better observe the King of *Navars* resolutions, and oppose themselves thereunto the best that they could. The Village was full of houses, and very advantagiously seated; and victuals might easily be brought thither from the *Seene*. Here then the Army staid, and to the natural strength thereof, they added such Fortifications by handy work as were necessary. By this the King of *Navar* judged that the Colleagues intended to quit *Normandy* as soon as they could; which he being desirous to hinder, advanced with all his Camp, and lodged not above a mile from where the Colleagues were. Here the King began likewise to fortifie himself; and at the same time to scoure the Country, to straiten it as much as he could from the enemies Camp. And he might very well do it: for the Nobility being come again from all parts to assist him, his Cavalry was increased to the number of 8 or 9 thousand horse: and his foot did likewise daily increase. This their so near neighbourhood occasioned continual skirmishes, each party endeavouring to advantage their own situations, that they might the more offend the like of the enemy. The King of *Navar* went not long after to lodge in another place, where he might keep the enemy much more from victuals. 'Twas evidently seen that his end was either to fight them upon great advantage, or to reduce them to such a scarcity of victuals, as he must at last have the victory without fighting. The Colleagues began to be much incommodated by these his last quarters. Wherefore not to be too much straitned neither in place nor in victuals, they were often forced to sally out in great bodies, in opposition of the Kings forces, which were by the King with incredible vigilancy kept in continual exercise. The skirmishes were therefore usually turned into parties; one of which happened to be so fierce and so long, as it was likely to have turned to a set battel. On one side the Duke *du Main*, and Duke *de Guise* were ingaged; and Prince *Ranucchio* on another, whose horse was slain under him, and his own person was evidently indangered. At the noise of this conflict, and for fear lest it might come to a general battel, came the Duke of *Parma* himself in person at last; being brought in a Chair, and afterwards set on horseback, not failing to be wheresoever it was most needfull, though his wound did exceedingly pain him. But the coming on of night kept them from coming to an intire conflict: and it was seen that to come thereunto, each side desired either to have the greater advantage, or would not hazard greater losses. There were two Captains of Launces with the Prince who had particular occasion to signalize themselves: the one a Spaniard, *Carlo Colonna*; and the other an Italian, which was *Hannibal Bentivoglio* our brother, a youth of but 20 years old, who received a sore wound in his leg. This *Carlo Colonna* wrote the History of the Military Successes of *Flanders* which happened in the time of his own being there, in his own Language; a History very much esteemed of; and which hath made the Author so much more famous, for that he was ever after meritoriously employed by the King, not only in matters of

War, but alſo in Civil negotiations. Many hot conflicts inſued upon this, neither ſide having much the better. Neither do we think it fitting to repreſent every particular ſucceſs thereof here, that we may not too long defer the reaſſuming what more properly belongs to our particular Hiſtory of *Flanders*. The King of *Navar* continued ſcouring the Country up and down every where, particularly where he might moſt incommodiate the Enemy in their victuals, wherein they already ſuffered exceeding much; Bread was ſold at a very dear rate, and was not had without great difficulty; Forage for Horſes grew every day ſcarcer; and all other ſufferings were proportionable to that of victuals, throughout the whole Army. Wherefore many Souldiers began to disband; and all in generall to complain,

That their ſo many and ſo renowned labours ſhould terminate in the miſerable neceſſity of Famine. How much better would it be to dye with their ſwords in their hands, and by that way to attempt their return? So as the Enemy ſhould not boaſt, at leaſt, to have overcome without fighting, and glory in the triumph before they had well got the victory.

And this was the King of *Navars* mind: For it was apparently ſeen, that laying aſide all thoughts of fighting, his only end was to reduce the Colleagues to the utmoſt extremity by Famine; and he ſeemed already not any wayes to doubt it. He conſidered that the Leagues Army, before they could come out of *Normandy*, and enter into *Picardy*, was of neceſſity to paſs through the entrance into the aforeſaid *Peninſula*; That that Paſs was poſſeſt by his ſouldiers, and that the Colleagues could not without manifeſt ruine force their way through that paſſage. There remained then only the paſſage over the *Sene*: But how difficult and how dangerous would this be likewiſe to them? ſince they were to paſs over a River of ſo great a breadth and depth, continually infeſted with the alternate ebbing and flowing of the Sea; and being flanked with ſo powerfull an Army as was his. By reaſon of which ſtraits on both ſides, the King thought he had the victory ſo ſure, as (as I ſaid before) he made no doubt of it. The Duke of *Parma* did alſo very well know all theſe difficulties; and weighing them together, reſolved at laſt to paſs over the River, and to put his Army into ſafety. Nor did he any whit delay the doing thereof; for the neceſſities of his Camp were grown to that extremity, as it began to threaten an intire diſſipation, unleſs ſome opportune remedy might quickly be found. Having therefore ſecretly communicated this his mind to the Duke *Du Mayn*, to Prince *Ranucchio*, and to ſome few others who were to be actors in the buſineſs, he in the firſt place reſolved to draw near the River, the better to facilitate all ſuch preparations as was neeeſſary for that end The Colleagues were, as it hath been ſaid, in *Yvetot*, which was a good way from the River. *Ferneſe* going then from thence, went to another place within leſs then a mile off *Caudebeck*, where he likewiſe fortified himſelf as well as he could. On the other ſide the King of *Navar* failed not immediately to draw near unto him; ſo as continual skirmiſhes, and parties were had as before. This mean while ſuch proviſions were made as were requiſite for paſſing over the River, as *Ferneſe* had deſigned. Wherefore not able to defer it any longer, he ordered it thus. With great ſpeed he cauſed two Forts to be raiſed upon the two ſhores, one over againſt the other: Into that which was on the ſhore next the Army, he put Count *Boſſu* with 800 Foot of his Walloon Regiment; and into that on the contrary ſide he put Campmaſter *Barlotta* with as many of his Regiment of the ſame Nation alſo; and he furniſhed both theſe Forts with ſome Peeces of Artillery, whereby to ſecure the Barks wherein the Army was to paſs. The Forts being thus raiſed and provided, he cauſed a great many great Barks, and ſome of a middle ſiſe, fall down from *Roan*, which were made of ſuch a form as was needfull for the ſaid deſign: There were ſome flat-bottom'd, like to Floats, for the better tranſporting of the Artillery; and all theſe greater Barks were accompanied by leſſer Boats with oars, which were to ſerve to make the paſſage of the greater the more eaſie. On the 22. of *May* all theſe Barks came to the place deſtin'd for the paſſage; nor did the Duke of *Parma* delay one moment the putting of it in execution. That very night he paſt over all the French Horſe, and the next day almoſt all the Flanders Foot; ſome part thereof ſtaid on this ſide the River, to

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cozen the King of *Navar*, by feigning to make the wonted skirmiſhes, and to make him believe that they would go to ſome other quarters. And becauſe the Barks would have been too long in conveying over the whole Army, almoſt all the Flanders Horſe, the Baggage, and the Artillery were ſuddenly ſent to *Roan*, to enjoy, as afterwards they did, the commodity of the Bridge before ſpoke of, and which was patcht up in the broken parts thereof in ſuch ſort as neceſſity upon ſuch an occaſion could permit. The next day, as the Kings Horſ-men were making their wonted excurſions, they were at laſt aware that the Enemies Army were paſſing over the River. The King was mad to hear of this, eſpecially when he knew that there were but few left on this ſide the River, and that thoſe were ſheltred by the Fort raiſed on the ſame ſide. He without delay picked out a ſelect number of Horſe, and came to the River, to ſee if he could rout the aforeſaid men, who were all *Spaniards* and *Italians*. But he found them ſo valiantly ſuſtained by Prince *Rannucchio*, and ſo well defended by the Fort, as he could no wayes impede their paſſage. To perfect the buſineſs, the Duke of *Parma* would have his ſon the Prince bring off the Rear; who imbarking that remainder, paſt them all ſafely over: And the like inſued to the other Souldiers who were in the Fort, and to the Artillery which defended it. Yet the King cauſing ſome of his Cannon be brought to a certain place which did moſt command the River, endeavoured to ſink thoſe Boats wherein the reſidue of the Dukes men were; and ſome of thoſe Boats which were come from *Holland* came likewiſe up, and endeavoured to hinder the paſſage. But all was in vain: For finally the Prince landed himſelf, and all the reſt of his men ſafe on the other ſhore; and preſently ſet all the Barks on fire, to bereave the Enemy of making uſe of them in paſſing over the River alſo.

The King of *Navar* was ſtill mightily incenſt, to ſee that Victory eſcape him which he made ſo ſure of. He was minded to paſs over the *Pont d'Ark*, to encounter the Enemy again, or at leaſt to infeſt them as much as he could in the Rear. But the compaſs being great which he was to make, and the Foot not being able to follow the Horſe ſo faſt, which of themſelves alone were not able to reduce the Enemy into ſtraits, he did not any thing more againſt them. When the Army of the League was paſt over the River, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayn* ſuſpected leſt the King of *Navar* might fall upon the aforeſaid reſolution of paſſing over the *Pont d'Ark*: They therefore went far from the River, and quartered in a Village called *Newburgh*, more within land. From hence *Du Mayn* went with ſome Forces to *Rohan*, the better to ſecure the affairs of that City by his own preſence, whilſt the King of *Navar* kept ſtill thereabouts with ſo great a ſtrength. And *Ferneſe* purſued his Retreat, marching ſtill in very great order; till being come into the Country of *Brye*, contiguous to *Champania*, he thought he might with more commodiouſneſs and ſafety make leſs haſte out of *France*. Being come to the Confines, he left certain Foot and Horſe under the Command of Monſieur *Rony*, to be diſpoſed of in the Leagues ſervice, as the Duke *Du Mayn* ſhould appoint him. And from thence entring *Flanders*, he went again to the *Spaw*, being thereunto invited by the hot weather which already began: But with ſmall hopes of getting any good by it for his infirmity, which ſince his wound grew every day greater. He was much afflicted at this his bodily weakneſs, being thereby deprived of following the moſt neceſſary military actions, which he had formerly indefatigably undergone in his own perſon. But he was chiefly vexed to ſee how much evil the diverſions of *France* had occaſioned to the affairs of *Flanders*; and that the King of *Spain* did ſtill perſiſt more then ever in his deſire of ſuccouring the League; and that to that purpoſe he was again to paſs into *France* as ſoon as he could. At his arrival in *Flanders* he found a mutiny of the *Italians* on foot; and that Count *Maurice* had ſtraightly beſieged *Stenwick*, a place of importance towards *Frieſland*, on the other ſide of the *Rhine*. *Maurice* did luſtily begirt it on all ſides; and having firſt fortified himſelf without to keep the Kings men from bringing relief, he omitted no diligence in making inward advancements. He plaid upon the Town furiouſly from divers parts with his Artillery: And though the beſieged were not wanting in making reſiſtance by frequent Sallies, and by all other ſtout reſiſtance, yet it was known the Town could

could not long hold out, without ſome ſuccour. The ſiege was at this paſs when the Duke of *Parma* arrived in *Flanders*. He had left a good many men in *France*; and the remainder were ſo leſſened, and ſo out of order by reaſon of ſo many ſufferings, as they were not in any condition of undergoing new ones. The Duke endeavoured notwithſtanding that all means ſhould be uſed to relieve the Town. And *Verdugo* did likewiſe labour in it with his wonted diligence and induſtry. But his aſſiſtance was ſo weak, and came ſo late, as the beſieged not being able to hold out any longer, were at laſt inforced to yield. *Maurice* won much honour by the getting of this place, and it was a great advantage to the Confederate Provinces in thoſe parts. Nor did they ſtop here: Count *Maurice* turned preſently upon the Fort of *Cowreden*, which was in the Kings poſſeſſion, and guarded a paſs of great moment thereabouts: and did ſo narrowly beſiege it, as thoſe within wanting many neceſſaries for defence, and withall having no hopes of ſuccour, they were at laſt forced to quit the place.

Much afflicted at theſe loſſes, the Duke of *Parma* came to *Bruſſels* about the midſt of *October*; at his arrival in *Flanders*, the Prince his ſon departed from thoſe Countries to return for *Italy*. And the Duke being grown ſo very weak, as he thought he could not continue his Military labours in that Government, he very much preſt the King for leave to quit it. But the King thought not good to condeſcend thereunto: hoping that the Duke might yet again paſs once more into *France*: and knowing of what importance his very preſence would be there. On the other ſide the King knew in what a languiſhing condition of health the Duke was: he knew how he was affected with the Dropſie, which was become now incurable; and that it was likely ſome time or other to prove his death. Wherefore the King thought it neceſſary to ſend ſome perſonage of worth and eſteem into *Flanders*, who might more attentively obſerve the Dukes condition, and might likewiſe have ſuch Commiſſions about him from the King, as ſhould be thought fitteſt to be put in execution, as well in conſideration of the Dukes great want of health, as alſo in caſe the Duke ſhould die. To this purpoſe he ſent away *John Pachecco*, Marquis of *Ceralva*, who died before he got out of *Spain*; wherefore he was fain to ſend another in his place, which was *Pietro Henrichuz di Azevedo*, Count of *Fuentes*. This mean while the King being earneſtly requeſted by thoſe of the League in *France*, had commanded the Duke of *Parma*, that he ſhould prepare to go again into that Kingdom, with as great a ſtrength as his occaſions in *Flanders* would permit him. In performance whereof the Duke gave out preſent orders for the raiſing of new men, as he had formerly done. And going from *Bruſſels*, went to *Arras*, that he might be as ſoon as might be on the neareſt Confines of *France*, and give the greater incouragement to the buſineſs. Here through the ſtrength and vertue of his mind, he continued as much as poſſibly he could to govern the weakneſs and languor of his body. He was indefatigable in his negotiations, and more by night then by day. And as if he ſcorn'd to yield to nature, which made him now unable for any exerciſe, he would ſometimes appear on horſeback, and did ſtrive to deceive himſelf by going on foot. Thus did he perſevere to do for ſome time. And in the interim Count *Fuentes* arrived in *Flanders*: who prepared to go from *Bruſſels*, to find out the Duke at *Arras*; but he could not come time enough; for the Duke, not able to hold out any longer, and knowing himſelf firſt to be dead, before he would, as it were confeſs himſelf to be mortal, breathed forth his very laſt ſpirits about the beginning of *December*. Thus ended *Alexander Ferneſe*, Duke of *Parma*, in the 47 year of his age. The Pontifical greatneſs of *Paul* the third, placed the Title of Prince in his houſe. This *Alexander* being from his birth highly minded, began to give all ſignes thereof even in his childhood. Whilſt yet a youth, he went to the Court of *Spain*, to give the greater pawn of his dependancy unto the King: and conſequently to obtain the livelyer effects of protection from him. But paſſing quickly from the Courtier to the Souldier, he laid the firſt foundation thereof under *Don John* of *Auſtria*, upon the memorable occaſion of the League againſt the *Turk*. Even then he gave ſuch proofs of his warlike ſpirit, that amongſt the richeſt choice of Commanders that Chriſtendom had in that enterpriſe, he was choſen to take in *Navarino*, one of the moſt conſiderable places of all the Eaſtern

ſtern Seas. *Don John* being afterwards made Governour of the Low-Countries; he at the firſt news of the revolts which aroſe there, haſted, as hath been ſaid, to find out *Don John*. And ſo behaved himſelf in every Military action, as it was queſtioned whether he had better performed the quality of a common ſouldier, or the greater prerogatives of a Commander. Succeeding afterwards himſelf in the ſame Government, it ſeemed *Don John* did ſtill ſurvive in him: ſo near were they ally'd no leſs in affection then in bloud, and ſo conformable were they both in their years, in their conditions, and in their valour. Whilſt *Ferneſe* fought amongſt the Flemiſh, his Forces were almoſt always waited upon by great good ſucceſs; but being forced to paſs divers times into *France*, he was neceſſitated to ſee the Kings affairs in *Flanders* mightily decline. For what concerns the reputation of his Military profeſſion, none hath more in *France* then he, for the two ſo memorable Succours of *Paris* and *Roan*: And finally his glorious Retreat from *Caudebeck*, won more renown unto him without fighting, then if he had joyned battel in each of thoſe actions, and had overcome. He was indeed a gallant Commander: and doubtleſly of ſo clear a fame, as his renown may rank him amongſt the moſt cry'd up Chieftains of Antiquity, and render his memory ſo reverenced in the preſent age, as to make him be admired by poſterity.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK I.

The Contents.

Count Peter Erneſtus Mansfield *ſucceeds the Duke of* Parma *in the Government of* Flanders. *He ſends his ſon Count* Charls *into* Picardy; *where joyning with the Duke du* Main, *they beſiege and take the Town of* Noyon. *But the Spaniards in that Army, mutiny awhile after in the Town of St* Paul *in* Artois. *Count* Maurice *makes uſe of this; he ſtrongly beſieges St* Getringberg, *and takes it; Manſfield having in vain endeavoured to relieve it. Diſorders increaſe in the Kings Army by another mutiny of Italians and Walloons, at* Pont *in* Hennault. *Archduke* Erneſtus *comes to* Flanders, *and is by the King declared Governour thereof. A new expedition of Count* Charls *in* Picardy, *with the taking of* La Chapelle. *The Archduke indeavours a Treaty of peace with the enemy. But they reject all Treaties. Not long after they beſiege* Groninghen, *which after ſome oppoſition is taken by Count* Maurice. *The King of* Navar *declares himſelf a Catholick. And the League languiſheth. The King enters with great forces into* Picardy. *He beſieges* Laon. Du Main *and* Mansfield *march to relieve it. But cannot doe it.*

it. Their noble retreat in the face of the King. This mean while another Mutiny happens amongſt the Italians *in* Flanders, *who take the Town of* Sichen. *The Archduke endeavours to break the Mutiny by force; and not being able to doe it, comes to compoſition. The Confederate Provinces endeavour to find a nearer way by Sea to the* Eaſt-Indies *by the North. The deſign ſucceeds not. It is briefly touched how they entred by the uſual way into the* Eaſt-Indies, *and afterwards into the* Weſt. *Archduke* Erneſtus *dies, and leaves the Government of thoſe Provinces to Count* Fuentes.

Anno 1593.

BY Commiſſions from the King of *Spain*, which were brought by Count *Fuentes* into *Flanders*, it was ordered, That if the Duke of *Parma* ſhould chance to dye, the Government ſhould remain in Count *Peter Erneſtus*, in the ſame manner as it had been in the Dukes two precedent expeditions into *France*: That his ſon Count *Charls* ſhould ſtill keep the chief management of the Forces; that he ſhould continue to give all poſſible aſſiſtance to the League in *France*; and that the greateſt endeavours being made on that ſide, it ſhould ſuffice to ſtand only upon the defence on the Kings part in the affairs of *Flanders*. Theſe Orders being come from the King, the firſt thing Count *Peter Erneſtus* did, was to diſpatch away his Son with new Forces into *France*, to boot with thoſe that were there already in behalf of the League. The Duke *Du Mayn* preſt very much for theſe ſuccours; and that he might the ſooner receive it, he himſelf was already gone into *Picardy*. Count *Fuentes* was in the firſt Place with *Mansfield*; and bore ſuch a ſway with him, as the power of Government ſeemed to be more in *Fuentes* then in *Mansfield*. *Fuentes* then remained chief Superintendent in *Flanders*; and Count *Charls* paſt into *France* with 6000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, part old ſouldiers, part new men but then raiſed. You heard before, how that the Duke of *Parma*, that he might have a ſafe retreat upon the Frontiers of *Picardy*, had in his ſecond expedition the Town of *Fera* delivered into his hands. Here Count *Charls* made his rendezvouz, and here did the Duke *Du Mayn* joyn with him. Between the *Flanders* Forces, and thoſe of *France* which depended upon the League, was framed an Army of 15000 Foot and 3000 Horſe; and in the beginning of *March*, in the year 1593. the Camp moved againſt *Noyon*, which is not far from *La Fera*. It is a Town very much peopled; it hath a Biſhops See in it, and certain other circumſtances which makes it be eſteemed one of the moſt conſiderable places of all *Picardy*. *Noyon* adhered to the King of *Navar*, and was of much advantage to him in that part of the Province which lies neareſt *Paris*. For all things elſe, it was not ſo ſtrong, neither by nature, nor by induſtry, nor by the condition of the people or garriſon, but that it might be ſoon won. A little Rivolet runs through it, which not far from the City falls into the *Oyſe*. When the Army of the League had begirt *Noyon*, they began to fortifie their quarters towards the field, leſt the King of *Navar* might endeavour to ſuccour the Town; then according to cuſtome they fell to work upon their Trenches, and to prepare for Battery. The ground was rather moyſt then dry on the one ſide; and therefore they began their works there, where the ground would beſt permit them ſo to doe. The two Camps contended in the making of them; and eſpecially in that of *Flanders*, the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans* and *Walloons* ſtrove according as uſually to outdoe one another in opening and in advancing the Trenches. The beſieged made ſome ſallies, but with weak forces, and weaker courage: by which it was judged the City was not in condition to make any long reſiſtance. One of their beſt defences was a Ravelin without the walls, built about with good ſtone, and furniſht with a Platform. The Batteries were therefore chiefly turn'd upon that Ravelin: Nor was it long ere they fell with their Trenches into the Ditch; where Mines being joyn'd to the Batteries, ſo great a breach was ſoon made in the Ravelin, as it was now thought fitting to make an aſſault. Which hapned luckily. The *Spaniards* and *Walloons* did herein particularly ſignalize themſelves; and of all others, the Camp-maſters *Luis Velaſco* a Spaniard, and *Claudius Barlotta* a Walloon: *Barlotta* and divers

others

others were wounded, and ſome were ſlain. The Ravelin being taken, thoſe that won it lodged there; and planted ſome peeces of Artillery upon it, to play upon the Town nearer hand, and with the more terror. A certain ſtrength of Horſe and Foot was ſtill maintained by the Apoſtolike Sea, who were commanded by *Appius Conti*, who plaid his part valiantly. But a quarrel ariſing between him and the Baron *Chateaubrain* a Lorainer, and Colonel of the Germans, and falling from words to blows, *Appius* was wounded, whereupon he quickly dyed; to the grief of the Army, which held him in great eſteem. This occaſioned ſome diſorder in the Pontificials; for *Chateaubrain's* German Regiment was maintained by the monies of the Apoſtolike Sea. Yet was the Siege ſo hotly continued by all parties, as thoſe within were within a few dayes reduced to parley; and at laſt yielded upon honorable terms, their hopes of ſuccour failing them, though the King of *Navar* had often endeavoured it, but more by ſtealth then openly.

After the taking of *Noyon*, the Duke *Du Mayne* went ſuddenly towards *Paris*. The Catholick States-Generall which followed the League, were then met in that City; and this meeting was chiefly had for the chuſing of a King that would be obedient to the Church, and who would preſerve that Kingdom in the antient Religion. The two aforenamed Officers of State, *Mendoſa* and *Taſſis*, were then in *Paris* for the King of *Spains* ſervice in the buſineſs then on foot; and a little before Don *Diego d'Ivara* was come thither likewiſe on his behalf, a man of courege, and who was likewiſe thought very fit for the conducting of that buſineſs. But to give it the greater reputation and advantage, the Duke of *Feria* was at laſt ſent by the King of *Spain* to *Paris*; A perſonage who to the prerogative of his family had the addition of all others which upon ſuch an occaſion were to be deſired. Their chief endeavour was to overthrow the Law Salique, which excludes Women from ſucceeding to that Crown. In which caſe the Infanta *Iſabella* the Kings eldeſt daughter was to have ſucceeded, as daughter to Queen *Iſabella*, who was the eldeſt daughter to *Henry* the 2. King of *France*, and who had been formerly wife to the King of *Spain*. And as for a Husband for the *Infanta*, ſince ſhe could not have one of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as the King her Father would have deſired (but it may be all in vain, by reaſon of the invincible repugnance of the *French*) it was diſcovered that in ſuch a caſe the King would condeſcend to the choice of ſome one of that Nation, and particularly of the Houſe of *Lorain*, upon which the League in *France* was chiefly built. It was foreſeen by all the aforeſaid Agents how much advantagious it would be for the maintaining their negotiation, that the *Flanders* Forces which entred *France* in favour of the League ſhould be vigorous: wherefore they preſt this point hard upon the Governour *Mansfield*, and upon *Fuentes*, who (as we have ſaid) was next under him. But theſe on the contrary repreſented, That the affairs of *Flanders* were not to be abandoned; that the Enemy began already to move with potent Forces on that ſide; and that it behoved to maintain the Kings cauſe there likewiſe as much as might be. And yet the event ſhewed in a ſhort while, that the thus dividing of the Kings forces, did ſo weaken and diſorder them, as that they did little or no good in *France*, and were the cauſe of very great loſſes in *Flanders*. And that which greatly increaſed the diſorders was, that almoſt at the ſame time divers Mutinies broke forth; by occaſion whereof the King of *Spain* was more indammaged by his own Souldiers, then by his Enemies.

Now to return to the affairs of *Picardy*. When the Duke *Du Mayn* was gone from *Picardy*, Count *Charls* parted from thence likewiſe, and went with his Camp towards the Sea-ſide, into the lower parts of that Province, where there were yet ſome places which held for the King of *Navar*; and eſpecially the Caſtle of *Rue*, ſtrong both by ſituation and handy-work, as hath been ſaid: And becauſe to beſiege it, would be a buſineſs of long time, and which did require greater Forces then Count *Charls* had with him, he therefore contented himſelf with making eaſier acquiſitions. *Hembercourt*, a weak place, and more within land; and S. *Vallery*, more conſiderable as being ſeated upon the *Some* where that River falls into the Sea, fell into his hands. Here when the Count would have made

further progress, he must sheath his sword by reason of a Truce which was at that time made for three months, between the King of *Navarr* and the Duke *Du Maine*. Arms being laid aside in *Picardy*, the Count distributed his Army in the parts of that Province which lay towards *Artois*. The expences which the King of *Spain* was then at in *France* was excessive: wherefore the Souldiers being but slowly paid, it was impossible to keep them from rapine; so as those parts found more of damage by the cessation of Arms, then they had done in the time of war. Neither did the mischief rest here, licentiousness increasing every day, and pillage degenerating by degrees into disobedience, at last they fell into divers mutinies: The first fell out amongst the *Spaniards*; which being first practised with great secresie, was soon after concluded; and except it were the Officers, and some Souldiers of more respect then the rest, it was exactly performed by all others. They murmured, according as is usual, to see their labours so ill requited: And to honest their Error, they endeavoured to excuse it by Necessity. Having then gathered together a sufficient number of men and horse, they designed to possess themselves of some of the neerest Towns in *Artois*, and there afterwards to fortifie and defend themselves, and to draw all the Country thereabouts into contribution for their maintenance, till they should receive full satisfaction for their pay. The Town *St. Paul* was pitcht upon for a very fitting place to this purpose. Going therefore unexpectedly thither, and not meeting with almost any resistance, they fixed there. At the first hearing of this riot, Count *Charls* was minded to reduce them by force: But doubting afterwards, that when the rest of the Nations, being come nearer them, should more narrowly consider the *Spaniards* design, they would rather imitate then impede it, he thought it better to shun so great a hazard: Which served to defer, but not to evade the danger, as shall be said in its proper place. These were the successes of the King of *Spain's* Forces upon that Frontier of *France*.

And now to proceed with the peculiar affairs of *Flanders*: The United *Flemish* failed not to make use of this occasion which made so much for their advantage. The Duke of *Parma* being dead, and finding the King more eager then ever in his designs upon *France*, they used all the means they could to be early in the field with a potent Army. Wherefore the winter being over, and Count *Charls* being gone with so great a part of the Army into *Picardy*, Count *Maurice* deferred not moving, but discovered his design of entring with his Forces into *Brabant*. He desired particularly to secure *Breda* better, as a place which belonged properly to his Family; and which had so luckily fallen into his hands by surprisal, as you have heard. And being of opinion that the too neer neighbourhood of St. *Getrinberg* did threaten continual danger thereunto, he therefore advised that by all means that Town might be likewise recovered; and so that first acquisition be the better ascertained, by the advantages which this second would bring with it, which would certainly be very great by the importancie of such a place. This opinion of Count *Maurice* was very much approved by the Councel of War of the Confederate Provinces. The business being therfore resolved upon by the publike authority of the whole Union, he forthwith applied himself to make such provisions as were requisite for such a design. He used all means he could to keep the Royalists from being aware of it. Marching several wayes, he seemed as if his intentions were to turn now upon *Groninghen* towards *Friesland*; now upon *Sluce* or *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, and now upon *Balduke* or *Graves* in *Brabant*. The Royalists therefore ran from all parts to defend these places. Wherefore their Forces being the weaker by being divided, St. *Getrinberg* could not consequently be so provided as was fitting to sustain the siege which was afterwards laid unto it. At last *Maurice* discovering his true design, threw himself suddenly into *Brabant*, and began to fall to work with very great Forces both by land and water. St. *Getrinberg* lies towards that out-skirt of *Brabant* which is subject to *Holland*: The seat thereof is very strong; it hath the *Mause* on the one side, with its name turned into *Merwe*, and of such a breadth, as being there ready to fall into the Ocean, the Channel thereof seems rather a Sea then a River. There falls also into *Merwe* on another side, another little River of but a short course, called *Donge*, and it terminates the course neer the walls of that Town; yet is the bed thereof

also

alſo ſo broad and ſo deep, as it is capable of any whatſoever Veſſel. The other places thereabouts are likewiſe ſo lowly ſituated, as men walk more upon the top of the banks, then upon the plain ground. The manual fortification is anſwerable to this of ſituation: wherefore by reaſon of theſe prerogatives, this place is held to be of greateſt concernment not only in *Brabant* or *Holland*, but even in any other Province of *Flanders*. *Maurice* being then incamped with the ſaid Forces before St. *Getrinberg*, he begirt the Town on the land-ſide with divers well comparted Quarters; and he added thereunto a good number of Boats by water, to block it the better up on that ſide alſo, and to end his work the ſooner. In every Quarter he began a Fort-Royal, intending to joyn them together with other ſmaller Forts, and to make Trenches and Ditches from all theſe on all ſides, ſo as the whole outward Line ſhould be perfectly incloſed and munited. In the inward Line alſo the like care was had of flanking and fortifying it where it was the moſt needfull, the better to curb the beſieged. And becauſe all theſe Works required extraordinary diligence and labour, Count *Maurice* had with him in his Army above 3000 Pioners, who were only to be imployed in digging Ditches, in raiſing Trenches, making Forts, and in doing whatſoever elſe the Siege required of manual work. This was the firſt Siege which was undertaken by Prince *Maurice* in a more exact form then all others till this time; and in the ſucceſs whereof he propounded greateſt difficulty unto himſelf. He therefore deſired very much to effect it; that by the taking of ſuch a place, the fame which he had already won in military affairs might be increaſed. The aforeſaid Works were then begun, and purſued with incredible diligence: And the Souldiers often vying with the Pioners in their labour, and one Commander with another, and *Maurice* himſelf with them all, they had ſoon raiſed the outward Fortifications in ſuch ſort, as they had ſmall cauſe to fear any harm that the Kings men could doe them. And *Maurice* had all the commodity he could deſire fully to perfect both the outward and the inward Line. And truly till then there had hardly been ſeen any ſuch works. The Forts were raiſed very high with earth; the Trenches and Ditches were every where anſwerable: Many great Paliſadoes were added for the greater ſecurity in divers places; and every Fort was well furniſhed with Artillery. So as the place was invironed with almoſt as noble Fortifications as any it ſelf had. And yet the more to take from the Kings men all hopes of ſuccouring it, *Maurice* made the land be overflown in divers parts, to make the difficulty the greater in endeavouring it.

Thus was the Siege ordered. In the Town which was beſieged, there were about 600 *Burgenians*, and 400 *Walloons*; good men, but not enough for the preſent occaſion, nor the condition of the ſiege. Monſieur *de Meſſiers* commanded the Garriſon of the Town in ſtead of Signor *di Vatervid*, who was Governor of the place, and who upon ſome occaſions of his own was then in *Spain*. To boot with the want of Souldiers, the City was not ſufficiently provided of victuals, nor of warlike ammunition to make ſuch defence as was needfull. When the Enemies Camp appeared, *Meſſiers* gave a preſent account to *Mansfield* of what condition the Town was in, and preſt him very much for ſpeedy ſuccour: Nor did he forbear providing the mean while to make ſuch preparation for reſiſtance, as became a valiant and faithfull Commander to doe. He made the Townſmen labour together with the Souldiers; he reviewed the Place very attentively, and endeavoured to put it into ſuch a poſture, as that *Mansfield* might have time to prepare ſuccour, and to endeavour how to introduce it. On the other ſide, Count *Maurice* thinking that his outward Fortifications were ſufficient to keep him from ſo doing, bent himſelf with all his might againſt the Town within. When the Duke of *Parma* had got the Town, he cauſed a Fort to be raiſed upon the chiefeſt Bank on the ſide of *Dunge*. The Fort was near enough the Town, and guarded a Paſs of great importance. From the very firſt that *Maurice* had begun the Siege, he had propounded unto himſelf to take this Fort; which from the name of a neighbouring Village was called the Fort of *Stenlo*: And giving the care thereof to Count *Hollack*, the few Souldiers that were within it having made a ſlender reſiſtance, abandoned it. From this Fort *Maurice* began to ply the Town with Cannon-ſhot; nor contented with ſeveral Batteries by Land, he

did the like by water; loading to that purpoſe many ſhips with great guns, which were placed on the one ſide in the *Donge*, and on the other in fitting places in the *Merwe*, and were well joyned together. The Town was continually plaid upon with above 60 piece of Canon.

Amidſt theſe hard dealings which the beſieged met withall on all ſides, they did not notwithſtanding omit manfully to defend themſelves. They oft-times ſallied boldly out upon the enemy: and ſupplying their paucity in number with their valour, they endeavoured to hinder their works as much as they could, and to uſe all other means to retard the ſiege. *Meſſieres* was the firſt, no leſs in pains taking then in command; being both within and without continually where occaſion moſt required. But with unfortunate ſucceſs at laſt; for ere many days were over, he was ſlain with a Canon-ſhot. The Gariſon ſubſtituted Monſieur *de Giſan* in his place, who was the eldeſt Captain, and held for the valianteſt; who failed not to continue the like diligence and labour. The Town was notwithſtanding ſtraitned every day more then other, and the danger of the loſs thereof every day increaſed, unleſs it were all the ſooner relieved; which both General *Mansfield* and Count *Fuentes* had from the firſt beginning of the ſiege effectually apply'd themſelves unto. But the Kings Forces were ſo weakened by the diverſion of *France*, as it was requiſite to recruit them with new levies both of horſe and foot; and this could not be done without time, and many other difficulties. *Mansfield* had therefore given out orders for the ſpeedy raiſing of Germans, Lorainers, and Burgonians, and took divers Flemiſh and Walloons into pay within the Country alſo. To boot with theſe proviſions of men, he provided likewiſe for all other things that were neceſſary. And paſſing with *Fuentes* into *Antwerp*, that he might be the nearer bringing relief, he reſolved to go from thence immediately about it. But by reaſon of the aforeſaid difficulties, his marching thitherward proved ſo late, as it was judged almoſt impoſſible to force thoſe Fortifications which the enemy had ſo advantagiouſly raiſed againſt the Town. Amongſt the Maxims of War, none is more practiſed then to endeavour to raiſe one ſiege by the diverſion of another. The Commanders who were with *Mansfield* did therefore conſult whether that it were not better to beſiege *Breda*, then to endeavour the relief of *Getringberg*; ſo to force *Maurice* to raiſe that ſiege, the better to defend himſelf from the danger of the other. To perſwade unto the diverſion, it was ſhewed how well the enemies had fortified themſelves; and how well their Trenches were munited on all ſides; in ſo much as there being but very ſmall hope of ever overcoming them, it would be but in vain to endeavour it. That therefore the only means was to try a diverſion; to which purpoſe none was more fit then to ſit down before *Breda* with all the Kings Forces. It was repreſented that *Breda* was of ſo great concernment both in reſpect of the publick union, as alſo for Count *Maurice* his private conſiderations, as doubtleſly the enemy would not ſuffer ſuch a place to be loſt; wherefore it was to be believed that *Maurice* would raiſe the preſent ſiege, and preſently run to diſturb the other. And finally it was taken for granted that the enemy had come with ſo great Forces before St *Getringberg*, as it was to be believed *Breda* was but ill provided for, and therefore the Kings men ſhould be the better incouraged to go againſt it. But many other weighty reaſons were urged to the contrary. And firſt it was ſaid that the enemy were already ſo advanced in their ſiege, as they would not by any means abandon it. And that therefore it was the rather to be believed, that when they ſhould ſee *Breda* threatned, they would lay the cloſer ſiege to St *Getringberg*, ſo to make themſelves the ſooner Maſters of it, and afterwards apply themſelves ſuddenly to relieve *Breda*. It was added that they might eaſily do the one or the other; for that if St. *Getringberg* were not quickly ſuccoured, the Town would be ſurrendred before *Breda* could be well beſieged; and that then the enemy might turn with all their Forces to the defence thereof. That this way of oppugning was of it ſelf to be thought very difficult; for that the enemy ſince the ſurpriſal of *Breda*, had fortified it, and provided better for it; and was affirmed that in reaſon of war, the Kings Army was not to be brought between ſuch a Town and ſo great Forces as were in the enemies Camp. Through all theſe contrarieties it was reſolved that the better courſe would be, to endeavour by all means poſſible

to

to relieve St *Getringberg*: for that peradventure the difficulties in doing it would not prove ſo great as was thought for; and that howſoever they ought rather to endeavour the ſuccour, though in vain, then by undertaking a vain ſiege be doubly ſhamed, by the loſs of *Getringberg*, and by the not getting of *Breda*. Theſe laſt reaſons prevailed in the Councel of War. To boot that the Kings then Forces being well conſidered, they were not thought to be ſuch, as whereupon to ground ſo weighty a deſigne, in hopes to execute it. For when *Mansfield* had ſufficiently provided for all ſuch places as it was judged the enemy might aſſail, he could not muſter above 8000 foot, and 2500 horſe. Reſolving then howſoever, to endeavour the relief with theſe men, he pitched upon *Turnault* for his Rendezvouz, and brought his Camp thither about the end of *May*. *Turnault* is an open Village, but the greateſt and moſt populated that is in all *Brabant*. It lies in equal diſtance, almoſt a days journey from *Antwerp*, and from *Getringberg*. Here again it was taken into conſideration by the Kings Camp, on which ſide they ſhould meet with leaſt difficulty in bringing in the ſuccour. And through Intelligence which they had, they reſolved to go with all their men into *Steeloune*, which lay near the enemies Trenches. On this ſide they reſolved to aſſail them, though they had ſmall hopes or none of doing any good. For making the Trenches he ſurveyed on ſeveral ſides, they found them to be ſo ſtrong, as the enemy had no reaſon to fear any thing. And to this was added the inundation almoſt on all ſides, with which it was firſt to be contended, before they could come to try the Trenches. *Mansfield* paſſed notwithſtanding from *Steeloune* with all his Army divided into ſquadrons, and halted in ſight of the Quarter where *Maurice* himſelf was lodged; where a certain point of a chief Dike ſtood out which was fortified by a great Trench; which *Mansfield* would endeavour to take from the enemy, as he by aſſault did, but not without much adoe, by reaſon of the oppoſition of the water, and of thoſe that did defend it: but he ſoon loſt it again, and therewithall all hopes of effecting the ſuccour on that ſide. Upon theſe occaſions ſome skirmiſhes happened between the two Camps: and *Mansfield* ſtaying but a little while there, went to the Village of *Waeſtech*, towards which Count *Hollack* was quartered. The Kings Army was not well got thither, when it was unexpectedly ſet upon in the reer by 800 of the enemies horſe, who were come to this purpoſe a little before out of *Breda*, and who put their quarters into ſome confuſion; but ſuddenly re-ordering themſelves, and oppoſing the enemy, they beat them back, and with ſome ſlaughter put to flight. They then with all diligence endeavoured the ſuccour on this ſide; to facilitate the which, *Mansfield* ſent for ſome further proviſions, and particularly for ſome Artillery from *Antwerp*. But the difficulties appeared alike here alſo. All this while Count *Maurice* ſlack'd not his proceedings againſt the Town on the inſide. One battery play'd continually after another, and oft-times they thundred all together. And the enemy falling out of their Trenches were already lodged in the Ditch; which being very large and deep, *Maurice* had formerly cauſed the water to be drained from thence, and drawn into lower ſituations. Wherefore the beſieged found themſelves not only weakened in their defences, but in danger to loſe them. Nor was it long ere they loſt a Ravelin, againſt which *Maurice* had made a great battery, and accompanied it with a fierce aſſault: yet did the defendants make valiant reſiſtance: and *Geſan* their Commander in chief, dyed in ſo doing. But the Town not being able to hold out longer of it ſelf, and no ſuccour appearing from abroad, they treated of ſurrendring, which upon good conditions was done about the latter end of *June*.

Count *Maurice* being entred into *Getrinberg*, and made all fitting proviſions for the City, he diſtributed his men into the adjacent parts, that he might obſerve the Royaliſts deſigns, and oppoſe them the beſt he might. This mean while the aboveſaid Recruit which *Mansfield* expected, was come from *Antwerp*. Wherefore deſirous to try whether he could make any acquiſition, which might at leaſt in ſome part make amends for ſo great a loſs; he reſolved to turn upon the Fort of *Crevecoeur*. This Fort is ſituated upon the mouth of a River called *Demel*: which taking its riſe in *Brabant*, and having paſt through the City of *Balduke*, or the *Buſſe*, falls about a league from thence into the *Mauſe*. The Country thereabouts

thereabouts was infested from this Fort, and particularly *Balduke* was thereby indammaged; great was the advantage moreover which the Enemy received from it, by the further command of the River. *Mansfield* advancing with his Army, made some of his men draw nearer the Fort, intending to possess himself of some convenient seat. These men had much adoe to pass forward; for they found the fields overflown, and the Fort so well defended on all sides, as *Mansfield* despairing of ever getting it, drew quickly off from it again. He then disposed of his Army as he thought best. And because the Enemy did already openly threaten *Friesland*, and in particnlar the City of *Groninghen*, he therefore sent new men to *Verdugo* to sustein the Kings affairs in those parts as well as for the present they might be. *Verdugo* commanded the Kings Forces thereabouts; who was not wanting in using all his accustomed diligence, as well in doing what might be for the service of his party, as also in impeding the Enemy from advantaging themselves. The two Counts, *Hermano* and *Frederick de Berg*, did every day signalize themselves more and more with him in the Kings service: And *Verdugo* making use of them chiefly, was in contiaual action on one side or other. But to say truth, he was so inferior in Forces, as the Adverse party prevailed for the most part in all that was undertaken. But the successes on neither side were of such consequence, as that by making a distinct relation of them here, that of the greater and more important events ought to be retarded. One of the greatest and most prejudicial which hapned on the Kings behalf at this time, was the Mutiny of the *Italians* & *Walloons*, who were with Count *Charls* for the service of the League in *France*. A good number of the *Spaniards* which were with the Count in those parts had mutinied (as you have heard) before. And because there was some discourse had of giving some Payes to the rest of the *Spaniards* who kept under the obedience of their Commanders, the like respect not appearing to be had to the other Souldiers who had kept in the like obedience; therefore the *Italians* and *Walloons* resolved to mutiny, as they easily did afterwards. They made up a body between them of 1500 Foot, and 700 Horse; and possessing themselves unexpectedly of the Village of *Pont* in *Henault*, upon the borders of *France*, they diligently fortified themselves there; and providing for their necessities by excursions, they resolved not to return to their former obedience, till they were fully satisfied for their pay. Count *Charls* his Forces were so lessened by these Mutinies, as they could be of no longer service neither for the affairs of *France*, nor yet of *Flanders*. Thus ended this year, and the next of 1594 began.

Anno 1594. In this interim Archduke *Ernestus*, brother to the Emperor *Radolphus*, was come from *Germany* to be Governour of *Flanders*. The King had very much desired, that a Prince so near allied to him both in blood and affection, would take upon him the care of those Countries; and the Emperor joyning with the King in the same desire, the Archduke was easily perswaded to please them both. Parting then from *Vienna* about the beginning of the year, he came to *Flanders*, and was received in *Brussels* with all demonstrations of joy and honour by the obedient Provinces. At his arrival he found the affairs of the League in *France* very much declining: For the King of *Navar* having at last declared himself to be a Catholick, and having setled his Cause well in this point wherein he stood in most need, it was not hard for him afterwards to advantage it in all others. Wherefore being received without any expence of blood into *Paris*, by the example of this chief City of the Kingdom, not only the Cities, but the Provinces in all other parts strove who should most follow the King, and more submissively acknowledge his authority. To which, his gratious making use of Victory, even to those who had most highly offended him, served him in good stead. Growing therefore stronger every day both in Cause and Forces, he made daily further progress throughout the whole Kingdom. But he endeavoured to doe it most in *Picardy*, and in the parts thereabouts; where the French League was still in some power, and where it was most fomented from the Frontiers of *Flanders*. On the contrary, the Archduke the new Governour, and the Spanish Ministers of State who were in greatest authority under him, judging that the more the League declined the more it needed to be sustained; resolved to send back Count *Charls* with new Forces into *Picardy*, who at the Archdukes arrival was come

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lso to *Brussils*. The King of *Spains* affairs were then in a very low condition, for
o reasons which have been often alleadged. Wherefore to keep from wholly
eglecting their own peculiar affairs of *Flanders*, Count *Charls* could assemble
o more then 8000 Foot and 1000 Horse for the occurrences which summoned
im again into *France*. With which Forces staying in *Picardy*; after he had well
bserved the Enemies proceedings, he thought he might be able to get *La Cha-*
lle, which is seated on the very utmost precincts of that Province towards the
lemish frontiers of *Hainalt*. This place is four-square, well flankt in all the four
ogles, and with other Defences on almost all the sides of the Curtains; it hath
kewise a good Ditch tould about it, and in all other circumstances it is held
ne of the best Towns in *Picardy*. Count *Charls* resolving to besiege it, sate down
efore it, and in a few dayes with the wonted winding of Trenches he came near
e Ditches: wherein to that he might the easilier fall, and facilitate the Assaults
hich were to succeed the Batteries, he drew away the water thereof to where
e ground was lower. He then began to play upon the Town; which had but a
eak Garrison in it, and was found to be but ill provided of all things else. Yet
ere not they within wanting in preparing to make what defence they could.
ount *Charls* put them presently to the test. The Myre which yet remained in
e Ditch was very deep; and there was no such breach yet made in the wall, as
forded the Assailants sufficient commodity to mount thereupon. Wherefore
e Count failed the first time in his design; and his men being beaten back with
e loss of much blood, and with the death of some Captains and other Officers,
e must prepare more maturely for a second assault. But they within would not
it it so. For, fearing lest they should not be able to maintain it, and that they
ust then be all put to the sword, and the Town be sackt, they yielded upon good
onditions, and the Garrison was suffered to go freely out.

This mean while the United Provinces on *Flanders* side had diligently made
eir Forces ready, to turn to some new important design. The Royalists feared
roningen most: wherefore the Archduke gave order that *Verdugo* should be
ssisted, who prest very much to bee so, and shewed in what danger the
ings affairs in those Parts were. The Archduke caused likewise requisite
rovisions to be made in other places where it was most needfull. But this was
ut weakly executed every where; so great was the scarcity of monies amongst
he Kings men, such the disorder of the Mutinies which had hapned, and such the
aily fear of new Mutinies.

Amidst these preparations which were made for the continuance of Arms, the
Archduke would notwithstanding try whether there could any way be found out
or the introducing of Peace. He was naturally given to love quiet; and the
King having always shewed the same inclination, he thought that the King being
lready weary and disdeceived in the affairs of *France*, and having so little hopes
o advantage himself in those of *Flanders* by the way of Arms, would willingly
mbrace any Agreement, which with safety to his and the honour of the Church
ight reduce the affairs in those Provinces to some tranquility. Two Councellors
t Law, the one called *Ottone Hertio*, and the other *Jerolimo Comans*, were by
eason of some private occurrences at this time in the *Hague*, where the Confe-
derate Provinces had established their chief Councels, representing the General
nion. The Archduke thought that by their means, without making any further
oise, he might come to some Treaty of accord with those Provinces. And think-
ng it fit to invite the United Provinces thereunto, he writ them a Letter, the Con-
ents whereof were,

That he had left the Emperor his brother, and was parted from Germany *with a particular desire of seeing the Peace of* Flanders *restored by some good accommodation during the time of his Government. That he knew the King would very graciously incline thereunto likewise: to the end that the people there might once be free from so many calamities of war, and might enjoy the fruits which might so largely be expected from Peace. That the United States would consider how uncertain the fortune of war was, and how dangerous it was to promise unto themselves still the same good success therein, by reason of some happy ones which they had already had. That it was now time to come to some agreement. That for his part, he offered all sincerity in the*

Treaty

Treaty thereof, and all constant application towards the effecting of it. That therefore they should reduce their demands to so just a sense, as that he might the more willingly propound them unto the King, and use all means afterwards to have them granted.

This was the contents of his Letter; in the end whereof the Archduke referred himself to what the two afore named Councellors at Law, should more at large add. In the Archdukes Councel of State, there were divers opinions concerning the introducing of this Treaty. The Councellors of the Country who had propounded it, did still favour it; shewing a great desire that all means might be used, whereby to free *Flanders* from Arms. Alleadging that the King himself was of the same mind; and that let the event be what it would, this would serve to justifie the continuation of the war on his part. But the Spanish-State Officers were opposite hereunto, especially Count *Fuentes*, who was of more Authority then all others next to the Archduke. He said,

That the enemy did very well know in what condition the Kings affairs were then in Flanders. *That doubtless they would account this Proposition an effect rather of weakness then humanity. That peace was then advantagiously made, when there was an advantage in the war. Wherefore it was better to expect awhile, till such time as the King might have the better of the business, as it might be hoped he would have; and that then it would be his part to grant peace, and not to receive it; and that then his grace and goodness to such wicked and obstinate Rebels would appear to be voluntary, and not inforced: But how much more arrogant would they become by such an invitation now? and into what contempt would the Kings Authority fall?*

The opinion of the Flemish Councellors was notwithstanding followed. For the Archduke thought good to give them satisfaction, believing that it would likewise be satisfactory to the whole Country. But it was soon seen that *Fuentes* was not deceived: For the Letter being received in *Holland* with but small respect, and they that brought it but little listned unto, the business was soon at an end, and the two Councellors at Law were dispatched away; and answer was made by the States Generall to the Archduke, by rather a long writing then Letter.

The answer extended chiefly into bitter complaints against the meanings of the King and Councel of Spain. *Against the Officers maintained by the King in* Flanders; *and against the Spaniards who had warred, and did still wage war in those Provinces: In the paper all the most fatall businesses that had happened were rip'd up; and all the blame laid upon that Nation. They shewed how that all former negotiations of peace, had always been fraudulent on the behalf of* Spain. *And finally they concluded, That the United Provinces would not listen to any new Treaties, lest they might be deceived; but that they were resolved to maintain their Cause till their last gasp; that they might preserve that Liberty which they did so justly enjoy, after being freed from that slavery, which amongst so many miseries they had formerly suffered.*

They therefore did not delay drawing out into the field. Count *William* of *Nassaw* had been before this (as we have said) on the other side the *Rhine* with many men; and though *Verdugo* had always stoutly opposed him, yet most commonly *William* got still some advantages in those parts; especially in securing those passes whereby the siege which Prince *Maurice* intended to lay to *Groninghen*, might be made the more easie. All things necessary for this purpose being then prepared, about the end of *April Maurice* past over the *Mause* and the *Rhine*, and made his Rendezvouz at *Suol*, a Town near *Deventer* in *Overisel*. Here Count *William* joyned with him; and *Maurice* going soon after from thence with aboundant provisions of all things which concerned the determined siege, he went towards *Groninghen*; and with his whole Army incamped before that City. *Groninghen* (as it hath been already said) lies upon the utmost bounds of that Confine which joyns together the Lower and the upper *Germany*, there is not in that part of the Low-Countries, a more noble City then this, either for the number of Inhabitants, for the quality of buildings, or for the frequency of Commerce. It formes the body of a Province which lies about this City; and which takes the name, and almost the whole Government from thence. It is seated low, well provided of a wall and ditch. It hath some works within the circuit thereof after the modern fashion; and the rest are for the most part, of the antient

ent form. It enjoys very large Priviledges. And the Citizens thereof, desirous out of a sense no less of Liberty then of courage, would themselves alone defend the City, and would not admit of any other souldiery amongst them. And though a little before, when they were threatned with this siege, they were at last perswaded to receive in five foot Colours, which *Verdugo* had sent them into an outward Borough, yet would they not till then receive them into the City. *John Balen*, the first Burgamaster and chief Magistrate had the chief Command there, both in Military and Civil affairs. He and all the rest did shew outwardly a great resolution of resistance; but *Maurice* did not notwithstanding want friends within the Town. and many Hereticks being mingled amongst the Catholicks, the former did secretly desire a change of Government: and it was discovered that they would willingly have assisted therein: nor was it doubted but that such intelligence had caused *Maurice* more willingly undertake this business. Yet was the Catholick and the Kings Party much the greater in *Groningben* who sent away expres Messengers to *Brussels* to pray succour from the Archduke; wherein they were seconded by *Verdugo*. But Count *Maurice* hoping that the Kings men were not able to send relief, at least not so soon; and Count *William* having secured all the Passes better then before, he betook himself with greater diligence to the siege. He infinitely desired to effect this business, by the which, gaining so noble a City, and a Province so opportunely seated, he might at the same time advantage so much the general Cause of the whole Union, and his own particular glory. He had with him divers valiant Commanders, who had accompanied him the year before at the siege of *Getringberg*; to whom he assigned out the chief Quarters: and *Maurice* took up his own quarter where the greatest difficulty of the siege lay. He then fell to fortifie all quarters; and within a few days the fortifications were such, both on the fields side, and towards the Town, as those about *Groningben*, being compared with those which were about *Getringberg*, it was not easie to be judged in which of the two *Maurice* had more signalized himself. In so much as not fearing any succour which might be brought by the Royalists from without, he applyed himself wholly to perfect his inward works. He had great store of Artillery in his Camp, with which he infested the City on all sides: making the trenches the mean while be the more speedily advanced, that he might the sooner come to a formal battery. The besieged shewed a ready willingness to defend themselves: and the souldiery which were lodged in the Suburbs had very well munited themselves, and going whethersoever occasion did most require, they were a great help unto the Townsmen, who had placed a good number of Artillery upon their walls, and by incessant shooting, indeavoured to anoy the enemies Camp, and to hinder their works as much as in them lay. They indeavoured likewise to indamage them by sallies, whereof they made divers which proved very bloudy on both sides: but being in a short time come unto the ditch, *Maurice* forthwith made his batterys; by which bereaving those within of their defences, he consequently brought them into greater straits. They had planted a Counter-battery upon a new Ravelin which they had made, the better to shelter one of their gates, and had placed thereupon 6 pieces of great Canon; *Maurice* had inforced the siege most on that side which was thought to be the weakest. The besiegers saw how much it imported them to be Masters of the Ravelin; and the besieged how much it concerned them to defend it: in so much as all indeavours being made on both sides to these ends, the whole weight of the oppugnation was soon brought to that only place. The enemy at the last fell into the Ditch on that side, and began to fill it up, and to advance with their works on both sides, leaving a narrow space in the midst which they called the Gallery. Their chief designe was to undermine the Ravelin, if they could not ruine it by their batteries, wherewith having at last made, as they imagined, a sufficient breach, they delayed coming to an assault no longer: but in the doing of it, though they shewed great resolution, they could not get upon the ruines of the Ravelin, because they were not sufficient for them to mount upon; but much more because they were very gallantly defended, yet did the vigour of their resistance seem to cool every day, by reason of their small hopes of succour. Those who they had sent to that purpose, had still very much prest the Archduke in

that behalf. But to boot with the want of monies, and to the prolongation of time which the making of new Levies would have required, the diſorders ſtill increaſed in their former Souldiery, who for want of Pay did mutinie upon eaſie occaſions; as hapned juſt at this time amongſt a number of *Italians* who were quartered in *Brabant*.

Thoſe of *Groninghen* were the more diſheartned by this new diſorder. Nor were Count *Maurice* his Fautors backward in repreſenting unto the Inhabitants the danger the City was in of being ſtorm'd, ſackt, and ſuffering ſtill greater calamities. The Magiſtrate was therefore inforced to ſend ſome to diſcover what hopes there might be of getting good Conditions from *Maurice*. But thoſe who were more firm for the King and the Church, being of opinion that it was yet too early to do ſo; making uſe of this opportunity, they brought thoſe five Foot-Companies into the City which were lodged without, as was before ſaid. This occaſioned a great tumult amongſt the Citizens; every one clothing their private intereſts with appearing zeal unto the publike. But the diſſention being at laſt appeaſed, they continued in making defence. On the other ſide, *Maurice* ſeeing himſelf deluded, grew more fervent in his oppugning. The chief conteſt of the ſiege was brought to about the aforeſaid Ravelin. Therefore great was their advantage which were without: For being Maſters of the Ditch, and falling already to work upon the Walls they had begun to undermine the Ravelin, to blow it up into the air, that they might the ſooner and with the more ſafety come to the Aſſault. They would notwithſtanding try a new Aſſault, before the Mine was fully finiſhed: And it proved to be ſo fierce a one, as thoſe within had much adoe to ſuſtain it. But the Mine being at laſt perfected, they preſently went to work with it; and the effect was this: The beſiegers feigned as if they would give another aſſault; wherefore the beſieged flocking to defend the Ravelin, the others on a ſudden retreated; and at the ſame time the Mine plaid, which blew up almoſt all the men that came to defend it: Then the oppugners returning to a new, and true aſſault, they eaſily won the Ravelin. Great was the danger, but greater the fear that hereby aroſe unto the City. It was ſuſpected that the chief Burgomaſter did adhere to *Maurice*: Taking therefore the conjuncture of time when the Magiſtracie was fulleſt, he ſpake thus.

Had the King (moſt worthy Citizens!) done his part in preſerving this City under his obedience, as well as we to our utmoſt have always done ours in maintaining it therein, we ſhould not be ſubject to that change which now paſt all redemption and of neceſſity we muſt prepare for. The troubles of theſe Countrits have laſted now theſe 30 years; and when did we in all this time ever forfeit our fidelity to his Majeſty in the leaſt degree? The Duke of Alva *came to the Government of* Flanders *with cruel and imperious deſigns, as every one knows; and having yoaked* Antwerp *with a Citadel, he began to doe the like to* Groninghen. *We then reſiſted it as much as we might; ſhewing that the beſt Citadel for the Kings ſervice would be our Hearts. But our intreaties were in vain, as well as our former complaints had been. Yet this new Work ſoon ceaſed, for the troubles would not ſuffer it to be purſued. The City therefore remained in her former condition: And ſince then till now, I muſt ask again, When did ſhe ever vary in her allegiance to the King? How oft have the Enemies paſt and repaſt with great Forces through this ſo jealous Confine between the two* Germanies? *How often have they threatned this City either by underhand dealings, or openly? but ſtill in vain: ſo vigilant have we always been in keeping it, and reſolute in defending it. This may be witneſſed by as many as ever governed the Kings Forces in theſe parts: And* Verdugo *himſelf, a* Spaniard, *who hath the chief Command here now, can beſt teſtifie it. I wiſh it had been Gods will that his councels had been followed a good while ago: The Kings affairs hereabouts would not then have been in that drooping condition that they are now, nor would this our City be in the danger that ſhe is in at preſent. It will not then be we that have abandoned the King, being enforced thereunto by neceſſity; but the King will rather appear to have abandoned us, neglecting, as it is well known, his own affairs here no leſs then ours Nay, it muſt be ſaid that by his ſo many diverſions in* France, *he hath been willing totally to forſake* Flanders *How great have the loſſes been which by reaſon of this have inſued to theſe Provinces? But I now come to the Siege, which is that which my precedent*

cedent diſcourſe doth point at. Every one knowes to what terms we are brought: And this laſt loſs of our Ravelin hath as much advantaged the Enemy, as it hath put us into greater ſtraits. I confeſs notwithſtanding we may for a while ſuſtein the ſiege, if we had any hopes of being freed by the wonted way of ſuccour. But where is there any appearance thereof? nay, does not all ſigns make for the contrary? The greateſt ſtrength of the Army is imployed in France; Flanders *is full of Mutinies; there is not time to raiſe new men, and mony is yet more wanting. Shall we then expect that this ſuccour ſhall fall from the air? I ſhall therefore adviſe to treat as ſoon as we can of a ſurrender. It will be ſome ſort of merit to have done that anticipately of our own choice, which muſt of neceſſity be done at laſt: And ſo making advantagious Articles, we ſhall the better unite our City, and the Country which depends upon it, to the States-Generall of the other Confederate Provinces. We ſhall not (as I have ſaid) have quitted our obedience to the King; but it is he who will not have us continue longer therein. For what remains, how much is ſuch a change to be deſired? In our ſubjection to the States Generall, we ſhall find Liberty which ſhall be enjoyed by this particular Province; we ſhall withdraw our ſelves from a Foreign yoke; we ſhall be freed of the Taxes which are impoſed upon us; we ſhall fight no longer for the intereſts of others, but for what concerns our ſelves: And in fine, all the good, and all the bad will be our own, which in defence of the common liberty we ſhall hereafter find.*

This diſcourſe wrought ſo upon the minds even of thoſe that were moſt affectionate to the King, as they knew not how to gainſay it. The no appearance of ſuccour was particularly of great force. Nor is it to be believed how much indignation it wrought, not only in *Groninghen* and the parts thereabouts, but in all other places which were under the Kings obedience, to ſee that his own affairs in *Flanders* were by him almoſt wholly abandoned, to ſuſtain thoſe of *France* which did daily decline. The chief of the Magiſtracy and of the Communalty went therefore to Count *Maurice* to agree with him touching the ſurrender of the City: And being very graciouſly received, the Agreement was made; and theſe were the moſt eſſential Conditions thereof.

That the City of Groninghen, *together with the neighbouring Country which makes up that Province, ſhould for the future be under the obedience of the States-Generall, repreſenting the Body of the Confederate Provinces. That it ſhould oblige it ſelf to the Union of this Body, by being a particular member thereof for the time to come; and that it ſhould ſubmit it ſelf to thoſe Lawes wherein the other Provinces were joyned for the defence of their common Cauſe. That the City of* Groninghen *and all the aforeſaid Country ſhould enjoy their antient priviledges, and all their former immunities. That that City and Province ſhould by the authority of the States Generall receive Count* William *of* Naſſaw *for their Governour; and that for the preſent five or ſix Foot-Companies ſhould be permitted to come into the City, to prevent all occaſion of Tumults which might happen there. That there ſhould be Liberty of Conſcience for matter of Religion in that City and Country: but that that which was called the Reformed Religion ſhould be exerciſed there publikely, and no other. That the City and Province ſhould concur in contributing ſuch taxes as did correſpond with their abilities, for the maintenance of the Souldiery, and for other neceſſary expences concerning the common Cauſe. That it ſhould be free for any man to tranſport himſelf and goods into whatſoever place he would, provided it were not in the Enemies country. That the Government of the City ſhould depend as formerly upon the Magiſtracie; and that the Magiſtrate ſhould be changed according to cuſtom, taking an oath to be true and faithfull to the States Generall, as the other Cities under the Union had done.*

Theſe were the chief Articles of Agreement which were made with thoſe of *Groninghen*. And as for the Foreign ſouldiers which were entred into the City, they were permitted by Count *Maurice* to march forth honourably with their Arms and Baggage, but upon promiſe not to ſerve the King of *Spain* for three moneths ſpace on that ſide the *Rhine*. The City was ſurrendred about the end of *July*; and Count *Maurice* made his entrance into *Groninghen* afterwards with all military pomp and ſolemnity: And leaving Count *William* there for the better ordering of all things in that City and Province, he within a few dayes re-

moved his Army from thoſe parts, and went himſelf unto the *Hague*. Where it cannot be expreſſed with what applauſe and honour he was received by the States General, for having ſo much increaſed the advantages of the Union on that ſide the *Rhine*, by an acquiſition of ſuch conſequence.

Whilſt affairs went thus in *Flanders*, the Forces which were on the aforeſaid Frontiers of *France* were not idle. The Duke *du Main* was Governour of *Burgony*; the Duke of *Guiſe* Governour of *Champania*; and the Duke *d' Umale* Governour of *Picardy*: all of them being of the houſe of *Lorain*; and upon whoſe perſonages the League did principally depend: ſome diſcord was already faln out in their former Union; and finally the Duke of *Guiſe* would be kept no longer from moving ſome Treaty of agreement with the King: ſince he had imbraced the Catholick Religion, and after his ſo many atchievements which had made him now be almoſt generally acknowledged for King of *France*. Neither was the Duke *du Main* much averſe from coming to a Compoſition with him. But he endeavoured to negotiate with his ſword in hand, that he might thereby get the better conditions. Only the Duke *d'Umale*, were it either that he was more firm in his former adhering to the League; or that he was a back friend to the King for ſome private reſpect of his own, was reſolved to come to no accommodation with him; but rather in caſe the League ſhould wholly ceaſe, to go into *Flanders*, and put himſelf wholly into the King of *Spains* hands. To this end he favoured the Flemiſh Forces more then ever in his Government of *Picardy*. But ſuch partiality was of no great availment: For the Kings reconciliation with the Apoſtolick See, being then mainly negotiated in *Rome*, the League declined daily, in ſo much as even almoſt whole *Picardy* was already come over to the King. To get the full poſſeſſion whereof, the King was a little before entred into that Province with a potent Army, and had laid ſiege to *Laon*. The City of *Laon* being very ſtrong both by ſituation, and Manual Fortification, the Duke *du Main* did much indeavour the not loſing of it. To boot that the Count of *Sommariva*, *du Main*'s eldeſt ſon, being within the Town, and one that defended it; who though he were but very young then, was notwithſtanding of great expectation; the Father did the more deſire to ſee his ſon free together with the Town. To this purpoſe *du Main* was gon himſelf to uſe what diligence might be with the Archduke. And returning with new and very ſtrict Orders to *Mansfield*, that he ſhould uſe all the means he might for the preſervation of the Town, they joyned both their Forces together: which were notwithſtanding ſo weak as they exceeded not 8000 foot and 700 horſe. The Rendezvouz being made at *la Fera*, which is within four leagues of *Laon*, they marched from thence about the end of *June*, with a reſolution of relieving the beſieged. There was a choice Gariſon in *Laon*, of 1 2 0 foot, and 30 horſe: nor were the Inhabitants leſs willing to make defence then were the Gariſon. The King had about 12000 choice foot, and 4000 horſe, which were the very flowre of his Army. And having already taken and fortified his quarters, he was very diligent in advancing his Trenches, and other uſual Works. The beſieged ſhewed all manlike reſolution to reſiſt, which they witneſſed by frequent ſallies: to the which they were the more encouraged by the expectation of relief ſo near at hand. In the Colleagues Camp, which ſtill held the exterior Title of the League, though it were almoſt wholly compoſed of Flemiſh Forces, the Duke *du Main* commanded in chief; the Archduke having thought it fit he ſhould do ſo, that he might ſeem to put the greater eſteem and confidence in him: and to keep him from falling into any precipitate accommodation, in his Treaties with the King in *France*. The Army going therefore from *La Fera*, came marching in great order to *Laon*. Betwixt theſe two places there lies a great Wood on the left hand called *Crepy*, taking its name from a little Town hard by. The Colleagues Camp coming out of this Wood into the open Champian, drew near the Kings Trenches. There lay alſo between the two Camps another leſſer Wood, in view whereof the Colleagues lay. Their intention was to poſſeſs themſelves of that Wood, and to advance ſo advantagiouſly on that ſide, as that they might the eaſilyer from thence bring ſuccour into the Town. Which deſigne being by the King diſcovered, he reſolved to oppoſe them with all his might. Skirmiſhes grew therefore very hot between them; the one endeavouring

vouring to enter the wood, the others to keep them out. The former placing their chiefeſt hopes of relieving the Town, in making themſelves maſters of the wood. And the others the greateſt ſecurity of their ſiege in defending it. But the skirmiſhes growing continually hotter, one of them turned almoſt into a ſet battel. In hazardous adventures, *Barlotte*, the Walloon Campmaſter, was rather raſh then daring. This man advancing with his Regiment into the wood, charged the Kings men ſo home, as he made them withdraw a good way within, not without the ſlaughter of many of them. It was not long ere freſh aid came in on the Kings part. Wherefore the Walloons were forced to give back; when the Campmaſters, *Auguſtin Meſſia* a Spaniard, and the Marquis of *Trevico* a Neopolitan appeared with their Brigades in their defence, and did vigorouſly ſuſtain the conflict: which was no leſs vigorouſly ſuſtained on the French ſide by the Baron of *Birouns* coming in with new men. Who being made Mariſhall of *France* after the death of the Mariſhall his Father, ſhewed himſelf to merit the title of his Son, much more by valor then bloud. The ſon was naturally very fierce; and herein only it was to be wiſhed he had had a little more of his fathers circumſpection. The advantage growing ſtill greater on that ſide by *Birouns* coming in, *du Main* came in likewiſe to aſſiſt his men, and ſoon after *Mansfield* came in too. And the King himſelf coming in on the other ſide, the conflict did ſo increaſe, as it was now almoſt turned to a ſet battel; the Commanders in chief of both Armies being preſent at it; and if not all, at leaſt the moſt ſelect men of both the one and the other Camp. The King had much the better in horſe; but by reaſon of the thickneſs of the wood, there could but ſmall uſe be made of them. On the contrary, the Colleagues Camp was much the ſuperior in foot, if not in number, at leaſt in goodneſs; but neither could they make uſe of that advantage within the wood, which they might have done in the open field. For the ſame ſtraitneſs and narrowneſs of ſituation did not admit of the forming of ſquadrons, nor of their orderly moving. The fight was therefore much more confuſed then regular. And thus it continued with much ſlaughter on both ſides, the victory remaining very uncertain, till the night coming on, both ſides were forced to retire unto their quarters. The King removed afterwards with a great body of men to another quarter where he might better keep the enemy from entrance into the wood. But their Camp began already to ſuffer very much in point of victuals: For the Kings Cavalry ſcouring the Country continually, the Colleagues came by their victuals upon hard terms. And juſt at this time as *Nicolas Baſti* was bringing a good quantity of proviſion with a ſtrong Conduct from *Noyon*, he was ſet upon by the Duke of *Longueville*, who with ſuch forces as he had with him, ſoon routed him, and to boot with his proviſions, took from him his carriages and draught horſes. They afterwards endeavoured to get ſome with greater forces from *la Fera*. To which purpoſe great ſtore of victuals, Munition, and whatſoever elſe the Colleagues ſtood in need of being provided, a ſelect number of Spaniards and Italians were ſent from their Camp, to bring them the more ſafely. But this their ſecond endeavour proved no more fortunate then did the former. For the King being advertiſed of this preparation, and that the buſineſs was to be effected by night, he commanded Mariſhal *Biroun* to impede them. Who having ſecretly ordered an Ambuſcado in a very opportune place, did with ſuch violence, and ſo unexpectedly ſet upon the adverſe party, as that being overpowred in numbers, they were forced to give ground, and leave all their victuals, and whatſoever elſe in *Birouns* hands. Yet the Spaniſh and Italian foot reſiſted ſtoutly for a great while, making uſe of their Carriages for their defence, and turning their faces whereſoever the aſſault was hotteſt. In ſo much as not endeavouring to ſave themſelves by running away, they were almoſt all of them ſlain upon the place. But they died not unrevenged; for they ſlew above 200 of the Kings men, and wounded above as many more. The Colleagues by reaſon of theſe two unfortunate events, loſt all hopes of being able to effect their intended ſuccour: wherefore they reſolved to raiſe their Camp, and to retreat. They were minded to riſe privately by night; but this was not to be done without great difficulty, they having an Army ſo near them, ſo much ſuperior to theirs, and which particularly did ſo far exceed them in horſe, by which they might upon

ſuch

ſuch advantage aſſail them on the Reer, and on the Flanks, as they retreated. *Mansfield* inclined therefore to retreat privately by night; but *Du Mayne* thought it would reflect too much upon their reputation not to retreat by day light. Betwixt theſe two differences of opinions, it was reſolved, that the Camp ſhould move by night; and that the Van and Battel being advanced in that ſilent ſeaſon, the Reer ſhould march by day; and that the greateſt reſiſtance ſhould be made where the greateſt danger ſhould lie. Thus then was the Army divided: The chief care of the Van, with which the Baggage was to go, and the greateſt part of the Artillery was given to Camp-maſter *Barlotte*; *Mansfield* guided the Battel; and *Du Mayne* brought up the Reer: this was notwithſtanding to be turn'd into the Van, if it ſhould have any occaſion to face about upon the Enemy, who were to fall upon them on that part: and certainly if ever the Duke *Du Mayne* proved himſelf to be both a gallant Commander, and a good Souldier, it was at this time. That he might make the better reſiſtance he kept with him the flower of the Infantry, which were for the moſt part Spaniards, the reſt Italians, and who divided into well ordered Squadrons of Pikes and Musketteers, was to ſuſtain the violence of the Enemies Horſe, when they ſhould charge hotlyeſt upon them. The flying Squadron thruſt forward before the reſt, which being uſed to march before the Army upon occaſion of fight, came now in the Reer; for the Reer, as hath been ſaid, was now to be the Van. This Squadron conſiſted of choice and ſelect Captains, Officers, and other Souldiers, and *Auguſtine Meſſia*, one of the moſt eſteemed Spaniſh Camp-maſters that was then in *Flanders*, had the particular charge thereof. The Duke *Du Mayne* had placed himſelf in the laſt files of Foot of that Squadron, which were to be the firſt toward the Enemy: Saying, *That he would that day ſerve as a Souldier under Camp-maſter* Meſſia: and divers others of the beſt of the Army were there likewiſe. They were to march almoſt three leagues before they could bring themſelves in ſafety into *La Fera*. The Van riſing thus about midnight, the Battel began to move in its due time, and about the break of day the Reer began alſo to march.

When the King heard of this Retreat, he delayed not doing what he could to diſturb it. Aſſembling the Flower of all his Cavalry, he charged the Enemies Rear on divers ſides as they came out of the Wood into which the Leagues Camp for their better advantage had taken their way: And often renewing his aſſaults, endeavoured to overcome them. But ſtill in vain: For the Squadrons keeping ſtill a ſtedfaſt order, and the Muskets ſerving the Pikes with admirable diſcipline, and the Pikes the Muskets alternately in making the fitteſt oppoſition, the Kings men could not in the leaſt part effect what they deſired. Every encounter was valiantly ſuſtained, in particular by the flying Squadron; they ever and anon faced about, and received the Charge with their Pikes couched; ſo great a ſhower of Musket-ſhot hailing down continually upon them, as they oft repented their being ſo far advanced. In all theſe conflicts whereſoever the greateſt danger was, there was the Duke *Du Mayn*, with his Pike in his hand, diſcharging the duty of a private Souldier much more then of a Commander: And the vigor of his mind was the better ſeen by the proportion of his body; for being very tall of ſtature, and his limbs very well proportioned, and armed with all ſuch peeces as he ought to be upon ſuch an occaſion, he drew not only the eyes, but the praiſe of all men upon him. The aſſaults continued a while on the Kings part; but the Colleagues being more moleſted then prejudiced thereby, and ſtill marching in very great order, at laſt free from all diſturbance their Camp came ſafe to *La Fera*: And the King having compaſt his end in hindring the ſuccour, he preſently betook himſelf to finiſh the taking of *Laon*. The beſieged defended themſelves gallantly for many dayes; making many bold ſallies, and perſevering with ſingular courage in all other reſiſtance: But the batteries never ceaſing from without, after having ſuſtained many aſſaults, and many of the defendants being ſlain, and having no hopes of further aſſiſtance, the City was at laſt delivered up unto the King upon honourable conditions about the end of *July*.

This mean while the King of *Spain*'s own affairs in *Flanders* were ſtill in greater diſorder and confuſion; to boot, with the former two mutinies, which have been already mentioned: another had at this time hapned in *Brabant*; ſome Foot

Foot colours of Italians were quartered in that Province, in the Towns of *Ariſcot*, and of *Sichem*, which Towns were very neer one another, the want of pay was very great, as you have often heard, by reaſon of the exceſſive charges the King was at both in *France* and *Flanders*; and it was the greater at this time in *Flanders*, becauſe the people which had mutined in St. *Pauls* and in *Pont*, had but juſt now received ſatisfaction of thir pay, which had coſt a great ſum of money. The foreſaid Italians being therefore moved thereto in part by need, but certainly much more by the example which they had before their eyes, of ſeeing ſo fowl an action in their companions, ſo advantagiouſly recompenced: they reſolved by the ſame means to endeavour the ſame ſatisfaction. The practiſe being carried on with wonted ſecreſie from the beginning, it was ſoon after put in execution; and thoſe of *Ariſcot* vying for diſpatch with thoſe of *Sichem*, at laſt all of them being agreed, they met together in *Sichem*, as in the greater place, and which might be the better fortified: and here throwing off all obedience, they openly mutined. This licentious enſign being raiſed, many other Italians flock'd ſuddenly unto it, and many ſouldiers of other Nations mingled alſo with them; their whole number came to between two and three thouſand. The Arch Duke was highly diſpleaſed at this diſorder; both in it ſelf and for the conſequences it drew after it: he ſaw that one mutiny begot another, nay, that divers were on foot together; that though they pretended neceſſity, it was rather out of corruption; and that the King of *Spains* condition was now very lamentable, his own forces proving more prejuditious to him then thoſe of his enemies. VVherefore he concluded, that laying aſide all fair proceedings, 'twas beſt to try once, if ſuch a miſchief could be ſuppreſt by rigour. The Councel of VVar inclined hereunto: but howſoever, it was thought to be too dangerous a buſineſs, and of too bad example to ſet thoſe ſouldiers one againſt another, who did militate under the ſame Colours: wherefore they reſolved to proffer ſome juſt ſatisfaction to the mutiners, whereby to reduce them to their former obedience. The offer was large enough, but they would by no means accept of it; for being become reſolute both by reaſon of their own numbers, and by the good ſucceſs of their other fellows in their mutinies, they obſtinately refuſed ever to return to their former Colours, till they were fully ſatisffed for their whole pay. Theſe contumacious ſpeeches were followed by much more contumacious actions. Not contented with ſuch uſual contributions, as in ſuch caſes are impoſed upon the adjacent Countrie; they began to lay heavy taxes upon the Towns round about, which were further off. And they grew to that inſolency, that in raiſing their contributions, they came once even to within the ſight of *Bruſſels*, where the Archduke and the Court was. But neither did their audaciouſneſs ſtop here. Fearing leſt open force might be uſed againſt them, they began to hold intelligence with Count *Maurice*: not that they would turn over to the adverſe party. They never were ſo baſe) but that they might have a ſafe refuge in caſe of neceſſity, if they ſhould be purſued by Arms. The Archdukes anger was much increaſed by theſe actions: nor made he any delay. He raiſed a good body of men out of the Spaniſh mutiners, who had already received their pay, and of many others of the ſaid Nation; and reſolved to ſend them againſt the laſt mutiners. Amongſt other Commanders *Lewis de Velaſco*, a Spaniard of great eſteem was of the aforeſaid opinion, that this new mutiny was to be quelled by force. The buſineſs was therefore aſſigned to him; being come with his men, (to whom were joyned certain VValloon foot and horſe) near *Sichem*, he began to ſtraiten the mutiners. His chief end was to take from them thoſe contributions which they gathered from all the adjacent parts. But he could not ſo eaſily compaſs his intent; for the mutiners horſe ſcouring the Countrey where it was moſt neceſſary, ſecured their Paſſes, and brought victuals as formerly into *Sichem*. This Town lies upon the River *Demer*, and the mutiners, for the better ſecuring of that Paſs, had raiſed a good Fort there, and ſheltered it with a leſſer. *Velaſco* goes againſt theſe Forts, indeavouring firſt to take the weaker, that he might have the leſſer difficulty in winning the other. But were it that the Spaniard had bin too immature in their moving, or that the mutiners made too ſtout a reſiſtance, the Spaniards were forced to retreat, leaving above 200 of their men dead behind them;

them, amongſt which divers Captains and Officers, and particularly *Pietro Portocarrero*, very near akin to *Fuentes*. *Velaſco* going then more deliberately to work about the one and the other of theſe Forts, and beginning to begirt them with trenches and uſual works, the Mutiniers reſolved to abandon them. Yet could not the people that were within them retreat to *Sichem* in ſo good order, but that ſome of them were routed, and many ſlain and wounded.

The Forts being loſt, the Mutiners were much leſs ſecure in the Town; and their difficulties of coming by victuals increaſing every day, they were already brought into great ſtraits. They therefore betook themſelves to more ſtrait intelligence with Count *Maurice*: and ſending ſome of their men to *Breda* where he then was, they at laſt obtained of him, that they might be permitted to come thereabouts under the ſhelter of *Breda* and *Getringberg*, till they ſaw what reſolution the Archduke would take with them. They deſired no more then this, nor to more then this did *Maurice* oblige them. They parted thus from *Sichem* about the midſt of *December*, and marched ſtill in good order till they came to within the Territories of *Langheſtrat*, within the Enemies Country, where they were received with all ſecurity. Their affairs being brought to this paſs, the Archduke, *Fuentes*, and all the reſt of the Kings Officers, were of opinion that their former reſolutions againſt them were to be mitigated, to keep them from falling into greater precipices. Therefore it was moved that the ſame [illegible] of accommodation might be uſed with them as was uſed with the others: which was not by them refuſed. So with Count *Maurice* his permiſſion, who ever treated them with much humanity, without ever endeavouring in the leaſt manner to tempt them to violate their loyalty; Count *John Jiacomo Belgioſo*, a Gentleman of *Milan*, was oft-times by them received, who was imployed to this end by the Archduke. The agreement was,

That they ſhould go to Tilemone, *a place which did belong unto the King in* Brabant. *That they ſhould keep there with all fitting ſecurity. That ſome Spaniard ſhould be left with them for hoſtage, till ſuch time as they ſhould be ſatisfied; and that when they ſhould have received their pay, they ſhould return unto their former ſervice.*

Franciſco Padiglia was therefore given them for an hoſtage, and ſo they went to *Tilemone*; where they ſtaid above a year, ſuch difficulty was found in raiſing moneys to ſatisfie them; there never having been any mutiny wherein there were more Captains, inferior Officers, Souldiers who received great advantages of pay, and other old Soldiers, who likewiſe had large pay, then there was in this. This mean while the year ended, with the divulging of a memorable Navigation thoroughout *Europe*, which the Hollanders and Zealanders had that year found out, of finding a nearer cut to the Eaſt-*Indies* by the North.

They had already wrought themſelves into the Eaſt-*Indies* by the wonted way of the South. Though they had not apply'd themſelves to ſo far remote and ſo laborious Traffick, till after the Crown of *Portugal* was come again into the King of *Spains* hands. Before this happened, they by their neer hand, and commodious navigations, frequenting often the Coaſts of *Portugal*, and eſpecially their chief Port of *Liſbone*, did much to their advantage partake of the Merchandiſes which were more peculiar to the *Indies*. But when the King of *Spain* ſucceeded to that Crown, and forbad all manner of Trade to the Hollanders and Zealanders with *Spain* or *Portugal*, they reſolved they would go themſelves into the Eaſt-*Indies* by the ſame way of the South, which the *Portugals* had at firſt ſo happily diſcovered, and ſtill more happily purſued. This enterpriſe proved very hard unto them at the firſt; finding themſelves to ſeek in the immencity of ſo long a voyage, and no leſs in the knowledg of winds, ſeas and people, which they had never before practiſed nor ſeen. The greateſt obſtacle which they met withall was in the oppoſition made unto them by the Portugeſes; who being the only men who had formerly ſailed upon thoſe ſeas, and given what Laws they liſted to that Commerce, could not admit of any aſſociates therein, much leſs of enemies, and ſuch enemies. But the Flemiſh growing the more hardy in the purſuance of their enterpriſe, by how much they were withſtood at firſt, have at laſt proceeded ſo far therein, as (as it is well known to all men) the Crown of

Spain,

Spain could not be more indamaged then it hath been by them in thoſe parts; Nor could this ſatisfie their hatred to that Crown; or yet their own thirſt after gain. Hoping by one good ſucceſs for the like happineſs in others, they were not long in trying whether they could not by the ſame means work themſelves into the VVeſt-*Indies*, and get footing there. And truely therein either their fortune, or their audacity, or rather their ſingular skill in Navigation, hath been ſuch, as having at laſt tamed and overcome the Ocean, they have landed there, on divers ſides: have built Forts there; eſtabliſhed Gariſons; and gotten no leſs advantage in thoſe Weſtern *Indies*, then they had formerly got in the Eaſtern. Nay it may be ſaid to be greater, by how much the occaſion of enjoying it there hath been the greater. Out of hopes eſpecially that they may ranſack the Spaniſh Plate-Fleet which through that immence way by ſea, is every year brought into *Spain*. Or at leaſt that they may ſo annoy them, as the danger of the paſſage growing every voyage greater, their trouble and expence in making them might likewiſe daily increaſe. Deſignes which have in a good part been ſince effected. For to boot with the great increaſe of expence which the Crown of *Spain* hath been forced to be at ſince, to maintain the Empire of thoſe Seas and Lands; their Fleets have been indangered more then once; and the neceſſity of having them ſafely convoyed, hath made the paſſage much more difficult and expenſive then it was before: Though it may be ſaid on the contrary, that all theſe oppoſitions have ſerved to make the greatneſs of *Spain* appear the more, both in maintaining greater Forces and greater expences, where it hath been neceſſary to increaſe them; and in preſerving the reputation of their Arms both by Land and Sea; where there hath been any occaſion to imploy them. But theſe Navigations of the Hollanders and Zealanders on both ſides of the *Indies*, eſpecially in the Weſt-*Indies* have happened for the moſt part, ſince their having found out the North-weſt paſſage into the Eaſt-*Indies*; to return to which, their reſolution was to ſail by a nearer cut if they could, and to come to the Oriental regions of *Cataia*, *China*, and the *Indies*, ſteering their courſe on the right hand, and drawing ſtill nearer the Pole. In which ſhort Voyage, they thought that at ſome ſeaſons of the year, they might find ſuch acceſs into that almoſt continually frozen Sea, as that they might at laſt get out of it. And to this purpoſe they prepared four ſhips, and furniſhed them with all things neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe. Then going out of their own ſeas, and having paſſed through thoſe of *Norway*, and then the others of *Greenland* and *Iſeland*, which are the utmoſt on the North ſide moſt under the Pole, they wheeled about to the right hand and came ſucceſsfully to the Strait which is called *Nova Zembla*. There began the difficulty of the paſſage, which increaſing ſtill the more by how much they advanced further, it proved ſo exceſſive at the laſt, as their trouble to return back was incredible. They ſaw the ſea freeze into mountains, the skies hidden in thick clouds, and amidſt thoſe horrors, Nature ſeemed almoſt wholly to fail. Being ſtaid by Ice, they were forced to break one of their ſhips, and turn it into Cabins and Cottages. Nor were they then free from new dangers. They were oft-times ſet upon by great numbers of white Bears, of an extraordinary bigneſs; and were by other neceſſities reduced to ſuch a point, as they oft-times diſpaired of life, or that they ſhould ever be able to return: but at laſt they did: for the chiefeſt dread being over, and the Ice melted, they might (though not without great ſufferings) return home by the ſame way they came. Thus did they end this Navigation. Of which, and of others, which they have made into the *Indies*, we have been deſirous here to give you this ſhort account. For though they may be accounted ſucceſſes, which do in ſome ſort appertain unto the Arms, which the United Provinces of *Flanders*, have by all poſſible means oppoſed againſt the Crown of *Spain*; yet being ſo diſ-joyned from thoſe which we deſcribe; the making of them known, and joyning of them by diſtinct relations, to the others of this Hiſtory, would doubtleſly rather breed confuſion then perſpicuity.

At the expiration of this year the Archduke grew to be very weak in body, by reaſon of a lingring feaver, wherewith he had been a good while troubled, and whereof he finally died, not being full 42 years old. It was thought that the indiſpoſition of his body was occaſioned by the like of his mind, finding the af-

fairs of *Flanders* in ſo bad condition, and by reaſon of the little hopes of their amendment. Nor peradventure was he leſs troubled, for fear leſt the Treaty of Marriage between him and the Infanta *Iſabella*, the King of *Spains* eldeſt daughter, which had been a good while in agitation, might either prove totally vain, or by long delays be too long defer'd. The time of his Government was not above one whole year. He was a religious, grave Prince, and ſingularly good; and his German candor made him the more acceptable to the Flemiſh. For what remains, he was not good at action; no Warriour; made much more for Peace, then for the managing of Arms; and who coming with very great expectation into *Flanders*, had better ſatisfied that expectation, if he had not come to the teſt thereof in that Government. He declared at his death, that Count *Fuentes* ſhould ſucceed in his place, till the King ſhould take ſome other reſolution. Who afterwards ratified his Government, with ſuch neceſſary Authority as Count *Manſfield* had divers times formerly exerciſed it.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK II.

The Contents.

It is reſolved in France *to declare open War againſt* Spain. *The Duke of* Bovillon *enters therefore in hoſtile manner into the Province of* Luxemburg; *and at the ſame time the United States ſurpriſe the Caſtle of* Huy, *in the Country of* Liege. Verdugo *is ſent with conſiderable Forces by Count* Fuentes, *to chaſe the* French *from out that Province: wherein he had good ſucceſs; as had alſo Monſieur de* la Motte, *in the recovery of the aforeſaid Caſtle. From hence* Fuentes *reſolves to paſs into* Picardy. *His deſign touching the recovery of* Cambray, *and many difficulties in the undertaking; yet* Fuentes *prepares for it. He firſt beſieges* Chatelet, *and ſuddenly turns from thence, in hopes of winning the Town of* Han: *But being deceived, he returns to his Siege, and quickly ends it. From thence he goes to before* Dorlan. *The French come to ſuccour it. A field-fight, wherein* Fuentes *hath the victory: He therefore ſtraitens the Town yet more; and after a fierce aſſault the oppugnors ſtorm it, and commit all manner of hoſtility in ſlaughter and ſacking. Immediately he incamps before* Cambray. *The deſcription of that City, and the particular ordering of the Siege. Duke* Retel *enters the Town with a ſmall ſuccour; and ſoon after comes in Monſieur* de Vich, *a valiant and greatly experienced Souldier. He makes the Spaniſh Camp reſent his oppoſition ſoundly; yet* Fuentes *loſeth neither hope nor courage. His ſecret intelligence with the Citizens, who are ill affected to the Marſhal of* Baligni, *as Uſurper of that Dominion. He joyns threats to his practices, and prepares to ſtorm the walls by aſſault. But the*

Citizens prevent him; and falling into tumults, resolve to deliver up the City into Fuentes *his hands. Which they doe. The Confederate Provinces move this mean while with their Forces; but succeed not neither in their Siege before* Groll, *nor in the surprise which they attempt upon* Lira. *Archduke* Albertus *comes to the Government of* Flanders, *in the name of the King: And soon after his arrival* Fuentes *departs, and goes into* Spain.

Anno 1595.

WE will begin the year 1595 with the resolution taken by the King of *France* to break into open war with the King of *Spain*. He considered that many Towns in *Picardy*, were under the self Forces of *Spain*. That indeavours were still had to win more. And that look how much more the League did decline in *France*, so much the more was it fomented by *Flanders*, his having declared himself to be a Catholick, and his having advanced his endeavours of reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*, with the Pope so far, not causing them any whit to alter their designe. Wherefore thinking that he was already too much injured, he resolved not to indure it any longer. To the which he was the more incouraged for that he saw his Authority and power did daily increase in *France*. He therefore proclaimed War against the King of *Spain*; and endeavoured by a bitter Declaration to invite all his Subjects to the War. Nor was it long ere another contrary manifesto came from *Flanders*, wherein the King of *Spain* indeavoured to justifie all that he had done in order to the affairs of *France*. And some other Declarations were added, which were requisite upon such an occurrency. War being thus declared between the two Kings; the greatest designs of both sides were turned towards the Frontiers of *France* and *Flanders*. The King of *France* had sent the Duke of *Bullion* with good Forces a little before into the Country of *Lucemburg*. Wherein the United States did likewise joyn with a certain number of horse and foot on their behalfs. Wherefore *Bullion* having soon won the Towns of *Frette* & *Yvois*, which lay neareſt the Frontiers of *France*, he marched further into the Country, pillaging and preying upon that Province in hostile manner. At the same time the States took likewise the Town of *Huy* in the Country of *Liege*, that they might advance nearer the Confines of *France* on that side, and in the mutual communication of their designs, communicate their Forces also the easilier. The Town of *Huy* lies upon the *Mause*, with a Bridg which expedites that passage, and a Castle eminently seated, which commands the Town. The Town belongs to the Bishoprick of *Liege*; and till this time had always enjoyed Neutrality between the Kings Forces and the adverse party, as all the rest of that Country had likewise done. *Ernestus* the Elector of *Bavaria* enjoyed that Bishoprick, together with the Archbishoprick of *Colen*. The invasion being made, he applied himself to the United States for the restitution of that Town which was taken. But his endeavours proving vain, he had afterwards recourse to the Kings forces, to which he promised to joyn his also, that such a novelty might be the sooner remedied. The Archduke was no less moved upon this occasion, nor less ready on his part to remedy it. And he being dead, Count *Fuentes* appear'd to be of the same mind. He therefore (and 'twas his first action) sent Monsieur *de la Motte* with good Forces to recover *Huy*; which were quickly augmented by those which the Elector added unto them. *La Motte* being come near the Town, began to play upon it, and within a few dayes took it, and reduced the State of *Liege* into total security. He being afterwards sent for back by Count *Fuentes* to *Brussels*, who intended to imploy him elsewhere; Colonel *Verdugo* was sent by the Count with a great strength of men, to free the Country of *Lucemburg* from the excursions made by the *French*, and to recover the Towns which *Bullion* had taken. *Verdugo* went thither, and did so handle the *French*, as making them first forsake the field, he made them afterward quit the Country and the Towns which they had taken. The King of *France* his Forces were then chiefly turned upon the Dukedom of *Burgony*, to take it from the Duke *Du Mayn*: To the defence whereof, as also of the County of *Burgony*, which was likewise threatned by the King, the Constable of *Castile*, Governour of

of *Millan*, was come with very gallant Forces from *Italy*. *Fuentes* had thought to have sent *Verdugo* thither also with some assistance from *Flanders*. But he dying at that time, it could not be effected. In him the Spanish Nation lost one of the most valiant and best experienced Commanders in War, that was then in all those Provinces. Wherein he had served the King of *Spain* little less then ..o years. And passing through all the degrees of the Militia, he had still shewed himself most worthy in the last; and particularly most in such as required either greater vigilancy in command, or greater wisdom in advice. He commanded the Kings Forces with great authority a long time on the further side of the *Rhine*, with much variety of acquisitions and losses; till that the Spanish Forces being diverted too much in *France*, the Kings own affairs in *Flanders* were brought to too bad a condition.

Count *Fuentes* being freed from that diversion which the enemy had occasioned in the Countries of *Liege* and *Lucemburg*, and leaving Colonel *Mandragone* well furnished with forces thereabouts, he applyed himself wholly to the Frontiers of *Picardy*, resolving to go thither himself, accompanied with a great strength of men, and to advantage the Kings affairs there as much as he could. Count *Charls Mansfield* did formerly command the Kings Flemish Forces which were upon that Frontier, as hath been often said. But he being gon into *Germany*, to serve the Emperour against the *Turk* in the VVars of *Hungary*; the Archduke, before he died, had substituted the Marquis of *Barambone* in his place; who was Governour of *Artois*, which joyns upon *Picardy*. VVho being entred into that Province, had overrun it in divers parts, and taken *Anker*, and some other Towns, all but of small importance. He afterwards returning into his own Province, had sent Monsieur *di Rone* in his place, of whom and whose Military worth, mention hath been often made already. He was one of the chief of the League of *France*; but resolving at last actually to establish himself in the King of *Spains* Service, he was received thereunto, and had a great stipend allowed him, and was made Campmaster General of the Army. VVherefore the command of those parts being past into his hands, he went thither, and made likewise some small acquisitions.

The Spring was by this time over; and Count *Fuentes* did no longer delay to prepare for putting his designs into execution. He desired above all things to take the City of *Cambray* from the French; and to reduce it, as formerly it was, under the particular Authority of the King of *Spain*. In the revolutions of *Flanders*, soon after the death of *Don John*, that City was fallen into the hands of the Duke of *Alanson*, as was then said. *Alanson* at his death, left the Queen his mother heir to those parts which he could pretend to, by such an acquisition; and she had confirmed the Government of *Cambray*, and of the Castle and Territory of *Cambresis* upon *Signor di Baligni*, who had the same charge whilst *Alanson* lived. Nor did *Baligni* omit to make use of the present conjuncture of times, by becoming as it were absolute Lord of that City, and of all that depended upon the Dominion thereof. He having always wrought his advantage on both sides during the troubles of *France* and *Flanders*; had brought that Country into a condition as it were of neutrality. Yet upon all occurrences he lean'd much more to the French, where his acquisition might cause less jealousie, and consequently receive more protection. But the King of *France* his affairs bettering every day in that Kingdom, and especially upon that Frontier, *Baligni* had condescended to put the City of *Cambray* under the direct dominion of the King, reserving unto himself the usefull part thereof, together with the Prerogative of calling himself Prince of *Cambray*. *Baligni* being thus become Lord of that City, he began to be diligent in fortifying it, and muniting it with Bulwarks, Arms, Ammunition and Victuals. He foresaw the Tempest which was likely to fall upon him from the King of *Spains* Forces in *Flanders*, if ever any occasion thereof should be offered. And doubtlesly as that was the greatest advantage which *France* had reaped in those parts during the troubles of *Flanders*: so could not the King of *Spain* benefit himself better upon that Confine, then by reducing *Cambray* to its former condition. In former times the City of *Cambray* had been as it were a strong Bulwark to the whole Walloons Country against the French assaults

assaults on that side. And the Emperour *Charls* the fifth, the better to secure himself thereof, had by the Archbishops good will, who was Lord both spiritual and temporal of that City, built a strong Castle there; which was better furnished and fortified afterwards by *Baligni*. He kept the two neighbouring Provinces of *Hennault* and *Artois* in great subjection: grieving them with quartering, indamaging them with inroads, putting them to pay contributions, and using other great violences against them; such as if greater could not have been used by a declared enemy; at least not by a bad neighbour. They therefore greatly desired to see that Town return under the King of *Spains* devotion. And had offered all possible assistance to Count *Fuentes*, to make him the willinglier resolve upon that enterprise. But in the mature agitating thereof in the Councel of War there was some opposition found; and there was great ambiguity in Votes. Monsieur *de la Motte*, General of the Artillery, and a man of long experience and known valour, was particularly against the Enterprise. He said,

That the Kings forces were not as then strong enough to be thought proportionable for such a siege. That the City of Cambray *was of a very large circuit, and very well munited with flanks and ditches on all sides. That the City was secured by a very strong Citadel; and that it was to be believed that neither the Citadel nor City would want either men, ammunition, or victuals requisite to make resistance; That on the contrary the Kings Forces being well considered, it would clearly appear that they were not sufficient so to begirt such a Town as that, as it ought to be. That if it were not well surrounded with Trenches, it could not be kept from being relieved; and say it should be perfectly incompassed; was it not to be believed that all means possible would be used by* France *to force those Trenches? That lesser Interests gave way to more urgent necessities. That there could be none of greater consideration for* France, *then to keep* Spain *from making so important an acquisition. That therefore it was necessarily to be supposed that the King of* France, *laying aside all other affairs, would bend all his Forces to keep the City of* Cambray *in* Baligni's *command. Which was as much to say, as in his own. That the agreement between him and* Du Main *was still in hand; which the King would endeavour the more, that the concord might be made in such a conjuncture of time. Neither would the United Provinces lose that oportunity; but seeing the Spanish Arms in* Flanders *more languishing now then ever, they would certainly apply themselves to some important siege, which they might as easily effect as designe.*

These were the Objections made by Monsieur *de la Motte* against the Enterprise. But the new Camp-master-General, *Ronye*, was very stiff for it; shewing himself the more to be a Spaniard in his opinion, lest he might be thought to be too luke-warm, as being a Frenchman. He said,

That the Provinces of Hennault *and* Artois *had made large promises of assistance, toward the effecting of the Enterprise. And that it was to be hoped all the rest of the Walloons Country would concur thereunto: That therefore the Kings Forces might be so increased by such and so opportune helps, as they might be sufficient to make such a siege, and manage it as it ought to be. That the City of* Cambray *seemed very much to hate* Baligni: *and that he was acknowledged by the people thereof rather as a* Tyrant *then a Prince. Wherefore by reason of the jealousies within, he would be the less able to withstand the forces without. That it was doubtlesly to be believed the French would not omit doing of any thing which might keep the* Town *from being lost. But that the King was already so deeply ingaged in* Burgony, *and was so prest upon on one side by the Duke* du Main, *and on the other by the Constable of* Castile, *as he would hardly free himself of that trouble. That the King being held in play so far off, there was small fear to be had of his Captains that were nearer hand. And what a madness would it be thought in the Duke* du Main, *if when he might better his condition the more, amidst Arms, he should so slightly forgoe them? That if in the mean time the United Provinces should make any opposition, they might be met with forces sufficient to suppress them. That all men were usually set upon in their highest designes by hopes and fears. That in this, hope was to have the upper hand. And why should they not hope to find a friend of Fortune, since their Cause was so just? For what remained, that the recovery of* Cambray *was of so great consequence, as all the expences the King of* Spain *had been at in the present occurrences of* France *might be thought*

thought well imployed, if only thereby Flanders *might be again poſſeſt of ſuch a Bulwark as this, in that ſo ſuſpitious corner.*

Fuentes inclined to this opinion, being naturally full of high thoughts, and deſirous to innoble his Government by ſome extraordinary ſucceſs. He therefore acquainted the Provinces of *Hennault* and *Artois* with this his reſolution, moving them the more to aſſiſt him. He eaſily drew over likewiſe the Cities of *Torney* and *Lillo*, with the Countries which lie more inward upon the Walloons, to be of the ſame mind. But the Archbiſhop himſelf ſeemed more deſirous of this Enterpriſe then all others. VVho alſo offered ſome monies towards the effecting of it, hoping by the King of *Spains* power and protection, to return to his City, and enjoy his former Government thereof.

VVhilſt theſe aids were preparing, and that divers other neceſſary proviſions were made to the ſame purpoſe; Count *Fuentes* reſolved to enter *Picardy*, with thoſe men which he had already gathered together; ſo parted from *Bruſſels* about the beginning of *June*. Being come upon the Frontier, his firſt deſign was to get *Chatelet*, a ſtrong place, and ſo near *Cambray*, that unleſs he could bereave the enemy of it, it might much hinder the intended enterpriſe. He treated likewiſe at the ſame time with the Town of *Han*, to get it into his hands; it being a place ſeated advantagiouſly likewiſe thereabouts. Monſieur *di Gomeron* was Governour of this place, and Monſieur *Orveglier*, his brother by the mothers ſide commanded the Caſtle, which joyn'd upon the Town on one ſide. VVith both theſe there had been much tampering already, and at laſt *Gomeron* received 1000 foot, part Neopolitans, part Spaniards and VValloons into the Town. He promiſed faithfully to make *Orveglier* do the like in the Caſtle. And for a greater gage of his fidelity, he was gon to *Bruſſels* with two of his younger brethren, and gave himſelf up into *Fuentes* hands, who therefore cauſed 20000 crowns be given to him. And loaded him with divers other great offers, in caſe that the Town and Caſtle of *Han* ſhould remain in the King of *Spains* abſolute poſſeſſion. And this *Fuentes* did the more hope for, for that *Gomerone*, and *Orveglier*, had been always partial for the League upon that Frontier. This was the condition of *Han*, when *Fuentes* began to begirt *Chatelet*. VVhich was fortified in oppoſition of the Citadel of *Cambray* even from the firſt time that that Citadel was built by *Charls* the fift; *Chatelet* being the neareſt Town of *France* to the Frontiers of *Flanders* on that ſide. The form thereof is four ſquare, like that which was deſcribed in the ſiege of *La Chapelle*, but it is not altogether of ſo large a content. At every corner is placed a Royal Bulwark, the ditch about it is part dry, part full of water. And it was ſo well provided with all other things neceſſary for defence, as it might be feared it would hold out a long time. The greater the acquiſition was known to be, the greater was *Fuentes* his deſire to compaſs it. He therefore with much fervor begirt the Town; and advancing with his Trenches, prepared to batter the VVall on one ſide with a many great guns. VVhen on the ſudden newes came, that inſtead of his taking of the Caſtle of *Han*, the Mariſhal *Bullion*, with the Meſſieurs of *Sanſeval*, and *Humiers*, all of them Commanders of the French forces in thoſe parts, were entred thereinto; and that they prepared to ſtorm the Town likewiſe. *Fuentes* began already to ſuſpect *Orviglier*, the Governour of the Caſtle, by reaſon of ſome of his no ſincere proceedings: But then he thought that the Gariſon which was placed in the Town, would keep from all novelties. And he was herein the more confirmed by his having *Gomeron* the Governor of the Town, and two of his brothers as gages, in his hands. Captain *Checco di Sangro*, a Neopolitan, and *Olmedo* a Spaniard commanded the Kings of *Spains* Flemiſh Forces in *Han*. Theſe immediately acquainted *Fuentes* with what danger the Town was in. He made no delay, but ſuſpending the continuation of the ſiege, and leaving Campmaſter *Auguſtine Meſſia* with ſo many men onely as might keep any relief from being brought into the Town, he went immediately away with the reſt of his Camp toward *Han*: hoping that when he had ſecured the Town, he might take the Caſtle: but it fell out otherwiſe. For the French Commanders not loſing any moment of their advantage, as ſoon as they were entred the Caſtle, did forthwith furiouſly aſſault the Town. VVhich firſt aſſault was no leſs vigorouſly

ſuſtained

ſuſtained by the Kings Flemiſh Forces. But being aſſailed not many hours after with greater violence and more men, a ſecond time; they were at laſt forced to yield, and march out of the Town; a great ſlaughter being firſt made; and almoſt all their Commanders taken priſoners; particularly *Sangro* and *Olmedo*. Nor did the French eſcape without loſs of bloud. Particularly *Humiers* was there ſlain, who was highly eſteemed of for his valours by the French. *Fuentes* hearing this news, returned as ſuddenly to his ſiege, and apply'd himſelf more hotly thereunto then before. That he might make amends for the loſs of one Town by getting another. Advancing therefore ſtill forwards with his works, he came ſoon to battery. And having made one very great one, the Spaniards with equal ardor fell to the aſſault. But the defences not being ſufficiently taken away, they could not ſtorm the wall: to boot that the beſieged plaid their parts manfully. Monſieur *de la Motte* was in the Camp, who failed not in making all diligence, to facilitate a ſecond aſſault by his batteries, he being the General of the Artillery. And they were now ready to fall on more fiercely then before, when an unfortunate accident befalling them within, did mightily diſcourage them. For ſom fire lighting among the powder which they had brought to the wall that was play'd upon, as to the place where they were to uſe it moſt, blew it almoſt all up, and conſequently very much weakened their defence. Wherefore having no hopes of relief, not waiting for a ſecond aſſault, they came to parly, and delivered up the Town upon honourable conditions to *Fuentes*, where he reſted his Army a few days, and at which time he received new hopes from *Orveglier*, of putting the Caſtle of *Han* into his hands. And *Gomerons* own mother came to the Camp and confirmed the ſame; fearing leſt otherwiſe *Fuentes* might proceed againſt her ſons. *Fuentes* being then allured by theſe ſecond hopes, marched again with his Army to within ſight of *Han*: but failing of his expectation, and thinking himſelf too much deluded, he could contain himſelf no longer, but in view of the whole Camp made the eldeſt *Gomerons* head be cut off, and ſent the other two brothers to be kept at *Antwerp*.

He returned from thence towards *Cambray* again, intending to beſiege it: but thinking that it was not ſufficient that he had taken *Chatelet* from the French, unleſs he ſhould alſo take *Dorlan*; he reſolved to incamp before *Dorlan*, and to bring that Town likewiſe into his power. In his march he took the Towns of *Clery* and *Bray*, which made hardly any reſiſtance; and about the midſt of *July* began to begirt *Dorlan*. There is no Town in all *Picardy* which is nearer the oppoſite Confine of *Flanders* then this; nay it doth rather interfere then joyn upon the Confines of *Artois*. It is little above an eaſie days journey from *Cambray*. It is a large Town well invironed with a wall and ditch: and it is munited on one ſide by an indifferent ſtrong Caſtle. The Duke of *Nevers* commanded over all the King of *France* his forces upon all thoſe Frontiers, being made Governour of *Champagne*, in ſtead of the Duke of *Guiſe*: who having made his peace with the King, had the Government of *Province* given him in lieu of *Champagnia*. *Nevers* began already to ſuſpect that *Fuentes* intended to beſiege *Dorlan*. and therefore he had added a good number of horſe, and choice foot to the Gariſon thereof, before *Fuentes* ſate down before it. The King had conferred the Government of *Picardy* upon Count St *Paul*; after that the Duke *d'Umale* had been proclaimed Traitor in *Paris* by the Kings Commiſſion, and had his head ſtruck off in Effigies. And in *Normandy* Monſieur *de Villiers* commanded under the King; who was eſtabliſhed as formerly in his Office of Admiral of *France*, in recognition of his being alſo reſolved to adhere unto the King, and for his having drawn the City of *Roan* to do the like. To boot with theſe Governours of Provinces, the Mariſhal of *Bullion*, and Monſieur *de Sanſeval* had a great influence upon the Forces within the ſame Frontiers, but the chief command lay in the Duke of *Nevers*. All theſe Commanders uſed the greateſt induſtry they could in gathering together ſuch Forces as might ſuffice to keep *Dorlan* from falling into the King of *Spains* hands. *Fuentes* was this mean while incamped before the Town. And it was argued in the Councel of VVar, whether were the better to begirt it on the Towns ſide, or on the Caſtles: and at laſt it was reſolved that they would bend all their forces againſt the Caſtle. For

that

that being won, they might much more eaſily take the Town. Amidſt which contrariety of opinions, whilſt Monſieur *de la Motte* in order to his office was viewing where he ſhould fitteſt diſpoſe of his Batteries, he was caſually ſhot in the eye with a musket, and ſlain. A great loſs: For *Flanders* had not a more experienced Commander in Arms, nor who had paſſed with greater approbation through all offices, even from the meaneſt to the greateſt. The winning of the Caſtle being then reſolv'd upon, divers Forts were raiſed on that ſide in ſuch places as were moſt requiſite to ſecure their quarters on the & outſide, the Works which were to be made within. They fell preſently to making Trenches. On one ſide which was of greateſt concernment, the Spaniards, Burgonians and Walloons were ſo fervent at their work, as they ſoon fell into the Ditch. *Hernando Teglio Portacarera* Serjeant-Major of a Spaniſh Brigado did in particular merit great praiſe herein. To become maſters of the Ditch more eaſily, it was neceſſary to take a little Ravelin from the beſieged. To this end the Spaniards and the reſt made a furious aſſault upon the Ravelin, which was ſo well ſuſtained by the French, as the ſucceſs was doubtfull for ſome hours: But thoſe without being ſtill reinforced by new men, they took the Ravelin at the laſt, and lodged in it.

The Town was thus begirt, when *Fuentes* came to know that the *French* came to relieve it. The Admiral *Villiers* had brought 400 Horſe a little before this, to this purpoſe, out of *Normandy*; and a great number of Horſe was raiſed to the ſame end in the neighbouring Frontiers by *Saint Paul*, *Bullioun*, and *Sanſevalle*. The beſieged deſired only to be ſuccour'd by 800. or 1000 Foot. And though the Duke of *Nevers* was diligent in his endeavours likewiſe to ſecure the Town as ſoon as might be with new men, yet he maturely judged that it was needfull to aſſemble yet greater Forces together, whereupon the ſuccour might be better grounded. To the which he was the rather moved, for that he knew *Fuentes* had received conſiderable Recruits from the *Flemiſh* and *Walloons*. But the French Commanders confiding in the Cavalry which they already had, and which conſiſted of prime Gentry, ſent word to *Nevers*, who was at S. *Quintains*, that he ſhould no longer delay endeavouring the ſuccour; and that undoubtedly they would effect it with the Forces which they had. Going therefore from *Amiens*, which is the chief City of *Picardy*, and which is within a ſhort dayes journey of *Dorlan*, they moved with 1500 Horſe and 1000 Foot, intending to convey the Foot into the Town, and that the Horſe ſhould make their way. When they were come within ſight of the Spaniſh Camp, *Fuentes* and the reſt of his Commanders thought that this was rather to make a diſcovery, then to fight. But when they ſaw that the real intention of the *French* was to endeavour the ſuccour with thoſe men; *Fuentes* getting on horſ-back, and in that poſture ſuddenly ſending for the reſt of the Commanders to Councel, they reſolved to leave the Trenches well provided, and to march and meet the Enemy with the reſt of the Army. And *Fuentes* foretelling the certainty of the Victory,

This (ſaid he) *may be termed a French Butado. Do they think to find us aſleep within our quarters? or that we be not able to ſuſtain that double aſſault which they peradventure intend to make at once, theſe from without, and the beſieged from within? I believe they will ſoon find they are deceived; and that this their deſign partakes much more of fool-hardineſs then of courage.*

Then taking all requiſite order for the defence of their Trenches, and particularly for withſtanding the Aſſault which the beſieged might make, he drew forth the reſt of his men into the field, obſerving firſt in what order the Enemy marched. They had made three almoſt equal bodies of Horſe: The firſt was led on by Admiral *Villiers*; the ſecond by Monſieur *Sanſevalle*; and the third by Count *San Paul*, and the Marſhal *Bullion*. Under the ſhelter of theſe Horſe the Foot marched on the right hand; and in ſuch order as they might eaſily disjoyn, and get into *Dorlan*, when the Horſe ſhould have opened them the way. Thus came the French marching on; and *Fuentes* ordered his Camp thus: On the right hand he formed a Squadron of Flanders Train-band Horſe, which in their ſeveral Companies might come to 600 Curaſiers, and who upon this occaſion were commanded by Count *Boſſu*. He placed the Light-Horſe on the left hand under the command of *Ambroſio Landriano*, who was Lieutenant-Generall of the

Horſe; the Duke of *Paſtrana*, who was Generall, and who was a little before returned from *Spain*, being not well then. He himſelf kept in the midſt with his wonted Guard of Lances and Carabins; and followed by a great many Perſonages of great Port, amongſt which were the Duke *d'Umale*, the Campmaſter Generall *Ronye*, the Princes of *Simai* and *Avelino*, the Marquis *Barambone*, and divers others of the beſt quality that were in the Camp. The Foot were divided in the moſt advantagious places; and there was therof particularly one little flying Squadron of *Spaniards*, which might be ready to turn whereſoever occaſion ſhould moſt require. *Fuentes* having thus ordered his Army, *Villers* advanced, and with great fervencie charged the firſt Squadrons of the Light-horſe: Thoſe firſt Squadrons, which were all *Spaniards* and *Italians*, did not ſtand the charge of the French; but wheeling about, were diſordered and almoſt made to run. The ſecond Squadrons did then advance, who were *Spaniards* led on by *Carlo Colonna*; and fiercely ſetting upon the French on the Flank, they came to cloſe fight. The French Vanguard being thus advanced, *Sanſeval* made forwards with the Battel; againſt him came *Landriano* with the reſt of the Light-horſe, which were placed there: And here began a fierce and bloody conflict; where *Villers*, *Sanſeval*, and the reſt of their Company fighting courageouſly, the *Spaniards* Light-horſe were again diſordered. *Fuentes* gave the ſign then to the Curaſiers, who charged ſo cloſe and home upon the French Horſe, as they beat them back; and the reſt of the Horſe being rallied together and come in to them, they at laſt routed and diſſipated them. Wherein notwithſtanding the Foot had a great ſhare; who advancing, and letting flie with their Muskets on ſundry ſides upon the French, did more facilitate the ſucceſs in opening and breaking their ſquadrons, and in making a bloody ſlaughter: But it proved particularly moſt bloody againſt the Foot; for they being quite abandoned by reaſon of the Rout given unto the Horſe, were almoſt all of them cut in peeces; with a great deſire of revenging the blood which the French had drawn of the Spaniards in the aforeſaid aſſaults at *Han*. And for the ſame reaſon the like cruelty was uſed againſt the Horſe, after they were routed and defeated. Yet the third Squadron of the Rereward got almoſt all ſafe off: For *San Paul* and *Bullion* ſeeing what ill ſucceſs the other two had, retreated without further fighting, and did it ſo early as they could not be purſued. Whilſt they were thus buſie on this ſide, the beſieged failed not to ſally out upon the Spaniſh quarters, endeavouring to overcome them, and then joyn with the French that were without: But they met with ſuch reſiſtance, as all they could doe was in vain. And thus *Fuentes* had the victory on both ſides. Few in his Camp were either hurt or ſlain. On the contrary, few of the Enemies Foot were ſaved, and great ſlaughter was made amongſt the Horſe. Many Priſoners were likewiſe taken, and of thoſe, many of the chief men: One, and the chiefeſt of them all was Admiral *Villers*: when contention ariſing amongſt thoſe in whoſe hands he was, and he offering a very great ſum of money to ſatisfie all their greedineſs; *John Contrera*, a Spaniard, who was Commiſſary-Generall of the Horſe, fuller of rage then anger, made him be cruelly put to death. An action whereat *Fuentes* was highly diſpleaſed. Another of chiefeſt eſteem amongſt them that were ſlain, was Monſieur *de Sanſeval*, who was Lieutenant-General of *Picardy*; of a noble family, and of high deſerts in war. Many others of the prime Nobility of thoſe parts were either taken priſoners, or ſlain. And *Fuentes*, were it either to boaſt his victory or civility, ſent the bodies of *Villers* and *Sanſeval* to the Duke of *Nevers*, that they might be honourably buried by their friends, according to their merits.

Fuentes having gotten this Field-victory, returned with more fervencie then formerly to beſiege the Town, and the beſieged ſeemed as reſolute in the defence thereof. Count *Dinan* was Governour of the place; and he had a very numerous Gariſon in the Town, compoſed almoſt altogether of Gentry, who were reſolved rather to die then yield. Reſiſtance was made in the Ditch, as you have heard; and though the Spaniards had won the little Ravelin, yet the French did ſtill defend themſelves there with Galleries and ſuch other works. But *Fuentes* reſolving to force the Town as ſoon as poſſibly he could, placed a great Battery almoſt cloſe to the Counterſcarf, and began to thunder furiouſly from thence upon

upon the walls: He planted likewiſe ſome Artillery upon the riſe of a Hill, which from above, ſhot point blank upon the *French*, much to their prejudice, and might continue doing ſo without hurting the *Spaniards*, when they ſhould make an aſſault. The wall was plaid upon for many hours; and a great part thereof with its platform being thrown down, inſomuch as the breach was almoſt levell'd, thoſe without preſented themſelves to make the aſſault, and thoſe within to receive it. *Fuentes* ordered the Aſſault on his ſide thus. He made 3 Squadrons, the firſt conſiſting of 600 Foot, and the other two of not full out ſo many: The ſecond was to ſecond the firſt, and the third the ſecond. The beſieged on their behalf likewiſe prepared to make all manly defence, with military order and reſolution. The chiefeſt for valour and birth were placed in the firſt Files; who keeping cloſe together, and well arm'd, ſeemed like a great high bank covered with iron. And a ſufficient breach being made, thoſe without marched to the aſſault. The firſt Squadron advanced firſt, and with great courage endeavoured to get footing upon the wall that was beaten down; but it was ſo much better defended then aſſailed, as the ſecond Squadron muſt come in to aſſiſt the firſt. Then the combat began to be very fierce; for thoſe within being likewiſe reinforced with freſh ſuccour, they did renew their reſiſtance with more ardor then before. In the heat of the conflict, like waves ſucceſſively, now theſe, now thoſe were ſeen to give way: Pikes were ſucceeded by ſwords, and ſwords by all manner of other cloſe fight, which not only the deſire of defence, but of offence might teach upon that occaſion. The ground was all covered with dead bodies, or ſuch as were ſorely wounded; and thoſe who were unwounded ſeemed much more deſirous to dye then to live: Blood ran down every where; all was full of horror and death. And the conflict was ſo various between hope and fear, as it could not be diſcerned to which ſide the fortune of the day would turn. Thus did the combat for a while continue: But *Fuentes* reſolving to try the utmoſt, made the third Squadron come in; and thoſe within were likewiſe invigored with new aids: inſomuch as it is not to be ſaid how fierce and how uncertain the fight was for a while. Yet the aſſailants began already to prevail, by reaſon of two manifeſt diſadvantages which the aſſailed ſuffered under: The one was the great ſlaughter which was made amongſt them from aloof off by the Artillery that was placed upon the little Riſe, while they fought at nearer diſtance: The other, that the place where they fought being very narrow, they could not make way one for another, nor keep ſuch order as they ought to have done. Not being therefore able any longer to reſiſt, they were at laſt inforced to yield: But they ſtill gave back with their faces towards the Enemy; and with ſo great undauntedneſs, as the moſt of them, at leaſt the better ſort choſe rather to loſe their lives then their ſtation. The Caſtle being forced, the Victors ſoon entred the Town; and the Gates being opened, all the reſt of the Camp came in, who ſtraightways pillaged and plundred it all over in hoſtile manner. Great was the number of thoſe that were ſlain, and great the number of priſoners. But the Plunder proved not to ſuch a value, as did any ways ſatisfie the Souldiers avarice; which was the cauſe, as it was thought, why (the Prey not anſwering their hopes) ſome houſes were deſpightfully ſet on fire; which firing a great many others, the whole Town would quickly have been conſumed, had not *Fuentes* come in himſelf in perſon, and remedied the diſorder. Count *Dinan*, the Governour of the place, whilſt he gave proof of great valour, dyed in the Aſſault: And his Brother Monſieur *de Ronſoy* was ſo ſore wounded, as he lived not long after. All the reſt of the better ſort were ſlain or taken priſoners. Divers Captains of the Spaniſh Camp were ſlain, and many inferior Officers, together with a great number of common ſouldiers. In fine, the ſucceſs of this Aſſault was ſuch, as a more fierce, bloody, and longer doubtfull fight had not till that time been heard of neither in the Wars of *France* nor *Flanders*.

Fuentes having taken *Chatelet* and *Dorlan*, and gotten the aforeſaid victory in the field, he had the greater deſire to incamp before *Cambray*; and he hoped the more to win it at laſt. He firſt reſted his Army for ſome days, and in the mean while ſollicited thoſe aids, which diverſly and plentifully was preparing for him in *Henault*, *Artois*, and in the other neighbouring Countries, and by the Biſhop of

Cambray. The aids conſiſted in monies, ſouldiers, victuals, ammunition, Artillery, together with a great number of Pyoners, to ſerve for the mannual work of the ſiege. But in the Interim, he being willing to gain as much time as he could, parted from *Dorlan*; and with thoſe men which he had, incamped about the midſt of *Auguſt* before *Cambray*. His Camp conſiſted not then of above 7000 foot, and 1500 horſe. VVherefore the Duke of *Nevers* who was then in *Peroune*, reſolved to try whether he could bring any relief into the Town or no, before his Army ſhould be increaſed. He to this purpoſe ſent his eldeſt ſon, the Duke of *Retel*, who was not then above 15 years old, accompanied with 500 horſe. By ſending ſuch a pawn *Nevers* deſired to aſſure the beſieged the more, that he himſelf would ſoon come to ſuccour them with other forces. The young Duke met with a brisk oppoſition, wherein *Carlo Colonna* with his Cavalry did particularly ſignalize himſelf. But the French prevailed, and having loſt ſome of their men, entred moſt of them into the City. *Fuentes* his Army did this mean while daily increaſe; in a ſhort time his Camp conſiſted of 12000 foot and 3000 horſe; he had moreover above 80 pieces of Artillery, great aboundance of Ammunition and victuals, and 4000 Pyoners. At his firſt incamping, *Fuentes* had rather deſigned where he would take up his quarters about the Town, then taken them up, deviding them the moſt advantagiouſly that the ſeveral ſituations would ſuffer him to do. But now abounding in all things that was neceſſary to fortifie them, he applyed himſelf ſuddenly to bring them to intire perfection. *Cambray* is ſeated (as hath ſeveral times been ſaid) upon that edg of Frontier made by the two Provinces of *Henault* and *Artois* on *Flanders* ſide towards *France*, oppoſite to *Picardy*. It hath under its command abroad, only the little Caſtle of *Cambreſis*, with a very narrow precinct of ground; but the Prerogatives of the City, make good the ſmallneſs of the Territories. It enjoys a free Government, under the ſpiritual and temporal dominion of its Archbiſhop. It is indowed with very large Priviledges; full of noble Churches, whereof the Cathedral is ſuch as hath not its like in any of the chief neighbouring Cities. It is ſufficiently provided alſo of other Edifices, either for uſe or ornament; yet are not the Inhabitants anſwerable in numbers to the houſes. Many of which being Eccleſiaſticks, foreign Commerce, and Merchandizing doe rather languiſh then abound there: Neither doth the *Scheld*, though it run through the City, afford Commodity for it; for that River takes its head but from a little above that City, and hath therefore there ſo ſlender a Channel, as it is hardly Navigable in thoſe parts. The City is about a league in compaſs, and is invironed with an antient wall, flank'd for the moſt part after the ancient manner; but with many Bulwarks alſo after the modern way of Fortification. It hath a ditch which is very broad and deep on the one ſide, whereinto for a great part the *Scheld* runs; but the reſt thereof by reaſon of the hight of its ſituation is dry; but ſo much the deeper. On the higheſt ſide, which is on the Eaſt, ſtands a Citadel, with four royal Bulwarks, having a great half Moon between two of them which are next the fields; and divers other defences for the better cuſtody of the ditch. The ground deſcending from hence towards the South ſide, and ſtill more and more as it inclines towards the VVeſt, ſtands the Port *Neufe*, and then that of St *Sepulcher*; afterwards another called *Cantimpre*; and more towards the South, that of *Selle*. And laſtly more higher towards the Citadel there is another Gate called *Malle*. Between theſe Gates is the compaſs of the City divided. It had for the defence thereof about 2500 foot, and 600 horſe, beſides 500 foot which were reſerved for the Citadel. Amongſt the foot ſome Companies of Swiſſers were comprehended, and ſome others of the confining VValloons which ſerved *Baligni*. The reſt were French, all of them well trained up in wars. The City and Citadel did abound in Victuals, Ammunition, Artillery, and with whatſoever was requiſite for the maintaining of a long and hard ſiege.

Now to turn to the adverſe party. *Fuentes* had taken up his quarters chiefly over againſt the Gates, that he might block up the moſt frequented avenues; and that he might the better keep out ſuccour. On that ſide which lay neareſt *France*, from whence relief was moſt to be feared, and which was on the South ſide, he raiſed a great Fort near the Village *Nierny*, and gave the cuſtody thereof to the

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Prince of *Simay*. He raiſed anothef Fort towards the weſt called *Premy*, taking its name from a near neighbouring Village; and gave the charge thereof to Count *Bilio*, Colonel of a *German* Regiment. Then turning towards the North, he added another Fort, which was called St. *Olao*, the name of a Church not far from it; and he committed the defence thereof to the Baron *Auſi*. On the fourth ſide towards the Eaſt did *Fuentes* his ſelf quarter, by reaſon of the near accommodation of the Village *Evendunre*; and here he raiſed the greateſt Fort; for on that ſide which was the moſt eminent, and where the ditch was dry, he intended to open his Trenches and to make his batteries. Theſe were the chief quarters; and the defence was to be ſecured by the aboveſaid Forts. From one Fort to another, did certain little Forts, or rather Redouts run, with double Trenches; becauſe the inward might ſerve to refrain ſallies, and the outward to keep out ſuccour. To each Fort and Redout he aſſigned ſuch men as were requiſite, together with all things neceſſary for the well maintaining of them. And the horſe were likewiſe diſtributed in places moſt needfull to ſcoure the Country and to be ready to diſturb relief. The ſiege being thus ſetled, they began to work their Trenches againſt the wall. But as that higheſt or moſt eminent place which hath been ſpoken of, was moſt commodious for the opening of them, ſo was the wall on that ſide the City hardeſt to be forced. A half Bulwark was thruſt out from the Citadel with a great Orillioune: which with the well covered fences within, did ſerve for a curtain to a long line of wall which ran between that Bulwark and the Port *di Malle*. Between that Port and that of *Selle*, another great Ravelin ſtood out likewiſe, called *La Nue*, and ſo high was the ditch every where thereabouts, as it appeared more difficult being dry, then if it had had water in it. But in all other parts thereabouts the earth was ſo ſoft and myery, and ſo troubleſome for the making of Trenches, as *Fuentes* no leſs out of neceſſity then choice, reſolved to accoaſt the City on that higher and ſteeper ſide; and to storm it there. The works being then begun with great fervency, great and ſodain advancement was made therein, through the inceſſant labour of ſo many Pyoners; though it coſt much labour by reaſon of the quality of the earth, which moſt commonly was too hard, and ſometimes ſtony. They wrought upon two Trenches, the one juſt over againſt the wall, which ran along from the Port *di Malle*, towards the Bulwark *Robert* (ſo was the aboveſaid *Orillion* called) and the other towards the ſame Port *di Malle*, which the Townſmen by reaſon of the ſiege had then block'd up with earth. *Fuentes* had given the care of all theſe works to the Campmaſter *Auguſtin Miſſia*; who with the Spaniards did moſt tend that which was the chiefeſt, and which led towards the Bulwark *Robert*. The Campmaſter *Barlotta*, with his VValloons apply'd himſelf to the other which led towards the Port *di Malle*; and great diligence being had in the making of both theſe Trenches, they were within a few days brought even to the edg of the ditch. This mean while thoſe within the Town ceaſed not continually to moleſt theſe works both nearer hand and at a further diſtance; neerer hand by frequent ſallies, and at a further diſtance by their Canon from off their walls. So as many actions had, and did daily happen; ſometimes between foot and foot, ſometimes between horſe and horſe; and often between both horſe and foot. *Baligni* was one of the Mariſhals of *France*, and his wife was in *Cambray*. A woman ſo highly ſpirited as ſhe would not yield unto her husband in ſuſtaining the difficulties of the ſiege. She her ſelf made the round. She reviewed the ſentinels, incouraged the ſouldiers, took care for what they wanted: and behaving her ſelf valiantly in all other Military exerciſe, ſhe appeared to be of ſo warlike a ſpirit, as almoſt nothing of womaniſh was ſeen in her. The husband and the wife ſtriving thus who ſhould moſt incourage their men to reſiſtance, they indeavoured to retard the enemies proceedings as much as they could. But theſe did every day advance more and more, and had already begun to fall into the ditch, and to place their batteries on two ſides; the one being of 14 great piece of Canon, againſt that part of the wall towards which the Campmaſter *Meſſia's* works tended; and the other of 10 ſuch like Canon, againſt the Port *di Malle*, towards which the Campmaſter *Barlotto* did addreſs his works. Nine pieces were placed in a battery apart againſt the Bulwark *Robert*. And above 30 others here and there, to

play

play where it was moſt behovefull, and ſo much the better impede the Defence. They fought this mean while in the Ditch; and the dryer the Ditch was, the greater was the Conteſt. But thoſe within ſeeing themſelves daily to be more and more ſtraitned, *Baligni* began to be afraid, and to preſs very much for ſpeedy ſuccour; which was no leſs deſired by the *French*.

The King of *France* had juſt now reconciled himſelf to the Apoſtolick See: and as Pope *Clement* the eighth could not have ſhown more zeal in endeavouring the preſervation of that Kingdom in the unity of the Church, nor more wiſdom in guiding that buſineſs throughout; ſo did not the King omit doing any thing which might make the reverence and honour moſt appear, which he deſired upon ſuch an occaſion to render to the Holy See. His affairs in *France* were hereby mightily advantaged; and no relicks of the League now remaining, it was daily expected when the agreement already begun between the King and Duke *Du Mayne* ſhould be perfected. The King was therefore much grieved, that amidſt ſo much felicity, he muſt be in danger to loſe *Cambrey*, unleſs it were ſpeedily relieved; Wherefore he reſolved to go thither in perſon with powerful Forces; but not being then in poſture to do it ſo ſuddenly, he reſolved to ſend one of the prime Captains of *France* thither for the preſent, very ſpeedily, by whoſe authority and valour the ſiege might in the interim be the better ſuſtained. To this purpoſe he choſe Monſieur *de Vich*, who was eſteemed the beſt of all *France*, particularly for what concern'd a ſiege. *Du Vich* viſited the Duke of *Nevers* firſt at St. *Quintain*: And taking from thence 500 choice Dragoons, he marched about the midſt of *September* upon the coming on of night, towards the Enemies Trenches; and winding about on the left hand towards the gates *Cantimper* and *Selle*, he came before them, intending to enter by one of them into *Cambray*. As he advanced the Spaniſh Scouts gave the alarm.

And *Landriano* advanced ſuddenly with ſome Troops of Horſe, and 300 Foot to obviat him. *Landriano* knew not by which of the two gates *Du Vich* intended to enter; wherefore placing himſelf between them both, he hoping to keep him from entring at either of them. *Du Vich* fained as if he would enter by the gate of *Selle*, and drew *Landriano* with all his men thitherward; but turning ſuddenly towards the other of *Cantimper*, and making all his Dragoons light on foot, that their ſorrowful horſes might ſerve for prey to *Landriano*'s ſouldiers, who already followed him, and ſo to entertain them the longer, he came to the City without the loſs of ſo much as one man. He was welcomed thither with great applauſe, and ſoon confirmed the opinion, both of the King that had ſent him, and of the others that received him. He ſuddenly reviewed the Line, and endeavoured divers waies to advantage it on that ſide where the Enemies Trenches, and the Batteries which they were preparing, did moſt threaten it. He firſt raiſed a great half moon between the Bulwark *Robert*, and the gate *Malle*; thinking that that Curtain was not ſufficiently Flank'd. Upon the Rampire, between the gate *Malle* and the other gate *Selle* he raiſed a great Platform, the more to anoy the Enemies works; and he furniſhed it with good ſtore of Artillery: he diſpoſed of many other peeces by way of Counterbattery to the fourteen which were placed without, to play upon the Curtain between the Bulwark *Robert*, and the gate *Malle*. He placed ſome likewiſe againſt thoſe nine which were to play upon the Bulwark *Robert* in a Battery apart: He raiſed divers other advantagious works in the ditch; and from the firſt day that he entred into *Cambray*, thoſe within the Town were ſo encouraged, as they ceaſed not afterwards to make continual ſallies. It was now towards the end of *September*; and the Artillery on the outſide were ſo prepared for Battery, as they were ready to fall to execution; when *Du Vich* prevented them with his from within, and began to ſhowre down a horrible tempeſt upon the Enemy. Theſe continued to play a whole day and a half unceſſantly, and had ſuch effect, as they diſmounted nine peeces of Canon of the Spaniards Camp, and ſlew many Canoneers, and many other ſouldiers. Thoſe within the Town, by their accommodation of working within the dry ditch, had underminded the nine peeces which were to play upon the Bulwark *Robert*, ſo to blow them up, and cauſe ſome impediment to the Enemy. And though the effect was not altogether anſwerable to the deſign; yet did the

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mine ſo much indamage them, as four of thoſe Canons were buryed in the ground, and the reſt were made unuſeful for the preſent, and for a good while after.

This ſo lively and ſo well wieghed reſiſtance, cauſed great confuſion in the *Spaniſh* Camp. Some of the Commanders propounded to *Fuentes*, that the Aſſault might be removed from the higher to the lower ſide. Nor were there thoſe wanting, who ſeeing further into the difficulties of ſtorming ſo large a Town, and which was ſo well defended, adviſed to raiſe the ſo cloſe ſiege, and to beleaguer it at a further diſtance by the way of Forts. Theſe thought it impoſſible but that the cold and rainy weather would come in before the ſiege ſhould be ended, and that likewiſe the King of *France* would appear in ſuccour of the City with great Forces; in either of which caſes they muſt of neceſſity doe that with ſhame, which they might now doe out of choice, with leaving at leaſt ſuch Forts as might keep thoſe of *Cambray* from making ſuch excurſions as they formerly were wont, to the great annoyance of all the parts thereabouts. As for altering the place of aſſault, *Fuentes* did no wayes incline thereunto: For he conſidered that that would be to begin the ſiege anew; that peradventure the difficulties would not prove leſs elſwhere; and that the mean while all the labour which they had imployed in making Trenches and raiſing Forts would be loſt. But he was much more againſt raiſing the ſiege: How could he excuſe ſuch an act to the King of *Spain*, to the *Walloon* Provinces in *Flanders*, and to his own Honour? Nor yet could he approve of a ſiege at a further diſtance by the way of Forts: For if the Duke of *Alanſon* had formerly freed *Cambray* from thoſe that the Duke of *Parma* had planted about it, certainly the King of *France* might much more eaſily doe the like now to theſe. Wherefore no ways yielding to the difficulty of the undertaking, he reſolved to continue the ſiege in the ſame place. The Commanders in chief, in all governments, uſe always to keep ſomwhat to themſelves of ſecret and of weight. And thus did *Fuentes* at this time. One of the chiefeſt motives which had made him fall upon that ſiege, was the ſecret intelligence which chiefly by the Archbiſhops means he held in *Cambray*: He had received much encouragement from his Complices within the City, for his incamping before it, and for his continuing the ſiege, which had been ſo well begun. Hoping therefore no leſs in theſe ſecret machinations of intelligence, then in his other openly put in execution, he appear'd more firm then ever in his former reſolution. And he did this the rather by reaſon of his new recruit of Forces, of which a ſtrength of 700 choiſe Horſe was very conſiderable, which the Mutiniers of *Tillemont* prepared to ſend to ſerve him in that enterpriſe, but upon certain conditions whereby thoſe Mutiniers were more aſcertained of their pay. They returned then again to work upon their Batteries; the two Campmaſters *Meſſia* and *Barlotta* being very diligent therein. A great Rampier of Earth was raiſed to ſhelter *Meſſia's* greater Battery from *Du Vich's* new Platform; and ſome pieces of Artillery were placed upon a Riſe without towards the Gate *Selle*, which did command that Platform; which Pieces did not only ſerve to weaken that defence, but alſo to clear all that wall which ran between the Gate *Selle*, and the Flank *Nua*, as alſo to beat down the houſes within the City. Another way to iſſue out was alſo opened in the Ditch over againſt the Bulwark *Robert*, that they might have more Avenues, and come the eaſilier to the Aſſault which was intended to be made on that ſide. To theſe divers other Works were added to haſten the buſineſs as much as might be; and all parts where ſuccour was moſt apprehended, were chiefly reinforced with ſouldiers.

This was the condition of the ſiege in the beginning of *October*: when *Fuentes* thought he might now come to Battery, and then fall ſuddenly to aſſault. All the Batteries began to thunder tempeſtuouſly on the Enemies wall, at day-break; which they did with ſuch uniformity, as they ſeemed not to be ſeverall, but one ſole Battery. *Barlotta's* ten Peeces plaid againſt the Gate *Malte*; *Meſſia's* fourteen againſt the Wall which ran from thence to the Bulwark *Robert*; and *Meſſia's* other nine againſt the Orillioun of the ſame Bulwark; to diſcover, and take away that Defence, which might more hinder the Aſſault which was intended to be made in that place, then any other. Nor did the reſt of the Artillery which

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were placed elſwhere ceaſe playing at the ſame time, eſpecially thoſe that were on that higher part without; from whence the houſes of the City were beaten down. Alike was the Tempeſt which plaid from the batter'd Walls upon the Batteries. So as by ſo great and horrible a Thunder, the Fields ſhook without, and the City within: The uſe of Eyes was loſt, and almoſt the uſe of Ears: Smoak clouded the Day; and the horror was the greater, for that it was obſcured by Horror. Whilſt the great Batteries plaid thus from one part, the Spaniſh Camp was in Arms in all other parts; *Fuentes* being very carefull that at the ſame time the outward Line of the Siege ſhould be well guarded; to which purpoſe he had aſſigned particular ſtations and Forces to the Duke *d'Umale*, to the Campmaſter Generall *Rony*, to the Prince of *Avelino*, and to divers other Commanders. And to the end that when ſufficient breach ſhould be made by the Batteries, the Aſſault ſhould immediately enſue on *Meſſia's* and on *Barlotta's* ſide, *Fuentes* gave likewiſe ſuch Orders as were moſt requiſite for them both: He gave *Meſſia* eſpecial charge, that when the Aſſault ſhould be given, he ſhould by all means hinder the Town from being plunder'd, and from ſuffering any other kind of diſorder. The Batteries continued the ſpace of eight hours; and had made ſuch ruine, as the *Spaniards* began to prepare for the Aſſault: when it appeared, that the machinations within the City had wrought more upon the Citizens minds, then thoſe without whereby the City-walls were ſo cruelly batter'd. Thoſe who were for *Fuentes*, and eſpecially the Eccleſiaſticks who depended upon the Archbiſhop, taking this occaſion, had ſundry ways endeavoured to incite the People againſt *Baligny*, and againſt the *French*. And juſt at this time *Baligny* and his wife were become more odious then before, by having coyned a great quantity of Braſs-money, which went at the rate of ſilver; giving out, that when the Siege ſhould be over, every one ſhould be ſatisfied with their true value: but this was not believed. *Baligny*, whilſt the Batteries were a playing, had aſſembled a great number of armed Citizens together in the largeſt Piazza, that they might be ready to ſuccour the Wall which was plaid upon. When the aforeſaid Firebrands diſperſing themſelves boldly here and there amidſt thoſe Citizens, with a loud voice ſaid,

Shall we through obſtinacie rather ſuſtain the intereſts of a baſe Tyrant, then our own concernments? nay, not of one onely Tyrant, but of two? the Wife having by her actions done more to merit that name, then her Huſband. Were not the paſt inventions ſufficient to get monies, but that this of equalling Bruſs to Silver ſhould be added? What defence is there now to keep our wealth from being devoured by the one or the other of theſe whirlpools? Where is the antient ſplendor of our Cambray? *where her glory amidſt ſo many negotiations both of Peace and War, and of all other kinds which have hapned in the greateſt occurrences of Chriſtendom? The Duke of* Alanſon *brought us firſt into theſe miſeries; and now we are enforced to endure them more then ever by the King of* France *his Arms.* Cambray *is full of French garriſons, our houſes full of their rapines and violences; and in all other kinds, in all other places, the City groans under this ſo heavy yoke. It is now therefore time to throw it off. And what better occaſion can we have to doe it, then to ſtir now whilſt the French ſouldiers are imployed, and to call in the* Spaniards? *So the throwing open of the Gates ſhall be our work; it ſhall be our work to reſtore the Archbiſhop to his dominions; and it ſhall be we who will make ſo great and ſo Catholick a King enjoy his former Priviledges on theſe Frontiers. But this reſolution muſt be acted, before it be conſulted upon. The Guns thunder from without againſt our walls: Aſſaults will quickly follow; and we in* Cambray *ſhall have our houſes plunder'd, and our ſelves ſlaughtered, according to the freſh and fatal example of* Dorlan. *And finally, when our City ſhall be ſtorm'd, we ſhall loſe all our rights, and in lieu thereof receive whatſoever either the reaſon of war, or the will of the Conquerors ſhall pleaſe to impoſe upon us.*

Theſe Citizens being by ſuch incitements moved to new and greater anger, and their number ſtill increaſing, a great Tumult ſuddenly aroſe. From tumults they came ſoon to inſurrection; and from inſurrection, to reſolution of letting in *Fuentes*, and of withdrawing themſelves from *Baligny's* yoke. To theſe Citizens, which were 3000 in number, did 300 Walloon Horſe joyn, which ſerved under

under *Baligny*; and 200 *Switzers*, who were in another neighbouring *Piazza*, were what by threats, what by intreaties drawn to be of the ſame mind: whereby the Citizens were the more encouraged; who made no longer delay, but chuſing out ſome of the beſt of them, acquainted *Fuentes* with the Cities reſolution, and intreated him that he would give over ſhooting. *Baligny*, together with his Wife, *Du Vich*, and the other French Commanders were this mean while very much troubled at this unexpected novelty; and knowing that to uſe force would be but in vain, they thought it better to uſe intreaties. *Baligny* and *Du Vich* went therefore to the Piazza, and ſtrove by divers wayes to appeaſe the Tumult; and *Baligny's* Wife appeared there likewiſe, with great ſtore of money, ſeeking by that means to mitigate the Citizens anger; but ſhe did thereby the more exaſperate them; for they thereby ſaw that it was rather avarice then need which had made Braſs be turned to the value of ſilver. The Citizens did therefore utterly refuſe to treat with *Baligny*; and continuing the Treaty which they had already begun with *Fuentes*, it was ſoon concluded: The ſubſtance whereof was,

That the Archbiſhop ſhould return to his former Government; and ſhould be as formerly, under the particular protection of the King of Spain.

But the ſo jealous conſiderations of that Confine, and the like jealouſies touching the Government of that City, did not long after make thoſe that governed under the King extend their authority almoſt as much to the Civil as to the Military Government. This Agreement being made, *Fuentes* ſent *Meſſia* with ſuch numbers of men as was thought fit, into the City; and he himſelf entred ſoon after, with reſolution to fall afterwards upon the Citadel with all ardencie. But *Baligny* and *Du Vich*, together with the other Commanders, thinking that they were not able to defend it, for that it was not ſo well fortified towards the City as it ought to have been, treated of ſurrendring. Which inſued upon all the moſt honorable Conditions which could be deſired. *Fuentes* received the young Duke of *Retel*, as alſo all the reſt of the French Commanders, with all poſſible honour. But *Baligny's* Wife, (who was a woman of a high and domineering ſpirit) not being able to digeſt ſuch a fall, and to return to her former condition, fell ſo very ſick for ſorrow, as at the inſtant of the ſurrender ſhe ended her Principality and life together. Thus did *Fuentes* happily end the Siege, to the unexpreſſible joy of the obedient Provinces, and particularly of the *Walloons*, who had aſſiſted the enterpriſe with ſo great Forces, and were now with ſo much advantage to enjoy the fruits thereof.

Whilſt they were thus buſie on the Frontiers of *France*, with ſo greatly conſiderable ſucceſs, the United Provinces ſuffered not their Forces to lie idle in *Flanders*. *Fuentes* being entred at the time as we have told you into *France*, Count *Maurice* delayed not to march with a great ſtrength into the Field, and in the beginning of *July* turn'd upon *Groll* in the County of *Zutfen*. This was almoſt the only place of any conſequence, which as then remained under the King of *Spain's* Forces in the parts beyond the *Rhine*: And therefore the United Provinces deſired to make themſelves maſters thereof, and to have all thoſe Countries at their free will and diſpoſal. *Groll* is but a little Town; but ſtrong both by ſituation and handy-work, and placed in a very important Paſs. *Maurice* had not above 8000 Foot and 2000 Horſe; with which he ſate down before the Town and began to begirt it, hoping to win it before *Mandragone* could come to ſuccor it; who, as we told you before, was left in thoſe parts with good Forces, after *Verdugo's* death, to counterpoiſe whatſoever of evil which might be endeavoured there by the United Provinces to the Kings prejudice. But *Maurice* was ſoon deceived: For *Mandragone* who had a watchfull eye to all dangers, provided quickly for this. To boot with his former body of men, he gathered as many more together as the Kings near Garriſons could furniſh him withall; ſo as he was almoſt as ſtrong as *Maurice*. And paſſing ſuddenly over the *Mauſe* and *Rhine*, he marched towards *Groll*; reſolving either to relieve the Place, or to fight the Enemy. *Maurice*, though in his prime of youth, began even then to ſhew that he liſtned more to wary then to hazardous councels. To the which inclination, as was then ſeen, and afterwards in the continuance of his military command,

he was not ſo much drawn by his own proper addiction, as by the expreſs orders of the Confederate Provinces, which have always made it their maxim, to hazard their Forces as little as may be to the uncertain event of battels. Therefore ſhunning the Combat he roſe from before *Groll*; and retreating towards *Zutfen*, tarryed there to obſerve *Mandragone's* ways. There was ſome conformity in the ends of theſe two. For as *Mandragone* had determined to keep *Maurice* from making any acquiſition: So *Maurice* reſolved to entertain *Mandragone* with ſuch jealouſies, as he ſhould not be able to go from thoſe parts, and conſequently not to joyn with *Fuentes*. This was particularly agreed of likewiſe between the King of *France* and the United States. For the King hoped that *Fuentes* his Forces alone, would not be able to effect what you have already heard, and particularly not that wherein *Cambray* was concerned; though it proved otherwiſe. *Maurice* being retreated from *Groll*, and *Mandragone* having provided well for that place, he tarried not far from the *Rhine*, over againſt *Reinburg*, the better likewiſe to ſecure that place, and that paſſage, and to be victualled from thence with more ſafety. *Maurice* drew afterwards towards the Kings Camp, each party endeavouring to hinder the others deſign.

Between the two Armies ran the River *Lippa*, which falls into the *Rhine* not far from *Weeſel*; and over which River they had often occaſion to paſs and repaſs to get Forage. There happened therefore divers skirmiſhes between the two Camps, which for many days were but very ſlight, without any conſiderable event. But there happened one in the beginning of *September*, which was very notable, and wherein much bloud was ſpent. The Kings Camp ſuffered much more for want of Forage then did the other; wherefore they were to fetch it from far, and with great convoys: *Maurice* thought therefore to light with ſuch advantage upon the enemy, upon this occaſion, as they ſhould not by any means be able to eſcape his hands, to this purpoſe he made *Philip* of *Naſſaw*, General of the horſe, to lie in ambuſh with 500 horſe, and gave him ſuch other orders as were requiſite for the effecting his deſigne. Woods are very frequent in theſe parts: and Plains as frequent between them. *Mandragones* vigilancy was ſuch as he got notice of this ambuſcado. Wherefore willing to delude one fraud with another, he firſt reinforced the forragers convoy, and then placed divers troops of horſe in a wood, giving them ſuch further orders as were requiſite upon ſuch an occurrency. *John di Cordowa* commanded the horſe of his Army, an ancient Commander, and whoſe valour was well known: and this *Cordowa* was preſent at the prepared action. He had with him Count *Henry de Berg*, *Jerolomo Caraſa*, Marquis of *Montenegro*, *Paulo Emilio Martiningo*, and their troops, together with his own, and ſome others without their Captains. In ſo much as theſe horſe were not only equal, but rather more in number then thoſe of Count *Philip*. The forragers appearing where the enemys were placed, they were ſet upon on divers ſides, nor was their Convoy through reinforced, ſufficient to defend them. Wherefore many of them either ran away, or were taken, or ſlain: Then came Count *Henry* out of the wood; and many of the enemies horſe iſſued likewiſe out of another wood. In ſo much as the action falling out there, and coming from ſecret ambuſhes to an open field, a fierce and bloudy fight began, the enemy at the firſt had the better over the Kings men; Count *Henry* and his aſſociates being worſted, but being ſuddenly back'd by the reſt, his men rallied and returned couragiouſly to the conflict. And the enemy being again reinforced by their whole horſe, the ſucceſs was for a while doubtfull. Count *Philip* in particular fought egregiouſly on their ſide: when being mortally wounded, he drop'd off horſeback; which did ſo much diſcourage the reſt, as beginning preſently to give back, they were ſoon diſordered, and at laſt quite routed. To boot with Count *Philip* who was taken priſoner, and who ſoon after died, his brother Count *Erneſtus*, and another *Erneſtus* Count of *Solme*, and who was their kinſman, were taken priſoners, and *Solme* died likewiſe of his wounds. Divers other Captains and perſons of quality were likewiſe taken. There were above 300 ſlain, many of which were drowned as they paſſed over the *Lippa*. Of the Kings men there was not above 60 ſlain: but *Caraffa*, *Martiningo*, and *Caratcholo* were all three ſorely wounded. After this, the two Camps made no further attempts: but remaining

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ing in the ſame quarters till the end of *October*, *Maurice* firſt went from thence, to lead his men to their winter quarters. And *Mandragone* did the like; going himſelf to his wonted Government of the Citadel of *Antwerp*. VVhere not long after he died, being 92 years old; but ſo luſty, as in the late mentioned occurrency, he was able both to undergo the greateſt weight of Command, and indure the greateſt troubles alſo of the field. He ſpent about 50 years in *Flanders*; and very few actions of conſequence happened there in his time, where he was not preſent either in execution or command, and wherein he did not merit great praiſe for ſomething done by him. He was rigid in Diſcipline; and yet ſo beloved of all Nations, as each of them deſired him for their Commander; and all of them ſtrove who ſhould moſt reverence him, as their Father.

A little before Count *Maurice* and *Mandragone* left the field, the Confederate Provinces attempted a ſurpriſal in *Brabant*; which if it had ſucceeded, had much advantaged their affairs in that Province. And it fell out thus, *Charls Harawger* was Governour of *Breda*, by whoſe means the place had been ſo happily ſurpriſed. He had likewiſe lately gotten the Caſtle of *Huy* in the Country of *Liege*, by ſtratagem: though Monſieur *de la Motte* did ſoon recover it, as you then heard. Being therefore encouraged by theſe paſt ſurpriſals, *Harawger* reſolved to try whether he could have the like ſucceſs upon *Lira* in *Brabant*, and joyn ſo important an acquiſition to the other two not long before effected, of *Breda* and *Getringberg*. *Lira* lies almoſt in the midway between *Antwerp*, *Malines*, and *Lovain*; it is a good Town ſtrongly ſituated, and of great conſideration, being concentred between ſo principal Places. *Alonſo di Luna* was Governor thereof, who was a Spaniard, and had but a ſmall Garriſon there of the ſame Nation. *Harawger* therefore making uſe of the preſent conjuncture, and ſuddenly gathering together about a thouſand Foot, and an hundred Horſe, which he had out of *Breda*, and other neighbouring Garriſons; he marched unexpectedly, and came with great ſilence, and in the quieteſt hours of night to the ditch of *Lira*, and to the place which he had intended for the ſurpriſal. One of the gates towards *Malines*, had a certain Ravelin, which was begun for its defence, but which was not finiſhed. Thither did *Harawger* addreſs himſelf, and paſſing over the ditch, which was not very deep, he eaſily ſcaled the Ravelin, and as eaſily did chaſe away ſome few ſouldiers who had the guard thereof; then forcing the gate about the break of day, wherein he met but with little withſtanding, he came unto the Market place, where the Governor for a little while oppoſed him; but being at laſt forced to give back, retired to the gate which looks towards *Antwerp*, and indeavoured by all waies poſſible to fortifie himſelf there: he ſent with all ſpeed at the ſame time to acquaint *Antwerp* and *Malines* with what had happened, and to crave aid from them, hoping that he might defend that gate, till relief might come. Neither of theſe Cities are above three leagues diſtant from *Lira*: nor was he deceived in his opinion; for *Gaſpero Mandragone* iſſuing immediately with 200 Spaniſh Foot out of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, whereof he was Governor in the others place; and 2000 Inhabitants of the City being with extraordinary diligence armed and put together by the Magiſtrate thereof, he marched ſpeedily vvith all theſe tovvards *Lira*: 600 armed Tovvnſmen vvere alſo ſent vvith like diligence from *Malines*; and both theſe Forces meeting by the vvay, they endeavoured to get to *Lira* as ſoon as they could.

The Town was this mean while plundered by the Enemy; and giving themſelves over to joy in the victory, before they had fully accompliſh'd it, they forgot themſelves in pillage, and in all other kinde of diſſoluteneſs. So as when *Harawger* went to poſſeſs himſelf of the aforeſaid gate, he found not ſouldiers with him ſufficient to do it; and the weaker his Forces were, he met with the ſtronger reſiſtance. But ere long news came to thoſe of the gate, that the ſuccor was coming: and ſoon after they were aſſured for more certain, that they were neer at hand. The Defendants thereat incouraged, held the Enemy play till ſuch time as their Companions might be expected: who when they came, the face of affairs ſoon altered. *Luna* and *Mandragone* advanced with the Spaniſh ſouldiers of *Lira*, and with thoſe of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, and being followed by the reſt who came in to the relief, they entred the Town, they put the

Enemy to flight, and slew many of them, and many of those who were not slain were taken prisoners, and many were stifled in the ditch, seeking to save themselves that way. Thus within a few hours was a place of such consequence lost and recovered. Count *Fuentes* hearing of this novelty sent the Prince of *Avelino* with 4000 Foot, and 500 Horse, to succour the Town if he could; and in case he could not, to begin to begirt it, till *Fuentes* himself should follow him with greater Forces. The Mutineers of *Tilemon* had likewise readily sent away 1000 of their Souldiers to relieve *Lira*. But these and *Avelino*'s men hearing by the way, how that the surprisal had not succeeded, they all returned back.

Fuentes this mean while had setled the affairs of *Cambray*, and leaving Campmaster *Messia* there for Governour, he came himself to *Brussels*, where he was received with much honour, for the so much good that had been done by the Kings Forces, in the time of his government, which was just then to end; for the King had resolved to send the Cardinal Arch-Duke *Albertus* into *Flanders*, to succeed in the place of his deceased brother *Ernestus*: and the flying newes thereof was soon confirmed by more certain intelligence, that the Cardinal was already parted from *Spain*; and was come by Sea to *Italy*. From thence he made his journy by land, and leaving *Savoy* was come into the Country of *Burgony* and *Lorain*: and being at last come into the Country of *Lucemburg*, he staid some days in *Namures*, to tarry for the souldiers which he brought with him, that they might accompany him to *Brussels*. He brought with him two Spanish brigadoes, under the Campmasters *Emanuel de Vega*, and *John Tesseda*. An Italian brigado, under the Campmaster *Alfonso d'Avalos*, and also certain Neopolitan foot, and some troops of horse; and he moreover brought with him a million and a half of Crowns. But by reason of the winter, and so many other sufferings, the souldiery was so much lessened, as in *Namures* it was thought necessary to make a general reformation, and to recruit the old Bands with these new men. Duke *Ernestus* of *Bavaria*, Elector of *Cullen*, and the Bishop of *Liege*, came to visit the Cardinal whilst he was yet in the Province of *Lucemburg*, and would accompany him to *Namures*, and from thence to *Brussels*. *Fuentes* came likewise to him at *Namures*, with all the flowre of the Nobility, which were then with him at *Brussels*. But the Duke of *Pastrana* being come a little before into *Burgony*, as General of the horse, with several Troops, for the better safety of the Cardinals person, dyed suddenly when he was come to the Town of *Lucemburg*. At the Cardinals departure, the King was contented to restore *Philip William*, eldest son to the Prince of *Orange* that was slain, to his intire liberty, and to let him return to *Flanders*, and enjoy his estate, and such a place of honour in the Cardinals Court as was due unto his quality. He had been kept in *Spain* almost 30 years; but in such a sort, as though a prisoner, he enjoy'd much of liberty. Thus accompanied, the Cardinal entred into *Brussels* about the midst of *February* in the year 1596. and it is not to be said how great the concourse was from all parts, to celebrate his arrival, and how magnificently he was received into that City with Arches, Statues, Inscriptions, and all other extraordinary Pomp. *Fuentes* tarried here some days to inform the Cardinal fully with all necessary Instructions for that Government. And then taking his leave, went back the same way into *Italy*, and so to *Spain*; whither the King sent for him, assuring him that he would shortly give him new and honourable Imployments.

THE

A HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK III.

The Contents.

The King of France *beſiegeth* la Fera; *it receives a ſmall ſuccour, and the Cardinal Archduke thinks to go thither with his whole Army. But afterwards reſolves to make a diverſion, and unexpectedly incamps before* Calis. *The ſituation and importancy of that place. The Sea-Port being won, the Cardinal takes the Suburbs; and ſoon after the Town is ſurrendred to him. Means are uſed to put the Caſtle likewiſe into his hands: But the King of* France *ſending ſuccour, the Spaniards aſſault it and take it by ſtorm. The Cardinal turns ſuddenly upon the Town of* Ardes, *and begirts it round. The King of* France *ſtorms at the former loſs, and at the danger of receiving a ſecond. Yet will he not riſe from before* La Fera, *to go and relieve* Ardes. *So as almoſt at the ſame time he loſeth the one Town, and gets the other. He then draws near the enemies Camp with all his Forces, and endeavours to draw him out to battel. Which the Cardinal avoids; and having provided well for the Towns which he had newly taken, he retreats with the reſt of his Army into* Artois. *From thence he paſſeth into* Flanders; *and ſeeming firſt as if he would make ſome other ſieges, ſits down before* Hulſt. *The deſcription of that place; the Country about it; and the whole ſiege, with the inſuing ſurrender thereof. This mean while the Marquis of* Barambone *is routed and taken by the Mariſhal of* Biroun *upon the Frontiers of* Picardy. *And ſoon after*

Barambone's

Barambone's *brother the Count* Varras, *is put to flight and ſlain in* Brabant *by Count* Maurice.

Anno 1596.

AT the Cardinal Archdukes arrival in *Bruſſels*, all mens eyes were turned upon the Frontiers of *France* and *Flanders*. It being the generally conceived opinion that, the greateſt heat, and chiefeſt ſeat of war between the two Kings would be there. The King of *France*, not long before the Cardinals arrival, was in *Picardy*. He had hoped to eſtabliſh himſelf at one and the ſame time in *Burgony*, and to relieve *Cambray*: not thinking that either *Baligni's* misfortune would be ſo great, or yet *Fuentes* his happineſs, as to end that ſiege ſo ſoon. Touching the affairs of *Burgony*, the King had had all good ſucceſs in thoſe parts; for Intereſt at laſt prevailing over Arms, the Duke *du Main* had made his peace with him, quitting the Government of *Burgony*, and taking in lieu thereof that of the Iſle of *France*, together with divers other conditions wherewith he was fully ſatisfied. Wherefore the Conſtable of *Caſtiel* returning to *Milan*, *Burgony* remained eaſed of Arms, and the King began already to have intire obedience therein. The greater advantages he got on that ſide, the more was he diſpleaſed with thoſe which *Fuentes* had obtained in *Picardy*; but he was chiefly troubled that *Cambray* ſhould be fallen again into the King of *Spains* hands. The King of *France* had not any great Forces as then, yet they were ſuch as he thought he might beſiege *la Fera*, and ſoon take it. *La Fera* is ſtrongly ſeated; for being almoſt wholly invironed with Mariſhes, there is no acceſs unto it but by two narrow avenues. It ſtands a good way within *Picardy*; wherefore the Duke of *Parma* had choſen it, as one of the beſt places that were in that Province, and whereby the King of *Spains* affairs in thoſe parts might receive the moſt advantage. There are two avenues whereby acceſs may chiefly be had unto the Town; of both which the King did quickly poſſeſs himſelf: and having block'd them up with good Forts, he fell to dividing out his quarters. *Alvarus Oſorio*, a Spaniard, and a greatly eſteemed ſouldier commanded in chief within the Town; he had with him a choice Gariſon, and had ſufficient ammunition for war; but was ſo very much ſtraitned in victuals, that unleſs he ſhould receive good ſtore thereof all the ſooner, it was impoſſible for him long to ſuſtain the ſiege. The King was not ignorant of this; wherefore quitting all thought of aſſault, he reſolved to ſtraiten it only by ſiege: hoping that by keeping them thus from ſuccour on all ſides, and eſpecially from victuals, he ſhould ſoon be Maſter of it.

This was the condition of *la Fera*, when the Cardinal Archduke came to *Bruſſels*. Wherefore the firſt thing that was taken into conſideration by his Counce of War was, Whether they were to relieve *La Fera* with all their Forces, or endeavour to neceſſitate the King to raiſe the ſiege by ſome important diverſion? There were ſo many and ſo efficacious reaſons which made againſt the ſuccour as they were not to be anſwered: It was conſidered,

That La Fera *being ſituated ſo far within* Picardy, *it was as it were invironed with* St. Quintain, Han, Guiſe, *and* Peroune, *and ſome other Towns alſo, which were all of them in the Enemies poſſeſſion, and were all very well gariſoned and munitioned. That therefore if the Spaniſh Army would approach* La Fera, *it muſt of neceſſity leave divers of theſe Towns upon its back; that if ſo, the enemy might at their pleaſure ſcour the Country, cut off the ways, hinder victuals, and eſpecially diſturb forage. That* La Fera *was almoſt unacceſſible on all ſides by reaſon of the Mariſhes. That the beſt Avennes were well guarded with Forts by the King of* France. *That the ſiege was ſtill more ſtraitned by him on all ſides; and that new men came in daily unto his Camp, which would abound, as uſually it did, eſpecially with choice Cavalry. What hopes could they then have either of coming near* La Fera; *or by doing ſo, of introducing relief? unleſs they would at the ſame time aſſault the enemy in his own quarters. But what hope of good ſucceſs could they have herein? the King was intrenched ready to fight, or not to fight, according as ſhould make for his moſt advantage. That if he thought his Forces were ſuch, as he might buckle with the Spaniards in the field, no*

reaſon

reaſon either of War, or yet of State would permit that the Spaniards ſhould hazard themſelves upon the uncertain event of a battel. That if the King ſhould be routed, he might eaſily gather new forces; but put the caſe the contrary ſhould happen, what difficulties would the Cardinal Arch-Duke meet withal, and what expences would he be at, in making new Levies of Spaniards, Italians, and of other Forraigners, of which the chief body of the Kings Forces in Flanders *is uſually framed? And ſay ſuch a loſſe ſhould inſue, what new acquiſitions would the Confederate Provinces hope to make?*

Theſe reaſons bore with them ſo much weight to plead againſt the aboveſaid ſuccour, as the votes were already for propoſing ſome diverſion, which might force the King to riſe from before *la Fera*: when news was brought that by *George Baſtie's* means that Town was victualled ſufficiently for at leaſt two moneths, not long before this *Baſty* was returned into *Flanders*; with leave for ſome ſhort while from the Emperor, who had long before imployed him in the wars of *Hungary* againſt the Turks: he had won very great experience in war, by his having ſpent ſo much time in the war of *Flanders*, and by reaſon of the ſo many noble employments, wherein he had ſerved the Duke of *Parma* in particular: in whoſe laſt expeditions in *France*, *Baſti* had almoſt alwaies commanded the Armies horſe: in which ſort of ſervice, there was no man held more able at that time then he, nor who knew better what belong'd thereunto neither in point of command, nor execution. He had received orders from the Cardinal, that he ſhould endeavour to relieve *la Fera* with ſome victuals, from the neereſt Frontiers of *Flanders*: to which purpoſe 800 choice horſe were in readineſs upon the ſame Frontiers, which were to take each of them a ſack of corn behinde them, and to cauſe them to be brought by ſmall boats into *la Fera*. This deſign required great ſecreſie; wherefore *Baſti* having very ſecretly acquainted *Oſorio*, Governor of the Town therewithall, and ſuddenly aſſembled the 800 Horſe together, upon ſome other pretence, came with ſuch ſpeed ſo near the Town, as he might eaſily effect the Succor. The Agreement made between him and *Oſorio* was, that *Baſti* ſhould come at a certain prefixt time to a part where the Mariſh was moſt watry, and that *Oſorio* ſhould ſend all the Boats he could get to receive the Corn, & to bring it to the Town. And juſt ſo it fell out, to *Baſti's* unſpeakable praiſe and honor; he having been continually on Horſ-back for little leſſe than Forty hours, and having known ſo well to chooſe his time, to deceive his own men firſt, and then the Enemy much better: and how to return without the loſs of ſo much as one man; nay more, having defeated ſome of the Enemies horſe which would have oppoſed him as he returned.

This ſmall ſuccour gave ſome hopes that a greater might enſue; but the former oppoſitions ſtill ariſing, and it being known that the King did ſtill more and more fortifie his quarters and that his Forces grew ſtill greater: the Cardinal began to incline to the making of ſome important diverſion, and hereupon they gave their opinions in the Councel of war. Some were for beſieging *Peronne*, others St. *Quintain*, and others other Towns thereabouts. The Camp-maſter General *Ronye*, was very well acquainted with every corner, and every paſs of the Province, by reaſon of his being ſo long thereabouts in the time of the League: he was more averſe to the ſuccour then any other, and adviſed more to the diverſion, and willing to ſpeak his minde clearly therein to the Cardinal; but with ſuch ſecreſie as ſo jealous an affair required: He took an occaſion to ſpeak thus unto him in his Chamber, when but ſome few were with him.

It is now agitated (moſt excellent Prince) whether it be better to ſuccour la Fera *by all our Forces, or to endeavour ſuch a diverſion, as the King of* France *may be thereby more damnified, then he ſhall be advantaged, though he doth not raiſe his ſiege. enough hath been already ſaid touching the difficulties of the ſiege; which truly are ſo great, as there is no hopes of overcoming them: Let* la Fera *then be loſt, provided that in lieu thereof we get another Town which may recompence the loſs thereof with advantage: I muſt confeſs the keeping of* la Fera, *and other Towns in* Picardy, *was of ſome concernment during the League, and Civil wars of* France; *but now that there is no ſign of League left, nor of civil commotions, and that* la Fera *is ſurrounded with ſo many Towns towards the Frontiers of* Flanders, *what*

conſiderable

considerable advantage will it be to the King if he do chance to get it? Nay how great will his trouble and expence be to keep it? Let the King continue then at that siege, and let us betake our selves to a diversion: but, as I have already said, let it then be such a one, as the acquisition which shall thereby be made may much exceed the loss which may be apprehended by the other. I shall not propound Peronne, *St.* Quintain, *nor any of those other Towns wherewith* la Fera *is surrounded, unto your Highness; every one of which may be thought equal, or rather inferior to this; I shall advise you to another, of so much greater concernment, as it may of it self alone, weigh against all those put together. I mean* Callis. Callis, *a Sea Port; the Key to the English Channel, from whence passage may be had in a few hours into that Island, and in a few more into* Holland *and* Zealand. Callis, *where succour may so commodiously be received by Sea from* Spain, *and which certainly will be the sharpest Thorne at the present in the sides of* France, *which fears nothing less thereabonts then to see* Callis *besieged. The Commander there is a very weak man, the Garrison at the present is as weak, and you shall find all other provisions for defence of equal weakness. This is the diversion which I propound in enterprises of this nature, in the first place great secresie is requisite in the resolving thereupon; and then speed in putting it in execution. Your Highness must therefore possess your self of all the Avenues about* Callis, *before the Enemy get any inkling of it; otherwise succours will be soon sent thither both by Sea and Land, and so the undertaking will be defeated before it be begun; when on the contrary, if the Avenues be speedily secured, either my military experience deceives me, or our Arms and your Ensignes shall in a few dayes be seen to enter there.*

The Cardinal seemed to be mightily pleased with the propounded diversion, which was fully approved of by the rest that were with him, who were the chief commanders of the *Flanders* Forces. They then fell to treat of putting it into execution, and the Cardinal chose *Ronye* to be the guider thereof, who was the first adviser: but for the better concealing it, they gave out, that they were resolved to relive *la Fera*, or attempt some diversion thereabouts. To this purpose *Valentiennes* was chosen for their Randezvous; one of the neerest Cities upon that Frontier: and after having made great store of victuals be brought thither, the Army began to march, which was one of the most flourishing ones that had of a long time been seen in *Flanders*. It consisted of 5000 Spaniards, 1500 Italians, 1000 Burgonians, 1000 Irish, 2500 Germans, and 6000 Walloons, all these were very choice Foot; and to these were added 3500 Horse, the Train-bands of *Flanders* being numbred thereinto, which did serve upon that occasion. The Cardinal was in *Valentiennes* about the beginning of *April*, and had with him the greatest part of his Army, and ordered divers marches the more to confound the King of *France*, and to keep his true design unknown to him. From hence he sent *Ronye* with great celerity and secresie towards *Callis*, with the Camp-masters *Lewis di Vilasco*, *Alonsa di Mendosa*, *la Barlotta*, and the Count *Buckquoy*: The two first Spaniards with their Brigadoes, and the other two Walloons with their Brigadoes also: and these Foot were accompanied by 400 Horse. *Callis* lies upon the very brink of the Channel which divides *France* from *England*; and in that very point of Land where the two Kingdoms are neareſt one another. This was the last place from whence the English were driven, after they had so long possest *Normandy*, together with so many other provinces of *France*: and as the repurchase thereof made by the French, was thought a great concernment; so did they ever after studiously endeavour to keep it. But the Kingdom falling into civil discord, *Callis* was no happier then were the other Towns, which being all of them almost in private mens hands, for their own ends, could not be so well kept as the service of the Kingdom and Crown required. *Callis* was not therefore now so well provided of Flankers, Platforms, and other warlike provisions for its defence, as was necessary. It is no Town of any great Circuit, nor much inhabited; but it is of good Commerce by reason of its situation: it hath a Suburbs but meanly fortified, which looks towards the Sea; and a Castle of four Bulwarks which command the Haven. On the Land side it is fortified more or less, according as the several situations will allow of. From the side where the Town lies, a great bank of sand thrusts it self out into the sea, and then bends back again towards the land; which

which being reduced to better form by Art, makes the Haven, which is one of the beſt that is upon that Channel. Upon the utmoſt point of the bank ſtands an antient Tower, called the Riſe-bank, which commands the mouth of the Haven; and uſually this Tower is very carefully kept. More within land, and about a quarter of a league from *Calis*, there is a Paſs or Avenue of great conſequence, called *Nienlet*, by reaſon of a Bridge which opens and ſhuts the coming to the Town on the lands ſide; this Paſs is likewiſe guarded by another Tower. The other ſituations about it are for the moſt part low and watry, ſo as but little part thereof is tractable

Monſieur *de Gordan*, a valiant and well eſteemed Souldier, had for many years been Governour of this Town; and a Nephew of his called Monſieur *di Bidoſſan* ſucceeded him therein, rather for his wealth then merit. This man being but young in years, and younger in experience, had not been ſo carefull as he ought to have been in cauſing the Town be well munited and provided for; and at this time there was not above 600 Souldiers in the Garriſon. *Rony* parting with his men from *Valentiennes*, drew ſo unexpectedly neer *Calis*, as at the firſt aſſault he took the Tower of *Neiulet*. The Tower was munited by a little Fort; but all was ſo weakly looked unto, as the Aſſault met not with almoſt any reſiſtance. Having won this Paſs, *Rony* turn'd immediately upon the Riſe-bank which commanded the mouth of the Haven: here ſome more reſiſtance was made; but the Artillery was no ſooner preſented before the Garriſon, but that ſome of them being ſlain, the reſt were ſo diſcouraged, as that *Rony* within a few houres made himſelf maſter thereof likewiſe. He did not believe he could ſo ſoon have taken theſe two Paſſes: And doubtleſly had either of them been better guarded by the *French*, ſuch a ſuccour would ſoon have entred *Calis*, as there had been little hopes of taking it. *Bullen*, which ſtands upon the ſame Sea, is within ſix leagues of *Calis*, from whence ſome Boats with men in them were ſpeedily diſpatcht to relieve *Calis*; and ſoon after many others appeared both from *England* and *Holland* to the ſame end. But *Rony* had already ſo fortified himſelf in the Riſe-bank, as none of them could get in.

The Cardinal being advertiſed of this ſo fortunate beginning, went preſently from *Valentiennes*; and muſtering all the men who upon occaſion of the aforeſaid March were divided into ſundry quarters, brought them all before *Calis*; which being ſurrounded on all ſides, they began to play upon the Suburbs. Before they could come to an aſſault, they muſt needs wade through a low peece of Mariſh ground, which was overflown by the high Tide, ſo as they were forced to expect the Ebb. About break of day they began their Battery; nor was it long before they had thrown down above 30 yards of Wall. The Aſſault fell to *Mendoza's* Foot, with whom were likewiſe ſome Companies of *Velaſco's* and *Barlotta's* Brigadoes. The Tide was no ſooner over, but the Aſſailants fell on with great reſolution, who found ſo weak withſtanding, as they preſently took the ſuburbs: then turning their Battery upon the Town, which was likewiſe but weakly fortified on that ſide, the Inhabitants began to parley and the Articles agreed upon were,

That the Governour might go from the Town with all his men, and with what goods he pleaſed into the Caſtle, leaving ſuch ammunition and victuals in the Town as were there at the preſent.

But thinking himſelf as unſafe in the Caſtle, he parlied again, and had ſix dayes ſpace allowed him to ſurrender in; in which time he was permitted to wait relief, which if it ſhould not come in that time, he was to retreat with all his men either by land or by ſea to *Bullen*. This mean while Arms were ſuſpended, and it was agreed upon by both ſides, That for thoſe ſix dayes it ſhould be lawfull for each of them to make what Works they pleaſed. To which agreement it was interchangeably added; That if the Caſtle ſhould be relieved within the aforeſaid time, it might be lawfull for them within to defend it, and thoſe without (as formerly) to oppugn it. Wherefore they without fell immediately to making of Trenches, diſpoſing of Batteries, and to preparing all things which might make for their Aſſault. They within the Caſtle on the other ſide built a great Half-moon, in the place which was fitteſt for it, and two great Platforms; they fill'd that Wall which was to be batter'd, better up with Earth, and did all things elſe

which might make most for their defence. And for that these Works were made without any opposition, there were never better known of their severall kindes. And certainly you have hardly heard of so strange a novelty in any other siege: For in this, all those that were without, save such as were imployed about the Works, stood with a great deal of safety and quietness, looking upon the Works made by the besieged; and on the other side, those within the Castle were spectators on the wall, as in a scene, observing with all quietness and attention all that the besiegers did. So as the spectacle seemed rather to be a fiction then a truth; and it appeared rather to be a gratulation for Peace, then any thing that bore with it a necessity of real War.

The King of *France* was this mean while mightily incensed, considering in what danger he was of losing *Calis*, unless the Castle were all the sooner succor'd. The King was come from before *La Fera*, upon the first news that *Rony* had taken the Towers of *Neiulet*, and the *Risbank*: And was come in all haste to *Boloign* with only 1000 Horse, that he might be near *Calis*, and take the best course that might be for the relief thereof. He would not abandon his Siege, knowing that *La Fera* could not keep long from falling into his hands for want of victuals; and believing that the Suburbs and Town of *Calis* might have held out much longer, and that he might so have succoured it as it might not have been so soon lost. But seeing what progress the Cardinal had on a sudden made, and that the Castle was in so great danger, the King was strangely madded to think he should be in such a condition, as he could not with his whole Forces endeavour the succour, and that those that were with him were too weak to effect it. Four of the six dayes granted for the relief of the Castle, were already past. Wherefore the King not willing to leave any thing unattempted which might contribute to the preservation of it, resolved to send 300 choise men with all possible secresie from *Boloign* to *Calis*; with a resolution that hazarding themselves upon all dangers, they must either get into the Castle, or die in the attempt. He would have many Captains and Officers of known valour to be of this number; and he gave them the Signor of *Campignuola* for their Commander, a Souldier of great esteem, and who was Governour of *Boloign*. *Campignuola* marched on; and being come two hours before day to within half a league of *Calis*, he went to enter the Castle. The chiefest difficulty lay in getting over certain low Marishes whither the Tide came, and which were guarded by a Fort govern'd by the Marquis of *Trevico* a Neopolitan, with his Brigado of the same Nation. But the *French* had such luck to come at a low Ebb, and such was the careleſness which was used in the Fort, as *Campignuola* entred into the Castle with all his men not meeting with any obstacle. Here he declared the Kings Commissions, concluding, that they must either defend the Castle, or die in the defence thereof: That if they could but make it good for a small time, the King would come himself in person with full Forces to relieve it; and that he was so resolved thereupon, as he would use all imaginable means to doe it quickly. These words did much inhearten those within the Castle; insomuch as the Governour *Biddosan*, together with the Garrison, and the rest of the Inhabitants assured *Campignuola* that they would be faithfull in making the defence. The Spanish Camp began to suspect, by the proceedings in the Castle, that it had received some succour; which when the Cardinal was better assured of, he complained much of *Trevico*. Yet that he might come to the more perfect knowledg thereof, the six dayes drawing now to an end, the Cardinal sent to the Castle, to demand the delivery of it according to the agreement. To which the Governour answered, That without violation of faith, he was at liberty to defend it; for he had received succour, and such, as he hoped he should be very well able to hold out. This being known, those without prepared for the assault, and those within to defend the Castle. And during these preparations, the sixt day was fully expired. The next day did hardly well appear, when they began from without to play furiously upon the Castle; and the chief Battery was placed against the chief Bulwark which did most command the gate. Many other Peeces of Attillery were made use of, at the same time to bereave them of their defence. Wherefore the tempest of shot was so great, and so continual for so many hours, as the greatest part of that side of

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the Bulwark being beaten down, the oppugnors thought they might fall to the assault. The Artillery had plaid incessantly at the same time from the Castle; and they within received the Enemy with great courage, so as a sore conflict insued. The Assailants were *Spaniards* and *Walloons*, with their Campmasters *Mendosa*, *Velasco*, and *Barlotta*: Who striving to give example, and their Souldiers to imitate them, there could not be a fiercer fight on this side. Yet those within did so stoutly withstand the first assault, as the Assailants not able to mount the breach, were beaten back: But at the very instant of their giving back, being asham'd that they had done so, they suddenly returned, and falling more fiercely then before to the assault, they so renewed the fight, as at one and the same time almost they got upon the Breach, planted their Colours there, and entred with the Defendants into the Castle. In this renewing of the assault, the Governour *Bidossan* was slain, together with many Captains, and other valiant Souldiers, who were present at the defence-making. For what remained, military fury was used, few being left alive, of which *Campignuola* was one. From blood they fell to plunder: which though it was not answerable to expectation, yet it was thought to come to about 5000 o Crowns worth in goods, together with a very considerable quantity of victuals and ammunition. Many of the assailants Captains and Officers were slain: The greatest loss they suffered was in the death of Count *Pacchiotto* an Italian, chief Enginer of the Spanish Camp, who through a desire of honour would be present at the assault, where fighting valiantly he was slain. Thus in less then 20 dayes, *Calis*, one of the chief Towns of *France*, fell with so little opposition into the King of *Spains* hands. *Guines* and *Hames*, two Towns near *Calis*, surrendred themselves also quickly to Monsieur *de Rony*: The first was of some consequence; the other very weak, and not able to make any resistance. The Cardinal staid ten dayes in *Calis*, that he might leave the Town well munited and provided To the recovery whereof it appeared that the Queen of *England*, and the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* would buckle themselves with great Maritime preparations; both these parties thinking themselves more concern'd in the loss of *Calis*, then the King of *France* himself.

The King having received so great a blow, returned speedily to his siege of *Fera*, that he might put an end thereunto as soon as he could, and keep the Town from being relieved with victuals. Yet before he went from *Bullen*, he secured that Town from all danger, and furnished *Montruille* and *Ardres* with sufficient Garrisons and all mannner of necessary provisions; but especially the last, as being nearer *Calis*, and against which it was most to be feared that the *Spaniards* would address themselves. Wherein he was not deceived: For after divers consultations had, the Cardinal being still thereunto advised by *Rony*, made his Army march towards *Ardres*, and on the beginning of *May* incampt before it. The Town of *Ardres* is placed in a vally which is much more long then broad, not above three leagues distant from *Calis*: The Country about it is more watry then dry: It is but of a small circuit, but very strong both by nature and industry; in the highest part thereof there is a suburbs, which being formerly but weakly fortified, was now very well munited by the Garrison and Townsmen. Monsieur *de Anneburg*, a well reputed Souldier, was Governour of the Town; And there were about 2000 Foot, and 150 Horse there in garrison, with good provisions for all things necessary for defence: And for its greater advantage, the Marquis of *Belin*, the Kings Lieutenant of *Picardy*, was come thither; and with him Monsieur *di Monluck*, a young man, but one of the most cry'd up valour that was in all *France*. *Rony* had the chief care of the siege: wherefore having first well disposed of the Quarters, and then provided for their security, he began to advance with his Trenches. They were first led on towards the Town; but *Rony* thought it better afterwards to endeavour the winning of the Suburbs, the taking whereof would make much for carrying the Town. The besieged this mean while made out frequent sallies, in all which *Monluck* was still the formost; nor made they less opposition by their Artillery which were placed upon their walls. So as great was the damage which those without received by both these means. Yet overcoming all difficulties, they still straitned the Town more and

more. And *Monluck* being ſlain by a Canon-ſhot, it might ſoon be diſcerned that thoſe within cooled in their courage. Coming at laſt to battery, *Rony* was very ſollicitous in indeavouring the effect thereof, for fear leſt the King having rid his hands of *la Fera* might come with his whole Army joyn'd together, time enough to relieve *Ardres*, as it was clearly ſeen he intended to do. But the Suburb was ſo well defended, that ſuch progreſs could not be made by battery as the ſtraitneſs of time required. Between the Suburb and the Town there was a certain ſecret way, which led out afterwards into the fields abroad, and which was but little known ſave to ſuch Inhabitants as moſt frequented that place: The Campmaſter *Teſſeda* had notice hereof by a Walloon Souldier, who upon other occurrences had been converſant in that paſſage. *Teſſeda* therefore acquainted the Cardinal that entrance might be had into the Burough ſecretly by night, through that paſſage; and he deſired that he might be truſted with the Government of the deſign. The Cardinal yielded to the propoſal and to the deſire. Wherefore *Teſſeda* went to the aforeſaid place the next night, taking with him 1000 foot, part Spaniards, part Walloons. To divert the defendants the more, a briſk alarm was given againſt both the Town and Suburb, from the part without, where the batteries were placed. The enemy flocking apace to thoſe parts, *Teſſeda* paſſed on, and began to enter the Suburbs with his men. But the enemy being aware thereof, they ſuddenly turned all their oppoſition thither, ſo as for a while the buſineſs was hotly diſputed on both ſides, till *Teſſeda* being recruited with new forces, got a good way into the Suburb, and forced the enemy at laſt to quit it, and to retreat to within the Town: in which retreat there happened a misfortune which added much to their loſs. For the Percullis being too haſtily let down by thoſe that guarded the Gate, for fear leſt the aſſailants might enter into the Town pel mel with the aſſailed, 200 of their own men were ſhut out, who were al miſerably put to the ſword by the aſſailants. The Suburbs being won, *Rony* immediately turned the batteries upon the Town; and that they might be the more terrible, ſome pieces of great Canon were brought from *Calis*, and planted upon the chief battery; and many other pieces of Artillery were planted againſt the fences; in ſo much as the like preparation for thundring ſhot upon the Town, had not been ſeen in many former ſieges.

It was this mean while diſputed between the Marquis of *Belin*, and the Governour of the Town, whether it were better to do their utmoſt to withſtand the aſſault, which was to be expected would inſue the batteries; or not to hazard a fight, the event whereof was ſo uncertain, and dangerous. The Governour was for making good the defence, alleadging,

That the Gariſon could not be more incouraged, and that the mean while the King having diſpatched the buſineſs of la Fera, *would undoubtedly come himſelf in perſon to the relief of* Ardres.

The Captains were of the ſame opinion, and the ſouldiers likewiſe ſhewed great reſolution therein. But *Beline* was of another mind. He ſaid,

That if it ſhould come to the tryal, they ſhould not be able to withſtand the aſſault. That the greateſt part of ſo valiant ſouldiers would be loſt. And that it tended much more to the Kings ſervice, to preſerve them to loſe them.

Theſe reaſons were not admitted of neither by the Governour nor Gariſon. But *Belin* urging Authority, which was diſcerned to proceed wholly from fear, would by all means, that without expecting ſo much as one ſhot, they ſhould treat of ſurrender. He deſired that he might firſt ſend unto the King. But his requeſt being denyed, he yielded to the ſurrender, upon ſuch honourable terms as he could get. One thouſand five hundred ſouldiers marched out of the Town with him: at which Action it cannot be conceived how hainouſly the King was incenſed. Both in reſpect of the action it ſelf, and for that *la Fera* falling juſt then into his hands, he did verily hope either to make the Spaniſh Camp quit the ſiege of *Ardres*, or elſe to force them to fight with him in the open fields. And his Forces were by this time ſo increaſed, as he had great reaſon to hope for one of theſe two. *Belin* would have gon to have juſtified himſelf; but the King inſtead of hearing him, thought to have put him to an ignominious death; though

after-

afterwards, together with his anger he mitigated *Belins* puniſhment, and only baniſhed him the Court.

This mean while thoſe of *la Fera*, being reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity of hunger, could no longer defer the ſurrender of the Town. The King, that he might the ſooner be gon from thence, and come to the relief of *Ardres*, granted them all the honourable conditions they could deſire. But *Ardres* being loſt, and the King ſtill more incenſed thereat, he ſeemed to be much perplexed in his thoughts, not knowing what to reſolve upon. His Forces were then very ſtrong: he had no leſs then 18000 foot, and 6000 horſe, together with the flowre of the chiefeſt of the Kingdom, and a numerous other Nobility which did then wait upon him. His end would have been, either to have recovered *Calis*, or ſome other of the Towns which he had loſt; but he foreſaw all ſieges would coſt much expence both of time and monies: and the Kings monies were at this time ſo exhauſted, and *Picardy*, together with the other Provinces, ſo waſted with the ſo long quartering of Armies, as out of each of theſe conſiderations, it was impoſſible for him, long to maintain ſo great Forces, or to make uſe of them in any long ſiege. He therefore by the conſent of his Councel of War, reſolved to draw near to the Cardinal Archdukes Army: and to endeavour by all means poſſible to draw him forth to battel. But the Cardinals intentions were far otherwiſe; for being fully informed of the Kings mind, and knowing himſelf to be much ſhort of him in men, as being inforced to leave ſtrong Gariſons in the places which he had won; he thought it might ſuffice if he could ſecure theſe, and for what remained ſhun all field-battel. His people had likewiſe ſuffered much diſaccommodation in theſe laſt expeditions. In ſo much as being willing to refreſh them with the moſt commodious quarters he could, he reſolved to go into *Artois*; and going himſelf into St. *Omers*, he diſpoſed of his Army in divers Towns thereabouts; having firſt left that part of the Frontiers of *France* which was then in the King of *Spains* hands, well provided. The King of *France* perceiving this, reſolved to diſmiſs the Nobility and Gentry that followed him; and leaving Mariſhal *Biroun* with 4000 foot, and 600 horſe, to ſecure ſuch places of *Picardy* as he was moſt jealous of, he went himſelf for ſome other important affairs to *Paris*.

Whilſt the Cardinal Archduke was in *France* about theſe aforeſaid enterpriſes, the United Provinces of *Flanders* took this occaſion, and infeſted and overrun divers parts of *Brabant* with 800 horſe. But ſoon meeting with ſuch oppoſition as was needfull, and particularly by the Italian mutiniers, who ſent the greateſt part of their horſe from *Tilemon* againſt the enemy, the excurſions laſted but for a while, nor did they do any great damage. The Cardinal this mean while raiſed 3000 Walloons, and as many Germans, to ſupply the place of thoſe that were found wanting, and of thoſe that were left in the French Towns. The particular Province of *Flanders* could have very much defired that he would have undertaken the taking of *Oſtend*, a ſtrong Sea-Town; and from whence the inland Countries thereabouts were much damnified. The Cardinal ſeemed no leſs deſirous thereof; to witneſs which, he went himſelf to *Newport*, which is not above three hours journey from *Oſtend*, and being there nearer at hand, he cauſed the condition of the Town to be diligently examined. But judging that it was impoſſible to keep it from being relieved, and that being ſo near *Zealand*, it might be ſuccoured every hour, the Cardinal thought it was not a thing feiſable, and that therefore it was by no means to be undertaken. On the other ſide, not being willing to loſe the Summer, without imploying his Army about ſome new expedition, he thought good to know his Councel of Wars opinion therein. Some propounded the ſiege of *Hulſt* in the particular Province of *Flanders*: as well for the importancy of ſuch an acquiſition, as for the ſatisfying of that Province in ſome ſort, ſince it was impoſſible to pleaſe it in the enterpriſe of *Oſtend*. Others thought upon *Berghen ap Zome*, *Getringberg* or *Breda*, all of them Towns in *Brabant*. 'As for *Breda*, it might the eaſilyeſt be kept from ſuccour, becauſe it lay more within land. But for all things elſe, it was ſo well munited, and ſo well provided to make long reſiſtance, as there were found great difficulties in bringing that ſiege to a good end. The other places were ſo ſeated by nature, as enjoying

ing the opportune neighbourhood of *Holland* and *Zealand*, either by the accommodation of Channels or Rivers, it would be very hard to keep the enemy from relieving them whenſoever they would.

The difficultys of the propounded ſieges being weigh'd, and the hopes of overcoming them, the Cardinal reſolv'd at laſt to beſiege *Hulſt*, and to uſe al poſſible means for the taking of it. On the Eaſt ſide where the Province of *Flanders* terminates, and where with the interpoſition of the River *Scheld* it joyns to *Brabant*, there lies a ſmall Territory called the *Waſſe*. It is bounded on the Eaſt by the *Scheld*, that River keeping ſtill its own name; on the North it is bounded by the *Honte*, a branch of the *Scheld*; but which is already grown ſo large, and ſo ready to fall into the Sea, as it may rather be called an arm of the Sea, then the branch of a river. On the Weſt and South it reaches more within land, and is not far from the Territories of *Gaunt*. The *Waſſe* hath many great Villages in it, and alſo ſome walled Towns. And though the ſituation thereof be very low, yet it enjoys many commodities as well by its own natural ſituation, as by the Inhabitants induſtry. In almoſt the midſt of it, ſtands the Town of *Hulſt*. Which is but ſmall in circuit, yet of great Traffick: and out of ſome other circumſtances, the chief Town of that Country of *Waſſe*. Count *Maurice* had won it five years before, whilſt the Duke of *Parma* was upon his diverſion in the French expedition, as was then more largely related. To boot with its ſituation and ſome handy works, which made it even then a conſiderable place; the fortifications thereof had ſince been much increaſed by the United States; flanking it better where it was moſt needfull, and ſecuring it better by Palliſadoes, and other Works. But not content with having fortified the Town, they would for as much as they could make the Country for a good part unacceſſible. They therefore reſolved to make it an Iſland between two large Channels: and to this purpoſe they cut one, which fell into the *Scheld*, and another which fell into the *Honte*. The former was over againſt their great Fort of *Lillo*, which lies upon the other ſhore, and the latter drew nearer *Zealand*; with equal deſign notwithſtanding of receiving ſuch ſuccour as was requiſite, from the one and the other of them: to which purpoſe they had built two Forts to ſecure both their mouths; calling that towards *Lillo*, *Naſſaw*; and the other towards *Zealand*, *Maurice*. By means of theſe two Channels, they at the high tide could overflow the Country, and make it thus almoſt unacceſſible.

The Town of *Hulſt*, and the circumjacent Country being thus ſecured, the Confederate Provinces aſſigned a great Gariſon, not ſo much for keeping the Town, as to overrun the Kings Country thereabouts; and to get either greater contributions of free-will, or larger bootie where they would not contribute in a friendly way. This prejudice grew ſencible, even in the time of Archduke *Erneſtus*, and Count *Fuentes*. Wherefore to bridle their inroads in ſome ſort, they had then placed two chief Forts upon the banks of *Scheld*, turned towards the Country of *Waſſe*, and called the one the Fort *Auſtria*, and the other the Fort *Fuentes*. And to theſe two they added ſome other leſſer ones, more inward, in ſuch places as were thought fitteſt. Theſe Forts being raiſed, the enemy raiſed ſome likewiſe againſt them on their ſide. They built two upon the banks of the neighbouring Channel which fell into the *Scheld*; and for the greater ſecurity of them both, they raiſed a leſſer in the midſt between them. They called one of the greater *Morual*, and the other *Rape*; and that which was in the midſt, and might rather be termed a Redout then a Fort, they called little *Rape*. Unleſs it were the riſe of the Dike, which ſerved for building the Forts; (and it was that which was towards *Hulſt*) all the reſt on both ſides was laid level, to make the greater overflowing, and the difficulties of the two chief Forts of *Auſtria*, and *Fuentes* the greater, either in hindring the Gariſons excurſions, or in attempting any other enterpriſe againſt the Town. In the Iſlanded ground between the two Channels, not far from *Hulſt*, there was a riſe ſpacious enough, and of ſuch a hight, as the higheſt tide never reaching it, the Town was chiefly to be indamaged from thence, and might be beſt from thence beſieged. The Cardinal having exactly informed himſelf of the condition that *Hulſt*, and the Country thereabouts was in, and being reſolved to beſiege the Town, he feigned, as is uſually done,

do ne in ſuch caſes, to beſiege another, that he might divert the Enemies Forces in ſundry parts, and ſo make them the weaker. Count *Maurice* was chiefly jealous of *Breda*; wherefore the Cardinal ſeemed as if he would ſit down before it, and to colour it the better, he made Monſieur *Ronye* paſs over the Scheld with 7000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe, and to bend thitherward; nor was this done to no purpoſe.

There was little leſs then 5000 ſouldiers in *Hulſt*, all almoſt Foot, and the beſt that the united Provinces had. Upon this conceived danger of *Breda*, Count *Maurice* made almoſt half the Garriſon that was in *Hulſt* paſs ſuddenly into that Town, and into other Towns in *Brabant*, which might be ſubject to the like ſuſpition. Of which the Cardinal being advertiſed, he delayed no longer diſcovering his true deſign: but muſtering his Army, he marched in the beginning of *July*, to enter into the Country of *Waſſe*, and to ſtraiten *Hulſt*, by all ſuch waies as might make him hope for good ſucceſs in that enterpriſe. The chief care of the two aboveſaid principal Forts of *Auſtria* and *Fuentes*, and of the other leſſer ones were given to Signior *Biſſa*, who had been formerly Commiſſary General of the Horſe, and who divers times had carried himſelf very gallantly againſt the Garriſon of *Hulſt*. The Cardinal therefore gave orders to him, and to the Camp-maſter *Barlotta*, that they ſhould do their utmoſt to enter the Iſland, and to poſſeſs themſelves there of ſuch a place, as they might keep footing in. To this purpoſe 2000 Foot, part Walloons, part Germans, were choſen out, who were led on by their own Colonel *Teſſelinghen*, and to theſe were added 300 Spaniards, and 200 Italians. Theſe were muſtered in Fort *Fuentes*; and Signior *Biſſa* the mean while, with great diligence, made ſome Barks be rowed over the drowned Country at a low ebb. The Superficies of that Earth, though the water was gon off, remained ſtill very ſoft and miery, wherefore it was very hard getting over it. Yet thoſe difficulties were overcome, and the barks were at laſt brought to the Channel, upon the banks whereof ſtood (as hath been ſaid) the Enemies two greateſt Forts, *Morual*, and *Rape*, and the little *Rape* between them. Under the ſame ſilence and obſcurity of the night, the ſouldiers began to move, and *Barlotta* led the Van with his Walloons, Spaniards, and Italians. When he was come to the Channel, after having ſuffered very much in his paſſing over that miery peece of ground, he arrived at the banke over againſt the little *Rape*, intending to ſtorm it. The march, arrival, and aſſault was ſo ſudden and unlooked for as thoſe within were much perplext. And though the Enemies neereſt great Fort, when they diſcovered the Kings men, failed not to annoy them with its Artillery; yet did they but little harm thereby, ſince it was by night; ſo as the aſſault growing ſtill hotter, *Barlotta* at laſt took the little Fort, and began to fix his foot in the Iſland: where he fell to fortifie. The mean while *Teſſilinghen* came in with his Germans, and he fortifying himſelf alſo, as much as the narrowneſs of the bank, and the anoyance from the Enemies Forts, would permit him to do, he endeavoured the more to ſecure the entrance into the Iſland. The Count of *Solme* was Governor of *Hulſt*, and he had with him a Garriſon of little leſs then 3000 ſouldiers, and had all ſuch proviſions as were requiſite for the defence of any how important a place ſoever. He then ſeeing himſelf aſſaulted, in manner as hath been ſaid, failed not upon break of day to ſally out againſt the Kings men, to chace them from the little Fort which they had taken, and from the bank where they were fortifying themſelves. The Germans had not yet ſufficiently fenced themſelves; wherefore turning upon them with a great Squadron, he eaſily diſordered them, which was much occaſioned by *Teſſelinghen*'s being ſuddeuly ſlain, whilſt he valliantly withſtood the fury of the Enemy. But *Barlotta* coming ſuddenly in with more men, after a fierce bickering, wherein many of each ſides were ſlain, the Enemy retired into the Town, and the Kings men kept themſelves in the places they had poſſeſt, with more ſecurity then before. At the news of this the Cardinal would approach himſelf in perſon, and took up his quarters in a Village, called St. *Nicholas*. From whence ſending *Ronye* ſuddenly back, he ordered that he, together with all the reſt of the Commanders, and the whole Army ſhould preſently enter the Iſland, and that they ſhould beleaguer the Town on all ſides where it was poſſible

poſſible ſo to do. *Ronye* being entred the Iſland with his men, all the reſt of the Kings Camp paſſed over thither: but not without ſome ſlowneſs and trouble, by reaſon of the myre, and the narrowneſs of the ſpace which they had won. *Ronye* began then to diſtribute his quarters, and his chief end being to keep off ſuccour, and particularly ſuch as might be had neereſt hand from *Zealand* by the Channel which was turned towards *Honte*, he uſed all poſſible diligence to that purpoſe. The Fort *Maurice* vvas built on that ſide for the ſervice of the Enemy; ſo as neither then, nor during the whole ſiege, could they keep off ſuccour on that ſide; and eſpecially by little boats, which paſſing through the Channel by night, received very little harm. The Walloon Brigadoes of Count *Bucquoy* of *Griſon* and *Cochella* were quartered thereabouts, as alſo *Auguſtine Meſſia*'s Spaniſh Brigado, which in his abſence was commanded by his Sergeant Major *Pietro Ponze*. Nearer the Town lay *Alphonſo di Mendoſa*, with his Spaniſh Brigado; the Signiors *Friſen*, and *Lyches*, with their Walloon Brigadoes; and Count *Bilia* with his German Regiment; the Spaniſh Camp-maſters *Velaſco*, and *Zuniga* were quartered in the higheſt part of the Iſland, and near the them Marqueſs *Trevico* an Italian, with his Brigado of the ſame Nation; and further off in other parts, where the more firm ground afforded commodity of joyning with the more muddy, Count *Sols* was quartered with a new German Regiment which he had raiſed; as alſo Count *Boſſu*, and *il Signor Barbenſon* with two other Walloon Brigadoes. Not any Horſe was brought into the Iſland, becauſe they could be of no uſe there. Thus did *Ronye* divide the quarters; each of which began afterwards to open their Trenches. But this mean while the Kings Camp began to be in great want of victuals. There was no entrance to be had into the Iſland, ſave onely by way of the little Fort which *Barlotta* had taken; vvhich lying in the middle betvveen the tvvo greater of *Morual* and *Rape*, and in a narrovv ſpace, it vvas very hard to get thither, and very dangerous to keep there: vvherefore *Ronye* reſolved in the firſt place to poſſeſs himſelf of all that vvhole bank upon vvhich the tvvo aforeſaid greater Forts ſtood; and then to uſe all his endeavours to vvin *Morual*, vvhich lay neareſt the Tovvn, and from vvhence the Kings Camp received moſt prejudice. To effect vvhich the tvvo Camp maſters *Velaſco* and *Barlotta*, after midnight, and vvhen the tide vas at the lovveſt, began to move vvith ſome of their Spaniards and Walloons. The Enemy had fortified themſelves upon that bank vvith divers earth vvorks, and hoped alſo to be better defended by the Artillery from the Tovvn, and Forts: Yet did the Royaliſts make ſo fierce an aſſault as after a bitter bickering, the Enemy vvas forced to retire from the bank, and the Royaliſts remained in full poſſeſſion thereof. But this buſineſs coſt them much blood, and in it divers of the beſt Spaniſh and Walloon Commanders, and other Officers vvere ſlain. Then *Ronye* began to batter the Fort *Morual* vvhich lay neareſt the Tovvn, and the Kings men being already lodged betvveen the Tovvn and the Fort, ſo as the one could not ſuccour the other, the defendants vvould not vvait an aſſault, but reſolved to ſurrender the Fort; vvhich vvas accepted of, upon condition that the defendants, vvho vvere almoſt 800 in number, ſhould not re-enter into *Hulſt*, but ſhould retreat vvith their Arms and Baggage to the *Holland* Fleet vvhich vvas then about *Lillo* in the *Scheld*. The taking of this Fort, together vvith the command of the bank, gave free paſſage for the bringing of victuals; great ſtore of vvhich vvas quickly brought into the Iſland, and their very ſore ſufferings for many daies for vvant of victuals vvas remedied.

After this the Cardinal came himſelf in perſon to vievv the quarters, trenches, and all the other vvorks. And then returning to his former quarter at St. *Nicholas*, it was reſolved in the Councel of vvar, that all diligence ſhould be uſed in advancing the Trenches, upon vvhich in that higher part, *Velaſco*'s and *Zunigo*'s Spaniards, and *Trevico*'s Italians, vvhich vvere quartered near them, vvrought. Theſe Trenches vvere dravvn out againſt three Ravelins, by vvhich the Tovvn vvas defended on that ſide. Thoſe Ravelins ſtood looſe from the principal vvall, and though they vvere made onely of earth, yet they ſerved for a good defence, becauſe they had a good ditch vvithout, and there vvas a high Platform on that ſide vvithin the Tovvn, vvhich did much diſturb the oppugners: inſomuch as many

many persons of account were slain from thence, and the prejudice grew daily greater. Yet since it was thought the works could not be better advanced from any other part, the Cardinal resolved they should be chiefly prosecuted there. But a sore mischance rendred that resolution soon fatal. *Rony* went oft thither, to give such orders as were requisite: and being one day under the Campmaster *Velasco's* Tent, which lay open to the Canon from the Town, an unfortunate shot came, which took off his head. A loss which was highly resented in the Kings Camp.

Monsieur *de Rony* was born in *Champania*, where that Province looks neerest *Lorain*. And because in all the French revolts, he always adhered to the Princes of the House of *Lorain*, he was usually taken to be a *Lorainer*. He was come of a noble family, and was called *Christian of Lavigny*. The Princes of the League had not a more zealous Officer, nor a more worthy Commander then he, in all their affairs both of State and War. He executed the chiefest part under the Duke *Du Mayn*, in those two so famous succours of *Paris* and *Roan*; and may be said to have executed the second, under the Duke of *Parma*. Then putting himself wholly into the King of *Spain's* service, valour was ever seen to vye in him with loyalty, and loyalty with valour. He was master of all the most practised Tongues; and all they of so many and so different Nations, took him for their Countryman: so greatly was he beloved and esteemed by every particular Souldier. He was equally good at Command and Execution; though his being very corpulent made the latter somewhat troublesom to him: But for the former, there was never any who gave out more cleer Orders, more speedy, nor more resolute.

The Cardinal expresst more sorrow for this loss, then any one. To witness the which, he made his Corps be carried to *Brussels*, where by his direction his obsequies were solemnly celebrated in the chiefest Church. The Cardinal declared the Count *de Varras* General of the Artillery, to be Camp-master Generall in *Rony's* place. He was brother to the Marquis of *Barambone*; and of himself a person of great experience, and much cry'd up in Arms. He had used much diligence and industry particularly in this Siege, in conveying many Peeces of Artillery into the Island, notwithstanding the difficulties sometimes of the high Tide, sometimes of the low and miery situations. And having already placed many of them against those Ravelins, towards which the Trenches of the *Spaniards* and *Italians* pointed, those Ravelins were furiously plaid upon, and likewise their Defences with other Peeces. They this mean while labour'd their falling into the Ditch: which succeeding, and then falling to fill it, wherein they were much opposed by the Enemy, the *Spaniard* at last, and at the same time almost the *Italians*, marched to go to the assault. The *Spaniards* endeavoured to get upon a side of the Ravelin which was beaten down; but meeting with stiff resistance there, the Campmaster *Velasco* made the other side be assaulted. By which the Assailants entring whilst they within were busied in making the first defence, the second unexpected assault proved so lucky, as the Enemy were forced to retreat from the Ravelin, and to get into the Town. The *Italians* had not so good success in their assault; yet they lodged themselves under the very foot of the Ravelin, and after three dayes making a Mine play, and then returning with great courage to the assault, they likewise possest themselves of that the Enemies Flank. The two Ravelins being won, Count *Varras* planted ten Peeces of Canon between them, to play therewithall upon the opposite Wall; and many other Peeces of Canon in places which were thought most fit to discurtain it on the sides and to take from it its defences. The wall was likewise made of Earth, and therefore the Batteries could not much ruine it; and the Earth yielding, they found that to make themselves masters of it they must use Pickaxes and Mines; but they could not come to this kind of work, till they had fill'd up the Ditch. To effect the which all possible diligence being used, and the *Spaniards* vying with the *Italians* who should most advance the Works, they endeavoured to put an end to the Siege as soon as might be. But still they met with many difficulties; so often did the besieged sally out, such bold opposition did they make on all parts, and so fierce were the contentions every where. A continual shower of shot powred

down from their Artillery; and the tempeſt of fire which was thrown, by reaſon of the abundance thereof proved almoſt greater. The which was done in ſeveral ſorts; particularly by Granadoes which ſhot off three or four times, miſerably lacerating the ſouldiers which were near at hand, and indammaging thoſe that were further off. It was impoſſible to keep the Enemy from being ſuccour'd by way of the above mentioned Channels: wherefore the more to encourage his men, the Cardinal reſolved to draw nearer the Camp, and lodged in the Fort *Fuentes*. From thence he went to view both the Channels, and conſultation was had how the uſe thereof might be taken from the enemy. But the two Forts of *Maurice* and *Naſſaw* did too much intricate the buſineſs. In ſo much as all their indeavours in that point proved to no purpoſe. For by night, and eſpecially at the high tides, ſome boats by the ſaid channels did continually bring victuals into the Town: the Enemy being ſtill incouraged by theſe advantages, made out a great ſallie againſt the Campmaſter *Mendoſa*'s Trenches; and did ſo reſolutely aſſault them, as they killed above a hundred Spaniards, and clog'd ſome of their Artillery. *Mendoſa* after this, fortified his Trenches better, and the reſt of the Kings men grew more wary in theirs. And being more vigilant then formerly in keeping out relief, which was convoyed in by the Channels, the Kings men took ſome of their boats, and by the example thereof, bridled the boldneſs of the reſt. *Velaſco's* Spaniards, and *Trevico's* Italians, did this mean while eagerly attend to advance againſt the wall that was plai'd upon; and being already entred into the ditch, they endeavoured as much as in them lay to fill it up: wherein the enemy manfully oppoſed them. So as there was not any day that paſt which brought not forth ſome conteſt, nor no conteſt which drew not the beſt bloud on both ſides. Mines, and Counter-mines were uſed by theſe and thoſe. And all was done that Art could inſtruct, both on the offenſive and defenſive part, upon ſuch an occaſion. The Kings men were this mean while notwithſtanding ſo far advanced, as they lodged at the foot of the wall; which being continually plaid upon, ſeemed as if it might be ſoon aſſaulted. But the Cardinal underſtanding that the enemy had undermined it on ſundry parts, to blow up the aſſailants as they ſhould mount the breach; and that they had provided themſelves within with a new and ſtrong defence; it was therefore judged better by the Councel of War to uſe countermines, and to defer the aſſault for ſome few days. This was the condition of the ſiege, and theſe the difficulties which appeared of ending it; when the Count *de Solm* gave the Cardinal to underſtand that he would liſten to ſome honourable Treaty of ſurrendring up the Town. The Cardinal greedily imbraced the offer: and that the ſurrender might be all the ſooner made, he willingly granted all whatſoever large conditions to the Count, as well for himſelf, as for the Gariſon, and for the Inhabitants. And the agreement being made, the Town was delivered up to the Cardinal about the end of *Auguſt*. About 2500 ſouldiers marched out of *Hulſt*; beſides thoſe that were in the two Forts of *Maurice* and *Naſſaw*. Wherefore ſo numerous a Gariſon being conſidered, and that of ſo ſelect Souldiers: and that by reaſon of the plenty of all proviſions, the Town might have held out longer; it was thought that *Solm* had received expreſs orders, not to delay the delivering up thereof, that ſo he might preſerve thoſe men, for the Confederate Provinces other greater affairs. The Cardinal went from *Hulſt* to *Antwerp*, where after he had tarried awhile, he went to *Bruſſels*, full of glory and reputation, for the ſo many noble enterpriſes which he had undertaken, and ſo happily atchieved in the beginning of his Government. When he was come thither, the firſt thing he did, was to pay the Mutiniers of *Tilemone*, that he might the ſooner make uſe of ſo good a ſtrength of men. Though when they had received their pay, a good part of them returned to *Italy*, to enjoy the moneys in quiet at home, which they had got by ſo long and bloudy ſervice.

The Arms which on the behalf of *France* an *Flanders* lay then on that Frontier, were not this mean while idle. The Mariſhal *Biroun* commanded the French; and the Marquis of *Barambone*, the King of *Spains* men, as hath been ſaid in its proper place. Nothing conſiderable had notwithſtanding been done all this while. But ſoon after the ſurrender of *Hulſt*, there happened an incounter of con-

concernment. Which was this, *Biroun* was reſolved to enter the Country of *Artois* with ſoome troops of horſe, and to overrun it as far, and in as hoſtile a manner as he could. *Barambone* had notice hereof, who with a good number of horſe likewiſe, went to meet *Biroun*. Scouts being ſent out to make the uſual diſcoveries on both ſides, *Biroun* haulted, and placed the greateſt part of his in ambuſh in an opportune place. This mean while Count *Alfonſo Montecucully*, Captain of a Company of Lanciers, came up. He immediately charged *Biroun*, who being afterwards overlaid with the reſt of *Barambones* horſe, retreated till he had drawn the Enemy into the Ambuſh. The French came forth then very fiercely, and *Biroun* fighting according to his wonted valour, more then any of the reſt, *Barambones* men were ſoon routed and put to flight; he himſelf and *Montecucully*, were taken priſoners; and Count *John Jacamo Belgioſo*, who was there alſo with his Company of Lanciers, was ſorely wounded. The Mariſhal was much incouraged by this ſucceſs; who therefore endeavoured to do the aforeſaid damage, and greater alſo to the Frontiers of *Artois* But meeting ſtill with ſuch oppoſition as was ſufficient to break his deſigns, and the winter coming on, he retreated with his men into their Gariſons, as did alſo the Spaniards. Now began the year 1597. in the beginning whereof there happened another ſucceſſe in *Flanders*, which was of great dammage to the King of *Spain's* Party.

During the ſiege of *Hulſt*, the United States had cauſed *Brabant* be infeſted and overrun, in ſo much as a good part of that Country, to keep themſelves from further evil, had ſubmitted to pay contribution; by means whereof the States did ſo much the more eaſily maintain their Gariſons of *Breda*, St. *Getrinberg*, and of other Towns which they were Maſters of in that Province. This grievance was likewiſe felt in *Campagne*. VVherefore the Cardinal as ſoon as he was returned to *Bruſſels*, he ſent Count *Varras*, General of the Artillery with 4000 foot and 300horſe to *Turnant*, a Town which lies towards *Campagne* to free the Country (as he did) from the contributions which they paid. Look how much the Kings party was thereby eaſed, ſo much were the United Provinces perplexed. Nor was Count *Maurice* ſlow in endeavouring to regain the ſame advantage. VVherefore gathering together with great ſpeed and ſecrecy 6000 foot, and little leſs then 1000 horſe, and making the Rendezvouz near *Breda*, he marched with theſe men about the end of *January*, towards the Royaliſts who were in *Turnaut*. *Maurice* could not make the aforeſaid preparation neither ſo ſoon nor ſo ſecretly, but that Count *Varras* got notice of it. He had with him the Marquis of *Trevico's* Italian Brigado, which was commanded by his Serjeant Major. Count *Sols* his new Regiment of *Germans*, and two *Walloon* Brigadoes of *Barlotta*, and *Aſſicount*. Theſe *Germans* and *Walloons* were alſo without their Commanders, and were Governed by other inferior Officers. *Nicholas Baſti* Commanded the horſe, which were all Spaniſh and Italian. Count *Varras* having diſcovered the Enemies march, and thinking that he had not ſufficient Forces to fight him in the Field, knowing alſo that *Turnaut*, as being an open Village, was not a place for defence, reſolved to go to *Herentales*, a Town which he might eaſily get unto, being but three hours eaſie march from *Turnaut*. Yet he would retire by day, leſt if he ſhould have marched by night, his retreat might have ſeemed a running away. Thus reſolved, and ſending out his baggage by night, upon the break of day *Varras* left *Turnaut*, and made his men march in this manner. He devided the foot into three ſquadrons; in the firſt he placed the Walloons, in the ſecond the Germans, and in the third the Italians. But that which at their firſt going out was the reer, if the enemy ſhould come upon them, was to be the van. The horſe were placed on the right hand, where the field was more free; and a great wood ſerved for a ſufficient defence on the left hand. *Maurice* hearing of this removal, he ſuddenly advanced with all his horſe, and with 300 musketiers behind ſo many Curaſſiers en Croup: and the Curaſſiers advancing foremoſt, with the musketiers en Croup, he gave them order to charge the enemy home in the reer, and that they ſhould endeavour to hold them play till his foot ſhould come up. With *Maurice* were the Counts of *Hollack* and *Solm*, Colonel *Vere* an Engliſh-man, and divers other Commanders of great experience

and valour. The Kings Horſe valiantly oppoſed the like of the Enemies; and the Squadrons facing about, did likewiſe ſuſtain the firſt charge of the Enemy. But all *Maurice* his Horſe coming in, and ſoon after his Foot, the Kings Horſe being no more in number, could make no longer reſiſtance. So as theſe being routed, the reſt were diſcouraged; though Count *Varras* galloping here and there, and in every place, ſhewed all the proofs of valour and undauntedneſs which could be deſired of him upon ſuch an occaſion. And finally preſſing forwards amongſt the *Italians*, when he ſaw their Squadrons begin to flie, he was ſuddenly ſlain; and he failing, the Kings men were wholly overcome, and the Enemy had the total victory over them. The *Walloons* fought not that day according as they were wont to doe; and the *Germans* made but little reſiſtance: And therefore the moſt that were ſlain or wounded, were *Italians*. In all there were above 1200 ſlain, and almoſt as many taken. There were 37 Colours loſt, and a great part of the Baggage. There were not above 100 of the Enemy ſlain: And *Maurice* wan ſuch a Victory with the loſs of ſo little blood, as made much for the advantage of the Confederate Provinces, and for his own Honour in War. After this miſchance, the Cardinal failed not ſuddenly to provide for the neceſſities of *Brabant*, by ſending in many Horſe and Foot. He was about likewiſe to make many great new Levies: But the King was in ſo great ſcarcity of monies, as the Cardinal could not make proviſions ſo ſoon, nor yet ſo fully as the neceſſity of the *Flanders* affairs required, and much more thoſe which were of ſo great concernment on the part of *France*. Nor was it long ere an occaſion aroſe in *France*, which being one of the moſt remarkable which the wars of *France* or *Flanders* hath produced in point of Surpriſe and Siege, you ſhall have a particular diligent account thereof in the next Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK IV.

The Contents.

The Spaniards *ſurpriſe the City of* Amiens *by ſtratagem. The King of* France *immediately beſiegeth it. The chiefeſt ſucceſſes thereof, and of the Defence are related. The Cardinal-Archduke goes himſelf in perſon with a powerfull Army to relieve the beſieged: but being kept off by the Enemies forces, the Town returns at laſt into the Kings hands, who preſently fortifies it with a ſtrong Caſtle. The Cardinal retreats to* Artois, *and from thence paſſeth into* Flanders. *Here he viſits* Oſtend; *but not attempting any thing, he returns to* Bruſſels, *and puts his Army in garriſon. The acquiſitions this mean while made by Count* Maurice, *to the great advantage of the Confederate Provinces, are related. Nor is it long ere Peace is declared between the two Crowns; ſo as the Kings Forces are now at liberty to attend only the proper affairs of* Flanders. *At this ſame time great conſultations are had in the Court of* Spain *about a Marriage propounded between the Cardinal-Archduke, and the Infanta* Iſabella, *the Kings eldeſt daughter; with the giving of the* Low-Countries *to the Infanta for her portion. The King inclines thereunto out of many good reaſons, and therefore will have it effected. The Archduke parts from* Flanders, *to go for* Spain; *and Cardinal* Andrea d' Auſtria *ſtayes in his place. The Cardinal-Archduke is not well gone, when the King of* Spain *dyes; and his ſon* Philip *the Third ſucceeds him. To whom the*

the King had alſo a little before deſtined the Archdutcheſs Margaret *of* Auſtria *for Wife.*

Anno 1597.

HErnando Teglio Portocarrero was Governour of *Dorlan*, being left there by Count *Fuentes* after the taking of that place, as choſen by him for one of the beſt Souldiers that the Spaniſh Nation had in *Flanders*. *Portacarrero* not ſatisfied with the bare cuſtody of *Dorlan*, wherein he was extraordinarily vigilant, he oft-times iſſued out with his Garriſon; and aſſaulting the Enemy ſometimes in open fields, ſometimes by ambuſhes; now preying upon their Cattel, and then ſetting their Villages on fire, he was almoſt become the Terror of that Frontier. But neither did his thoughts end here: He had an earneſt deſire to doe ſome great action for the Kings ſervice in thoſe parts, by which he himſelf might likewiſe acquire reward and glory. *Amiens* is the chief City of *Picardy*; and *Dorlan* is not above ſeven leagues diſtant from it. This neighbourhood afforded occaſion to *Portacarrero* to penetrate almoſt hourly into what was done in *Amiens*, and thereabouts. That City had appeared much for the League, and being now fallen into the Kings hands, it coveted much to have its antient priviledges obſerved, and eſpecially that the City ſhould be governed by Perſonages of their own Inhabitants, and by their own proper Forces. Nor would the King (the preſent condition of affairs conſidered) doe any thing to the contrary. Thus the City was its own Guardian. And though there were a great number of Citizens who had liſted themſelves under Colours, yet were they not any way diſciplin'd according to cuſtom in the handling of their Arms; nor were they ſo vigilant as they ought to have been in guarding their Gates: The Country without was not well ſurveyed before they opened them; and being open, they were but careleſly lookt unto, and more for form ſake then out of duty. *Portocarrero* being fully informed hereof, he thought he might by ſome ſtratagem ſurpriſe that Gate of *Amiens* which lay neareſt *Dorlan*; and that then bringing in a great body of men, he might poſſibly poſſeſs himſelf of the reſt of the City. To this end he by fitting means made the Gate be firſt well ſurveyed, and all the Country and wayes thereabouts, whereby with all poſſible ſecreſie ſuch men might be brought in as were to back the enterpriſe. And this was the order he took to effect it. Three Souldiers clad like Peaſants of *Picardy*, with ſacks upon their backs, full of Nuts and Beans, and ſuch like ſtuff, were to ſeem as if they brought this ware into the City. After the three Souldiers a Cart was to follow under the ſame pretence, loaded with ſacks of Corn; but theſe ſacks were to lie uppermoſt; ſo as the ſuperficies being only ſurveyed, the reſt of the body of the Cart ſhould be full only of great Planks. His deſign was to get within the Gate by means of this Cart; and by the Planks to keep the Percullis from falling to the ground, which otherwiſe might have been let down, and ſo have kept the Aſſailants from coming in. The guidance of the Cart and horſes which were to draw it, was given to eight or ten other Souldiers, clad as were the other like Peaſants, who together with the other three were to be the firſt actors in the ſurpriſe. The gate being thus got, and the ſign being given by the ſhooting off of a Piſtol, 300 Souldiers were preſently to make in, who were lodged as near the Gate as was poſſible; and to behave themſelves ſo in getting further into the City, as the reſt might have time to come up, and perfect the work.

Thus had *Portacarrero* plotted the ſurpriſe; and hoping ſtill more and more to ſee it happily effected, he with very great ſecreſie diſpatcht away *Franceſco del' Arco* a Spaniard, to *Bruſſels*, to acquaint the Cardinal therewithall, and (if he ſhould approve of it) to receive ſuch Orders from him as were neceſſary for the putting of it in execution. The Cardinal approved of all that was propounded, and ſuch Commiſſions were given as were requiſite to ſuch Commanders whoſe Garriſons lay neareſt *Dorlan*. *Franciſco del' Arco* being returned from *Bruſſels* with theſe Orders, *Portacarrero* deferr'd the buſineſs no longer. He gathered together with as much ſecreſie as might be, about 2200 Foot, and 600 Horſe; and did

did ſo well lay the time, and the places, as they met all at *Dorlan* on the tenth of march. The Foot conſiſted of 600 Spaniards; of Germans, Iriſh, and Walloons, all of them about the like number. The Horſe was compoſed part of Launciers, part Curaſſiers, part Harquebuſiers; in alike equal numbers of Spaniſh, of Italians and walloons. There could not be a more ſelect company of Souldiers, nor could they be commanded by more experienced Officers. *Jeroſſemo Caraffa*, Marqueſs of *Montenegro*, a Neopolitan, commanded the Horſe. But *Portacarrero* was to have the chief command, as author of the deſign, & he as who had received ful authority from the Cardinal for the leading of it on. *Portacarrero* was low of ſtature, but of a very ſtrong body, and yet ſtronger ſoul; and capable of guiding any enterpriſe, no leſs for the maturity of his judgment, then for his courage in execution. Having then diſpoſed of his men in ſuch order as they were to march, he went from *Dorlan* about the coming on of night, and took his way towards *Amiens*. He had not as yet diſcovered his deſign to any of them; but after they were a little advanced, he haulted; and drawing aſide the Captains both of Foot and Horſe, he with words full of Millitary vigour, acquainted them with the occaſion why they were firſt ſummoned to meet at *Dorlan*, and wherefore they were now marching towards *Amiens*. He ſhevved them the Cart and vviſhed them to ſpeak to their ſouldiers that vvere to ſurpriſe the Gate. He further added,

How great will be our good fortune, how great our glory, if we coming in with the reſt of our men can purchaſe ſuch a City for our King, which is the chiefeſt of all Picardy, *and one of the moſt eſteemed of all* France? *How great will the preſent plunder be for all of you? And how much greater rewards are we hereafter to expect from our King. But this action will prove particularly glorious to us the Commanders, who making this ſucceſs memorable to perpetuity, ſhall thereby likewiſe eterniſe our own names.* Amiens *is within three ſhort dayes journeys of* Paris; *the Country open, without either rivers, woods, or any other obſtacles.* Amiens *may then be made ſo great a Magazin of Arms, and may admit of ſo numerous a Garriſon, as may rather be termed an Army then a Garriſon; and how eaſily may we then march even to the gates of* Paris? *Infeſt all the adjacent Country? And every day add to our acquiſitions in* Picardy? *So as the King of* France *will at laſt have good reaſon to repent his having choſen rather to make war then peace with our King. I confeſs, as there cannot be a purchaſe of greater importance, ſo muſt we expect to meet with all poſſible difficulties therein. I know what the nature of a ſurpriſal is; and how great the difference is between the framing it in our faneies, and the effecting of it. I know that* Amiens *is a great City, full of a warlike people: and who will ſpeedily make in, either to keep us from making our ſelves Maſters of the Gate, or to take it from us, when we ſhall have gotten it. But I would we had got it, as the careleſs keeping of it, may make us hope we ſhall; as for the reſt, it will be our parts, by the vigour of our bodies, and the valour of our arms, not onely to maintain the entrance but to advance further into the inhabited places, and at laſt to make full conqueſt of the City I ſpeake my hopes; let us then courageouſly purſue our march, and let each of us diſcover the deſign unto our Souldiers, and enflame them thereunto. I for my part will rather act then command. And whether I ſhall live or dye, How can I live or dye more glorioufly?*

Portacarrero was very attentively liſtned unto; for all the Commanders, as alſo all their ſouldiers deſired much to know what enterpriſe they were led unto at that time of the night, and with ſuch ſecreſie. The Commanders thought almoſt it impoſſible that ſo negligent guards ſhould be kept in *Amiens*; there being ſo many Spaniſh Garriſons neer it, and the war being ſo hot round about. They had therefore but ſmall hopes of the ſurpriſal judging that they ſhould meet with much greater difficulties in endeavouring it, then was thought upon when it was firſt deſigned: but *Portacarrero*, did ſo aver for truth all that he had told them, as both they, and their ſouldiers ſhewed themſelves ready, to do what upon ſuch an occaſion might be deſired of them. They came to within ſight of the Gate vvhich lies tovvards *Dorlan*, and vvhich is called *Montrecurt*, about the break of day; there vvith great ſilence they poſſeſſed themſelves of a certain Abbey, vvithin leſs then a mile of the City: they took likevviſe another place,

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yet neerer the City, where was a little Hermitage; from thence thoſe that were clad like Peaſants advanced towards the Gate, with their Cart and Sacks full of Apples, and ſuch other things as have been ſpoken of. This mean while the Citizens opened the Gate; and ſurveying the Country about with their wonted negligence. They ſtayed in the Court *de Gard* under the ſame Gate; but the ſouldiers were ſo few in number, and ſo unfit for ſuch an office, as the Gate could not be more weakly, nor more negligently kept. It was now Lent, and Sermons being uſually made in *France* early in the morning, almoſt all the people were then at Church. *Franciſco d' Arco* had the command of thoſe that were clad like Peaſants, and who were to make the ſurpriſe: he who, as you have heard, *Portacarrero* ſent to *Bruſſels* to negotiate the buſineſs with the Cardinal; *Baptiſta Dognano*, a Milonoiſe, was another chiefly imploy'd; and Captain *la Croy* with particular diligence attended upon the Cart, who was a Burgonian: The reſt were almoſt all Walloons, who by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Frontier, were better known both in the language and faſhion of the Peaſants of *Picardy*: But were all of them Souldiers of tryed fidelity and valour. As they drew neer the gate, theſe mingled themſelves with other Country people, who entred the Town at the ſame time either to buy or to ſell commodities. Wherefore entring more eaſily with them into the Ravelin which covers the Gate, they ſtayed under the Arch thereof, and one of them letting the Sack fall, which was upon his ſhoulders, the nuts and things that were in ſcattered upon the ground; thoſe of the Guard ran in, and mocking either the ſimplicity or poverty of the Peaſants, began to ſcramble for what was on the ground; the Cart came in this interim, which being made to ſtay by him who guided it, at the firſt entrance into the Gate, the horſes were preſently faſtned; leſt frighted at the noiſe which was to enſue, they might run away elſewhere with the Cart. *Franciſco d' Arco* was to give notice to *Portacarrero* of the Carts being entred, by the ſhooting off of a Piſtol; which he failed not to do, for carrying two under his counterfeit habit, he diſcharged one of them in the breſt of one of thoſe that kept the Gate. Which when he had done, his aſſotiates did the like; and ſeiſing upon ſome Halberts which belonged to the ſame *Corps de Gard*, they ſo behaved themſelves, as they ſlew or deadly wounded all thoſe few French who had the cuſtody either of the gate, or of the ravelin. For the better ſecurity of the Gate it had two Perculleſes which over-hung it, they were guarded by a ſentinel, who let them both down; the firſt was eaſily kept from falling to the ground by the Cart, but the ſecond broke it all in peeces, and almoſt quite ſhutting up the paſſage, brought the Aſſailants into great ſtraits, when the other who were hid in the Hermitage came in with all ſpeed, who ſecuring themſelves firſt of the Raveling without, and ſuddenly taking away all hinderances within, made themſelves Maſters of all the avenues to the Gate. The noiſe was already grown ſo great, as many of the neereſt Inhabitants taking up arms, and haſtning thither, began boldly to oppoſe the aſſailants; who increaſing ſtill in number and in courage, eaſily overcame all oppoſition: inſomuch as having won the firſt Avenues to the City, and fully ſecured the Gate, as alſo the contiguous walls, they afforded time for the reſt of the Foot and Horſe to come up, and fortunately to perfect the premediated deſign. Nothing is ſo prejuditial, or doth more endanger ſurpriſes, then giving way to fall ſuddenly, and tumultuouſly to plunder: for in ſuch a caſe, the Townſmen within may either take up arms, or the Enemy may come in from without, ſo as the Aſſailants may be eaſily ſuppreſt, by reaſon of their being diſperſt, and diſordered amidſt rapine, and other military licentiouſneſs. For this cauſe *Portacarrero* commanded under penalty of the ſevereſt puniſhment, that none of his men ſhould dare to fall to plunder the City, till the market places, chief ſtreets, and all the Gates were fully taken, and well guarded; which being by him performed in great order, and the ſouldiers in much obedience, they fell to plunder, of which they found ſuch, and ſo great ſtore, as few the like was met withal in all the vvars of *France* and of *Flanders*. Count St. *Paul*, Governour of *Picardy*, vvas in *Amiens* at the time of the ſurpriſal; but he vvas got out as the Aſſailants firſt entred, providing in great haſte for his ovvn ſafety, and leaving his vvife there, vvho vvas preſently ſet at liberty by *Portacarrero*,

tacarrero, and uſed with all reſpect and honour. The plunder laſted one whole day; and nothing elſe of cruelty was uſed, nor of diſſolute licentiouſneſs There were not above 100 of the Inhabitants ſlain, and three or four of the aſſailants, and ſome few others were hurt. At the news of the ſurpriſe and plunder, many other ſouldiers of the neighbouring Spaniſh Gariſons, came flying in, to partake of the plunder; and who afterwards helped very much for the defence of *Amiens*: for *Portacarrero* would not permit them to go out again. Yet for greater ſecurity he diſarmed the Citizens; and with great vigilancy ordering all things every where as beſt befitted the ſafety of the City, he together with the reſt of the Commanders and all the ſouldiers, prepared with all courage to ſuſtain that hard and dangerous ſiege which he foreſaw would ſoon befall them by the King of *France*.

This mean while the King had ſpeedy advertiſement, both of the ſurpriſe ſo boldly undertaken, and of the happy ſucceſs thereof. It is impoſſible to relate how much he was afflicted at this his miſchance, and how much he was inwardly tormented in his mind, particularly in the point of Honour. He ſeemed to be much offended with himſelf.

Had he ſo quelled the Rebellion of France, *and ſo ſuppreſt the League maintained by the Spaniards, to the end that breaking into war with them, their ſole Forces ſhould triumph over his? How many victories had* Fuentes *got the year before, ſometimes by ſieges, ſometimes by open field-fight? and how many other great acquiſitions had the Cardinal Archduke lately made? was not that of* Calis *ſufficient by open ſiege, but that the other of* Amiens *muſt iſſue by ſurpriſe? What two other Towns could the Spaniards have deſired, whereby they might receive more advantage in the affairs of* France, *both by ſea and land? The way was ſhort and free between the Gates of* Amiens *and* Paris: *Nor did* Calis *afford leſs opportunity to offend ſo noble a part of the Kingdom by ſea. And what would* Europe *think of a King, who contented with his only home-victories, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be thus overcome by Forreign Forces? How much would the Malcontents of the Kingdom be hereby incouraged to ſet the League on foot again, perhaps, which was or too lately ſuppreſt, or not yet fully extinguiſhed.*

Thus did the King of *France* with great anger ſtorm againſt himſelf, for the ſurpriſal of *Amiens*. Being then thus agitated by theſe conſiderations, he ſpeedily removed from *Paris* to *Corbie*, a Town ſtanding upon the banks of *Some*, not above three leagues from *Amiens*. Here he together with Mariſhal *Biroun*, and other Commanders in war, reſolved immediately to incamp before that City, and not to leave any thing undone, whereby to drive out the Spaniards, and to free *Picardy* from all their Forces. *Biroun* Commanded the Kings Forces, who being naturally very haughty, thought it redounded much to his own particular diſhonour, that the Spaniards ſhould daily make ſuch advancements in thoſe parts. The King therefore commanded him, that muſtering together as many of the French ſouldiery as might be had from the neighbouring Gariſons, he ſhould begin to begirt *Amiens*, and to take a particular care that no freſh men ſhould enter into it. This order being given, and ſuch others as were requiſite upon ſuch an occurrency, the King went again to *Paris*, to ſollicite ſuch Forces and preparations from all parts, as were requiſite for ſuch an undertaking. The River *Some* runs a long courſe through *Picardy*; and cutting it as it were through in the middle, fals afterwards into the Britiſh Sea. Upon the Banks of this River ſtands the chiefeſt Cities and Towns of the Province. But *Amiens* doth flouriſh there beyond them all, as well for the antiquity of its foundation, as for the beauty of its buildings, and for the quality, induſtry, and number of Inhabitants. The *Some* enters it with many Branches, and waſhing the wals in many places, makes the circuit thereof ſtronger on thoſe ſides then on the others; it is alſo well provided of Curtains, Flanks and Ditches: but that part which looks towards *Flander*, as being moſt ſubject to danger, is beſt fortified. And becauſe the Spaniards in likelyhood would have endeavoured to relieve the City on that ſide, and eſpecially from *Dorlan*, the Mariſhal *Biroun* did therefore incamp himſelf on that ſide; and began to break up the ways, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Paſſes, and to deſign out his quarters for the future ſiege.

Portacarrero had this mean while sent back *Francesco d' Arco* to *Brussels*, to advertise the Cardinal of his happy success, and to desire him to send some new recruits of men with all speed. Great store of Artillery, Ammunition, and Victuals was found in *Amiens*: *Portacarrero* did therefore for the present, only desire a recruit of men, that so he might make good the Town, till such time as the Cardinal might come to relieve it with a compleat Army. The Cardinal shewed such signes of joy as became such a purchase, and sent back the same *Francesco d' Arco*, having first honoured him upon this occasion with a Company of Spanish Foot, to assure *Portacarrero* that he would speedily send him some good succour; and that he would forthwith muster the whole Army, with which he himself would come in person, and undoubtedly raise the siege. On the other side the King of *France* being fully resolved to continue it, went perpetually from one place to another to raise what moneys he could, what men, and what provisions, as were requisite for such a purpose. A Renovation of League was then in Treaty between him and the Queen of *England*; which he very much desired might be effected. And he Treated likewise with the United Provinces of *Flanders*, that they might make some considerable diversion against the Spaniards, and that in particular they might send him some aid for the business of *Amiens*. The mean while Marishal *Biroun* prosecuted the already begun works; he had thrown a bridg of boats over the uppermost part of the River between *Corbie* and *Amiens*; and another over the lower part thereof, where the Village *Lompre* stands, to the end that he might have free passage from the one side of the River to the other, and might at his pleasure joyn the Kings Forces on either side. He drew a Line in compass from the one bridg to the other, of well Flank'd Trenches, towards the City; but of much greater compass towards the field-side. All these Works were made on the side towards *Flanders*, as hath been said, because the besieged were to be succoured from thence. Nor did he forbear beleaguering the Town in such sort as was fitting on the side which lay towards *France*. It is not to be said with what ardency and eagerness *Biroun* behaved himself; adding a rigid imperious command to his innate pride, and making it evidently appear in his Military haughtiness, that he would bequeath the siege in such a condition to the King, when his Majesty should come thither, as he should acknowledg the good success thereof chiefly from him. Thus had *Biroun* laid the siege; but at the same time he hoped to make so important a surprise on the neighbouring Frontiers of *Artois*, as the Spaniards should be so much the more hindred from the freeing of *Amiens*. To this purpose he did so unexpectedly assault *Arras* by night (which is the chiefest City of *Artois*) with 4000 foot, and 1200 horse, as he indangered it. He planted a Petard luckily, his men began already to enter the Gate; but the people thereof which are numerous, and warlike, taking up Arms, the French were soon repulst; wherein Count *Bucquoy*'s valour did very much appear, who being in *Arras*, had the fortune to signalize himself more then any other upon that occasion.

Biroun being returned to his quarters about *Amiens*, attempted another surprise by scalado against *Dorlan*; but failed therein also. So as quite forgoing these secret machinations, he applyed himself wholly to the siege which he had begun. No less vigilancy was in the interim used on the Spaniards behalf. The Cavalier *Pacciotto*, an highly esteemed Italian Ingenier, and brother to the other Ingenier *Pacciotto*, who was slain at the assault of *Calis*, was by stealth gotten into *Amiens*, and had brought Captain *Lechinga* with him, a Spaniard who very well understood the management of Artillery. These two applyed themselves diligently, the one to better the Fortifications where it was most needfull; the other to dispose of the Artillery where they might be of greatest annoyance to the enemy. And *Biroun* not having as yet fully finished his Trenches, the Cardinal Archduke had given strict command, that some endeavour should be made to put some new recruit of souldiers into *Amiens*, from the Frontiers of *Artois*. Count *Bucquoy* was to this effect in *Dorlan* with 4000 Walloon foot; and *John de Gusman* with 300 horse. And because it was afterwards feared that such a body of men could not march so concealedly, as upon such an occasion was requisit, it was resolved that *Gusman* only should attempt getting into the City with his horse.

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He marcht away by night; but being diſcovered when he was got near the Ditch, and the French men moving furiouſly againſt him, he would have had much ado to have got into the City, had not the Defendants who ſallied out in great numbers, and did valiantly withſtand the Enemy, received him. In this action thoſe of the Town loſt Captain *Fernando Dezza*, a Spaniard, and Captain *Tomas*, an Iriſh-man, two valiant Souldiers, with divers others of ordinary rank. The number of the *French* that were ſlain was greater, but of meaner quality. *Portacarrero*, that he might have the Field more free, and might the readilyer go out to skirmiſhes, reſolved to pluck down the Suburbs, and all the houſes which were near about *Amiens*: which he did chiefly by fire. It was a miſerable ſpectacle to ſee ſuch and ſo many delightfull contentments, the bleſſings of Peace, conſumed in an inſtant by the fury of War. There was above 3000 choiſe Souldiers in *Amiens*; and therefore *Portacarrero* thought good not to ſuffer the Oppugnors to breath, but to endeavour by frequent and fierce Sallies to hinder their Fortifications which every day increaſed, ſo as the Cardinal might have time to come and relieve the Town with a full ſuccour. Nor was the Cardinal wanting in making all poſſible preparations to that purpoſe. A Levy of 4000 Foot was expected from *Italy*, which *Alphonſo Avalos* was raiſing. Other Levies were made to the ſame purpoſe in *Germany*, and the ſame diligence was uſed in thoſe parts of *Flanders* which were under the Kings obedience. But the monies requiſite for ſuch an affair fell far ſhort, by reaſon of the Kings ſo many former exceſſive expences, and by reaſon of the charge he was forced to be at in conſideration of the vaſtneſs of his Empire. And juſt at this time there had hapned a great diſorder in this point: For the King deſirous to curb the inſatiable covetouſneſs of Merchants had who traffickt Mony with him, he had in thoſe dayes publiſhed an Edict whereby he moderated the exceſſive gain which they formerly made. The Merchants therefore retired themſelves; and *Antwerp* which was wont to furniſh ſuch monies as were requiſite to maintain the Kings Army, was ſo pincht, as the Cardinal could no longer find neceſſary ſupplies there: And this (as ſhall be ſeen hereafter) was the chief cauſe why he could not lead up the Army time enough to *Amiens*, and preſerve the purchaſe he had made of ſo important a City.

Now to return to the Siege. The Fortifications without increaſed exceedingly every day, *Biroun* being continually very ſollicitous therein. He munited the two aforeſaid Bridges with good Forts on the one and the other bank, but eſpecially on that ſide which looked moſt towards *Flanders*. He raiſed likewiſe ſuch Forts as were requiſite to defend the innermoſt Line of the Trenches, and did the like in the outward Line which looked towards the Fields. And becauſe ſuccour was chiefly to be kept out on that ſide, therefore the more Forts, and the more nobler were raiſed there, and greater care was had of all thoſe Works. *Birouns* ſouldiery increaſed alſo daily, ſo as he would no longer delay opening Trenches againſt the City. He intended to lead them on juſt upon a great Ravelin, which ſheltred the Gate *Montrecurt*; and upon the adjoyning Ditch, which was dry, and where he thought he might eaſilieſt fall in. But *Portacarrero* was as vigilant as might be all this while in making defences. His chief deſign (as we have ſaid) was to annoy the Enemy as much as he could by Sallies, and hinder their Works. The Marquis *Montenegro* ſallied therefore out one day with 400 Horſe, he having the command of all the Horſe in *Amiens*: And placing a Company of Carabins in the firſt Front, commanded by Captain *Franciſco Fuentes* a Spaniard, he gave in ſo fiercely and ſo unexpectedly upon the Enemy, as he ſlue above 200. ſome Souldiers, ſome Pioners, without loſing almoſt any one of his men. This Sally was purſued almoſt every day with ſome other the like; which being ſo very many, to ſhun prolixity in relating every leaſt paſſage, and to maintain the Decorum due to Hiſtory, we will acquaint you only with the chiefeſt.

Affairs were in this condition both within and without, when the King of *France* came himſelf in perſon to the Camp, attended by many Princes and great Lords who were then at Court; particularly by the Duke *Du Mayn*, from whoſe valour aud councel as much good was expected upon this occaſion, as the Kingdom had experimented prejudice in the late troubles thereof. *Biroun* was

not very well pleaſed that the King ſhould come ſo ſoon unto the Army; for he would willingly have brought the Siege firſt to better perfection. But the King very much approving all the Works, and for a ſign of honour confirming him in the ſame ſuperiority of Command, did ſo far ſatisfie him, as he continued more fervent then ever in his former endeavours. The King being arrived, it was reſolved by the Councel of War, that the buſineſs ſhould be orderly carried on, and that winning ground by the ſpade and mathook leaſurely, great care ſhould be had in preſerving the Souldiery, and that the raſhneſs of too immature aſſaults ſhould be ſhunned. The number of Pioners was therefore mightily increaſed: by whoſe handy-work the further the Trenches were advanced, the broader and the deeper were they made; and to boot with the uſual windings thereof, many and greater Redouts then ordinary were raiſed in them for their better defence. The King lay in the aforeſaid Hermitage; and the Conſtable, the Duke *Du Mayn*, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, the Prince *Jeanvile* Brother to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and other great Perſonages were lodged in the ſeveral Forts; whereof the Marſhal *Biroun* kept that for himſelf which was neareſt the Works, that he might from thence haſten their progreſs the more. The Kings Army did not as then exceed 16 co Foot, and 4000 Horſe, but it increaſed every day; for it is not to be ſaid with how much impatiencie he deſired the recovery of *Amiens*, nor how much he was ſeconded therein by the inclination of the Kingdom, and particularly by the deſire of the Nobility. His Forces conſiſted of 3000 *Swiſſers*, 4000 *Engliſh* ſent by the Queen in relation to the aforementioned Confederacie which was concluded but a little before; and the reſt were all *French* Foot and Horſe. Monſieur *de Montigny* commanded the Horſe; and Monſieur *de S. Luke* the Artillery, which were brought unto the Camp in great abundance: Both of them Commanders cry'd up, and of a cleer reputation. And the King willing that they ſhould no longer forbear annoying thoſe within with the Artillery, they began to play furiouſly upon the City; and Batteries were diſpoſed of in divers places, which were afterwards to indamage the Beſieged nearer hand. Amidſt theſe publick works appertaining to the Siege, the King forbore not liſtening to a ſecret intelligence by which the City might be fraudulently delivered up unto him. There was a Covent of Auguſtine Friars in *Amiens*, which did almoſt joyn upon one of the Gates of the City. Many Citizens came uſually to this Covent, where they plotted a ſecret practiſe to put the City into the Kings hands, by privately taking in ſome Souldiers from without by night, who ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of certain Bridges under which the River ran as it went out of the City. But *Portacarrero* diſcovering the buſineſs, he made thoſe whom he ſuſpected ſure, and putting ſome of the Ringleaders to death, he ordered that all the Votaries ſhould go out of *Amiens*, and afterwards by degrees drove out moſt of the Citizens. *Portacarrero* being freed from thoſe dangers which threatned him within, minded with greater ſecurity the advancing of the outward works, which conſiſted chiefly in defending the Ditch the moſt that might be: And therefore he fortified the *Chemine Couverte* in ſundry ſorts; other new Defences were added even within the Ditch it ſelf; and Mines were wrought under the *Chemine Couverte* which might be made to play when the Enemy ſhould approach. Moreover, for its better defence, it was invironed with great and ſharp ſtakes, hanging outwards with ſome little diſtance between them, which might keep the Enemy from ſuddenly aſſailing it, and the Defendants might have the advantage of being thereby ſheltred. All ſuch Fortifications as it was capable of were added in particular to the great Ravelin of *Montrecurt*. And all this while the Defendants cooled not in making their frequent Sallies; but making them every time more forceable then other, there ſeldom paſt a night that they did not iſſue out to diſturb the Works; in which the Countrymen thereabouts ſupplying the place of Pioners, it is not to be believed what a ſlaughter was made of thoſe miſerable people during the ſiege. The field-ſide towards *France* was leſs fortified, and conſequently worſe guarded as being the moſt ſecure. The beſieged iſſued forth on that ſide to provide neceſſary Forrage for their Horſes, but with good Convoyes of Horſe and Foot; they were many times fortunate herein; but falling at laſt into a great Ambuſh of 600 horſe of the Enemy, they were routed, and in their retreat loſt many of

their

their Foot and Horſe, and particularly a great number of the meaner ſort of people who were imployed in getting together the Forrage. This misfortune did not abate, but rather increaſe the beſiegeds courage in continuing their ſallies. *Portacarrero* would therefore make out one which ſhould be ſo ſtrong and ſo well ordered, as it might make large amends for the loſs lately ſuffered. Which he diſpoſed thus. He ſent out two Spaniſh Captains, *Diego Durango*, and *Franciſco del l' Arco*, with their two Foot-Companies; and to them added two Troops of Horſe, commanded by *Jovanni Guſman*, and *Martin Aguilas*, both of them Spaniards; after theſe came the Marquis *di Montenegro* with 300 Horſe more: And the order which was given them was, that they ſhould at one and the ſame time aſſault the Trenches which were a working on the two neareſt ſides, and afterwards to make into the quarters from whence the Works proceeded. It was about the end of *July*, when the weather is hotteſt, and men apteſt to ſleep about Noon-day. At this time it was reſolved the Sally ſhould be made: Nor were the beſieged deceived: For finding a great many of thoſe that labour'd in the Trenches wearied with their working by night, and taking their reſt, as alſo the others that guarded them, they meeting with little reſiſtance made great ſlaughter amongſt them; then aſſaulting the neareſt quarter of the *Engliſh*, they ſlue many of them before they could well put themſelves in a defenſive poſture; and aſſaulting another quarter with the like violence where the *Swiſſers* were lodged, they likewiſe ſlue and wounded many of them. But the Camp flying to their Arms, & new ſuccour coming in from all parts, the fray did ſo increaſe, as it could neither be more obſtinate nor more bloody. The Marſhal *Biroun* did firſt appear, who thruſting in where the buſineſs was hotteſt, gave miraculous proof of his courage. Nor did the King himſelf do leſs; who tranſported by his too warlike genius, and too much deſpiſing danger, would likewiſe be himſelf where the greateſt peril was. Till ſuch time as the beſieged being forced to give back, the fray ended. In which the beſieged loſt above 200 of their men, amongſt which *John Guſman*, who was in the flower of his age, of a very noble family, and of very great expectation. There were ſome 600 of the contrary party ſlain, as it was ſaid; amongſt which divers Captains and other inferior Officers.

Thoſe without were ſtill very much indamaged by the Artillery which were placed within upon the walls, and ſtill ſo much the more by how much the trenches drew nearer the ditch. Wherefore Monſieur *S. Luke* planted two Batteries; the one of ten Peeces of Cannon againſt the Ravelin of *Montecourt*, and the other of twelve Peeces againſt the neighbouring defences: He raiſed alſo againſt the ſame parts a great Platform furniſht with other Peeces, and munited it with a ſtrong Redout, to keep it from the ſo impetuous ſallies made by thoſe within. Neither did theſe Batteries fail in their expected ſervice; for they ſoon greatly indammaged one Ravelin, they threw down the Parapets of the contiguous wall, and batterd down the higheſt Defences, ſo as none but the loweſt defended the Ditch. This mean while the Trenches did daily approach nearer the Counterſcarf, the Works never ceaſing, over which Marſhal *Biroun* had a particular care. But though he, the King being preſent, had the principal care of the Siege, yet the King forbore not to have it moſt in his thoughts; who continually viewed all the Works, being indefatigable in his labour both by day and night; abounding at once both in a Princely and Warlike ſpirit: but notwithſtanding of ſo affable a nature, and ſo long accuſtomed to be amongſt Souldiers, as laying down for the moſt part his Regal Majeſty, it ſeemed as if he deſired rather to be a Fellow-ſouldier then a King amongſt them. All degrees of Souldiery ſtrove therefore who ſhould moſt willingly follow and ſerve him; and the King did infinitely deſire out of Military glory to bring this Siege to his wiſht for end, that it might be known he knew equally how to be a gallant Commander as well in the moſt difficult beſieging of Towns, as in the greateſt Field-conflicts. Theſe extraordinary diligences which were uſed about the aforeſaid Works, made that thoſe within had every day leſs field-room to make out ſallies: wherefore they reſolved to make one ſally more, which being perhaps to be the laſt, might prove for as much as in them lay the moſt prejudicial to the Enemy. *Portacarrero* aſſembling therefore together little leſs then 1000 ſelect Foot, with their Commanders,

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gave order that about noon-day, they ſhould with all poſſible ſecrecy be in the dry ditch of the great Ravelin of *Montecourt*, that they might the more privatly go from thence, and aſſault the enemy upon greater advantage. And becauſe the horſe now did not much ſervice abroad, he added only 30 Curaſſiers to the foot, who might behave themſelves according as occaſion ſhould require.

The appointed hour being come, the ſign of iſſuing out was given by a Canon ſhot. The firſt aſſault was ſtrangely reſolute and fierce. But the Trenches being much better provided, and defended, then the former time, and eſpecially by a good part of a *Picardy* Regiment, which were almoſt all old ſouldiers, great reſiſtance was made; mingling themſelves couragiouſly one with another in fight, and many falling interchangeably on both ſides. Yet the beſieged receiving new recruits of men, they entred the Trenches, committing ſtill more ſlaughter, and advancing ſo far, as they came to a chief Redout, and endeavoured to nail up ſome pieces of Artillery. But being manfully oppoſed by a great Court of Guard of *Swiſſers* which were there, and a great number of other ſouldiers flocking thither from ſeveral other parts of the Camp, they were forced to think of retreating, wherein the Curaſſiers proved not uſeleſs; for they likewiſe ſallying out, and giving upon many of the enemy who had disbanded themſelves in the firſt fights, they ſlew many of them; and were moreover of great aſſiſtance in helping their companions to retreat. This combat laſted for above three hours, and from without *Biroun* ſhewed his wonted undauntedneſs; and amongſt other Cavalliers of the Kings Camp, Prince *Janville* did in particular win great praiſe. 500 of the Kings men were ſlain, and about 200 of the beſieged, together with very many wounded on both ſidesr After this, the King cauſed the works ſo ſpeedily to be advanced, as they came within a few days almoſt to the Ditch. And they might be ſtill better inforced on his part; for his loſs of ſouldiers and Pioners, was ſoon remedied by the ſupply of others; and the King had now an Army of 24000 foot, and 6000 horſe; together with abundance of all other things neceſſary for the continuation of the ſiege. But howſoever he was very deſirous to ſee it ſoon at an end. For news came every day of great ſuccour which were coming from the Cardinal; and it was every day diſcovered that the beſieged would hold out till the laſt gaſp. It was not long therefore ere the French came to the *Chemine Couvert*, and blowing part of it into the air with ſecret mines, and winning the reſt by fierce aſſaults, they lodged in the counterſcarp. From whence indamaging the Ditch by their Artillery, and at laſt falling thereinto, they ſtrove to make themſelves maſters thereof. Which was very ſtifly diſputed; for though thoſe within had loſt their uppermoſt defences, yet thoſe below were induſtriouſly repaired, from whence they did in ſundry manners miraculouſly reſiſt the aſſailants. The chiefeſt part of the ſiege being then reduced hither, it is not to be ſaid with how much obſtenacy and fierceneſs they fought on both ſides: thoſe within relying upon the expected ſuccour; and thoſe without willing to prevent it. The one deſirous to recover what was loſt, the others to keep what they had got. The aſſailants fighting whilſt the King looked on; and the adverſaries as if the Cardinal had been preſent. And both ſides ſo ſet on fire by wonted emulation, and by innate hatred one to another, as were it only in that reſpect their very ſouls could not be more incenſed. They fought no longer therefore with harquebuſes and muskets, nor yet with ſwords; but with ſhorter weapons, as daggers and piſtols. Stones hailed down from the walls, and fires of divers ſorts. And on the contrary the enemies batteries playing inceſſantly had ſo skarrified the Platform, as there was but very little ſpace left for the defendants to keep upon. *Portacarrero* began therefore to make inward retreats, by half moons, and other good defences. And he had thought alſo to have thrown up a great Trench more inward upon the inſide of the River, which paſt with one of its branches through the City, neer enough to the wall that was plaid upon. That after the loſs thereof, and of the new retreats which he was making, he might yet make what oppoſition might be. And becauſe many of the defendants were already ſlain, and many lay languiſhing of their wounds; many being likewiſe dead of ſickneſs, *Portacarrero* had oft-times renewed his intreaties to the Archduke, that he ſhould no longer delay ſending relief. Nor did the Cardinal

dinal omit any diligence that was requiſite to that purpoſe. *Avilo's* Italians were already upon their march for *Flanders*; as alſo the new raiſed Germans; nor had the Cardinal omitted any poſſible means for raiſing ſuch monies as were neceſſary upon ſuch an occaſion.

The King of *France* was fully informed of all this. Wherefore quickning himſelf, he did ſo inforce the works in the ditch, as his men made themſelves fully maſters of it. They then fell to mining, that they might blow up the wall, and the better order their aſſaults which they were ſhortly to make. The beſieged were already reduced to theſe ſtraits, when *Portacarrero* undertook another buſineſs to damnifie the aſſailants. The River entred on that ſide with two branches into the City. He therefore reſolved to block up the Arches of the Bridg with great beams of wood faſtened together, ſo as the water might regorge back again into the fields, and might particularly fall into the ditch which was oppugned, as might eaſily be expected by the ſituation of the place. Nor failed he in his deſign. For the River being thus withſtood, threw her waters abroad into the neighbouring parts, incommodiating the Kings men who lodged there; and falling with ſuch violence into the aforementioned ditch, as made the French haſten out of it, and ſpoyled almoſt all their Works. The Kings Camp was much confuſed at this unexpected accident. But the King, calling his Councel of War, reſolved to turn two great batteries againſt two Towers, the one on the one ſide, the other on the other ſide of the Gate *Montrecourt*, hoping that the ruins thereof, when they ſhould be beaten down, ſhould fill up the ditch which they ſtood over, and where the River chiefly entred into the oppugned Ditch, and kept there. The batteries proved very furious. Nor was it long ere the Towers falling, and that paſſage being filled up, the water began to forbear running there. Moreover the Beams and Summers of wood not being able any longer to withſtand the violence thereof, the River returned to its former natural courſe; and the Ditch being thus ſoon dry, the French returned thither with more ardency then ever, to their former oppugnation. The falling of the Towers had almoſt beaten down the great Ravelin; in ſo much as thoſe defended it could no longer be ſuccoured, unleſs it were by a narrow Bridge which had Clothes hung up on both ſides, the more to blind the paſſage. But that ſerved but for a mark for the continual musket-ſhot to play upon. By which ſome of the defendants being continually ſlain, it unfortunately fell out that *Portacarrero* paſſing by there upon a certain occaſion, he received a ſhot in the flank, which immediately threw him dead to the ground. The greateſt loſs certainly which could befall thoſe within, and which was generally much lamented. But almoſt at the ſame time another misfortune befell thoſe without, which greatly diſpleaſed the whole Army, and eſpecially the King himſelf: which was the death of Monſieur *de* Saint *Luke*, who approaching too near the Batteries, was likewiſe ſlain by a musket-ſhot.

The Marquis *Montenegro* was by full Military conſent, choſen in the place of *Portacarrero*, as he who even in the others life time, had always ſuſtained the ſecond place, both in commanding the horſe, and in all the other moſt conſiderable actions of the ſiege. He failed not together with the Office to make good the valour of the former commander in chief who was ſlain. Labouring indefaticably and excellently performing all things that belonged unto him. But the French were this mean while ſo farr advanced, as they already lodged upon the Platform of the Wall; and with new impetuous Batteries, had brought the great Ravelin to that paſs, as no longer defence could now almoſt be made. And yet though often aſſaulted, the Kings men met ſtill with ſtiff and ſtout reſiſtance.

This was the condition of the ſiege, when newes was brought to the Kings Camp, that the Cardinal Archduke was already upon his march with a powerfull Army to come to the relief of the beſieged. It was now *September*, and the Cardinal could not aſſemble together ſuch Forces ſooner, as were requiſite to carry on the propounded buſineſs, for want of monies. Declaring the rendezvouz to be at *Avene del Conte*, a place within a league of *Dorlan*, the Cardinal came thither in the beginning of the aforeſaid Month with all his men. His Army conſiſted of 20000 foot, and 4000 horſe. The foot were compoſed of 4000 Spaniards,

niards, 3000 *Italians*, 6000 *Germans*, and 7000 *Walloons*, *Burgonians*, and *Iriſh*; and the Horſe of 1500 Flemiſh men of Arms, and of 2500 other Horſe, Lances, Curaſiers, and Harquebuſiers, of the oft aforenamed Nations. Upon this occurrencie Count *Peter Erneſtus Mansfield* took upon him the office of Campmaſter Generall, which was formerly exerciſed by Monſieur *de Rony*; though *Mansfield* was full fourſcore years old, and much fitter for reſt then labour. The Count *de Sora* commanded over the Flemiſh Men at Arms, being one of the chief Lords of that Country: and the reſt of the Horſe were commanded by the Admiral of *Arragon*, who being come with the Cardinal into *Flanders* when he firſt came thither, and being ſuddenly ſent in the King of *Spains* name by way of compliment to the Emperor and King of *Poland*, was juſt then returned.

The firſt thing conſulted on in the Spaniſh Camp, was, on what ſide they were to bring in the ſuccour. The River *Some* paſſeth through the midſt of *Amiens*, as hath been ſaid; and doubtleſly the ſide beſt fortified by the French, and hardeſt to be overcome, was that which lay towards the Frontiers of *Artois*, as hath likewiſe been ſaid. And therefore the Enemies Trenches being weaker on the other ſide the River, toward *France*, they might eaſelieſt be forced on that ſide. But they muſt firſt paſs over the River, the banks whereof the French had fortified: And when the Spaniards ſhould have paſt over the River, either above, or beneath, where-ever it was worſe guarded, how to get back over it again was too uncertain, by reaſon of the oppoſition which the French would make: So as the Army being ſhut up by the River, and in an Enemies Country, and without continual recruits of victuals, in ſuch a caſe it would be in very great ſtraits, and in evident danger to undergo ſome ſtrange misfortune. Theſe things being well weighed, it was reſolved that they ſhould endeavour the relief on the neareſt ſide towards *Artois*; and that if need ſhould be, they ſhould give battel. For though the Enemy did far exceed them in Horſe, yet it was thought that the Spaniſh Foot was ſo much better both in diſcipline and valour, as all their Forces being duly conſidered, they might very well hope for victory. The Cardinal ſtaid four days at the Rendezvouz; in which time he ordered that *John Contrera*, Commiſſary Generall of the Horſe, and *Gaſton Spinola*, formerly the Italian Camp-maſter, ſhould go with 500 Horſe to diſcover the Enemies quarters nearer hand. The King had notice hereof; and getting on horſeback himſelf, he ſent divers Troops into other parts, that they might the eaſilier light upon and defeat the Enemy: And it ſo fell out, as thoſe Horſe wherein he himſelf was met firſt with them. The King was far fewer in number then the Enemy; yet with his wonted undauntedneſs deſpiſing all danger, and all his men fighting valiantly by his example, the Enemies Horſe were routed and put to flight; who knowing the Kings perſon could not believe but that he was followed by a greater body of men. The Cardinal came afterwards to a full knowledge how the Fortifications of the Kings Camp ſtood, by another means: wherefore he marched with his Army towards *Amiens* on the 13 day of *September*, in this order. The Admiral of *Arragon* and Count *Sora* marched foremoſt with all the Horſe, divided into divers ſquadrons. The flying ſquadron marched before the Foot, which was compoſed of 2000 very choiſe Foot, pickt out of thoſe of every Nation; and theſe were led on by *Diego Pimantel*, formerly one of the moſt eſteemed Spaniſh Campmaſters in the whole Army. Then followed three great Battalions one after another, with 6000 Foot, and 4 Peeces of Field-Cannon in the front of each of them. In the firſt marched *Luigi di Velaſco*, a Spaniſh Camp-maſter, with his Brigado of the ſame Nation; and the Counts of *Suls* and *Belio*, with two Regiments of *Germans*; and to theſe were added three Walloon Brigadoes. In the ſecond were the Campmaſters *Luis di Viglier*, with his Spaniſh Brigado; *Alphonſo d'Avalos*, with his new-come *Italians*; Count *Bucquoi*, with a Brigado of *Walloons*; and Colonel *Eſtegre*, with a Regiment of *Germans*. And in the laſt were *Carlo Colonna* with a Spaniſh Brigado, of which he was choſen Campmaſter but a little before; *Il Signor di Barbenſon*, with a Regiment of *Germans*; Colonel *Eſtenly*, with a Regiment of *Iriſh*; Count *Varras*, with a Brigado of *Burgonians*; and the Campmaſter *Barlotta*, with his Brigado of *Walloons*. The Cardinal Archduke took his place in the Front of the firſt great Battalion;

and with him, to boot with his particular Guards, were the Flower of all the Court. After the Souldiery there were a convenient number of Boats carried upon Carts, whereof to make a Bridg and Pass over the *Some*, when they should think fit so to do. In this manner did the Army draw near the River below *Piechingny*, a good Town, seated upon the same River, and not above three leagues from *Amiens*. The Army was sheltred on the right hand by the Channel of the River; and on the left by the Carriages and Baggage, which joyned together in a long Train by three and three, did shelter and secure that Flank. Thus was the Spanish Camp ordered. It was argued at the same time in the Kings Camp by his Councel of War, what they were to do in this behalf. Some were for going out of their Trenches with all their Forces, and giving battel in the field: And Marshal *Biroun* was stiff of this opinion, saying,

That the Kings Horse was far superior to theirs both in number and goodness; that they ought likewise to hope very well of their Foot: so as what better occasion could there be wisht for to fight the Enemy, and get a glorious victory? That the whole Genius of France *was naturally addicted to such fights as these, and particularly the King himself, who excelling each other man in all military qualities, had only overcome himself in this, in knowing how to win so many and so dangerous battels. That the present Victory being got, not only* Amiens, *but whole* Picardy *would be the Kings; and with what advantage might they afterwards assault the Enemies frontiers of* Flanders, *and carry those mischiefs thither wherewith* France *had been so long afflicted.*

Marshal *Biroun*, as we have often said, was naturally very fierce; and fell often upon businesses which partook much more of precipitation then boldness. And amongst other things it was observable how much he differed from the opinion of the Marshal his late Father; who no less couragious, but much more circumspect then his son, had in the siege laid by the King to *Roan* some years before (as we then told you) perswaded the King to keep the Duke of *Parma* from relieving the Town, by defending his own Works. But divers others of the Councel were of another opinion, chiefly the Duke *Du Mayn*, who was a compleat Commander, and was thought to be the best that was then in *France*. He in a grave and considerate manner said thus.

That the Kings end in this siege was to recover Amiens, *and not to call all* France *thither to see him vainly defie the Enemy in a Battel. And what military wisdom was it that taught to provoke Fortune unnecessitated; which was always deceitful in all Feats of Arms, and chiefly in the success of a Field-battel? Then let the King enjoy those advantages which his Trenches gave him, and suffer the* Spaniard *to come and assault them at their pleasure: For finding them well defended, they would either not assault them, or if they should, it would be in vain. Nor was it to be feared that those within would move at the same time; both by reason of the same opposition of the Kings Trenches, and for that they were already reduced to so small a number, as they were hardly able to man the remainders of their own Defences. Thus the Enemy soon despairing of ever effecting the succour, the King without any further danger would happily compass his desired end of the siege.*

This opinion carried it. But howsoever the King desirous himself to see at a near distance in what posture the Spanish Camp marched, went out with the greatest part of his horse: which meeting with the Enemy, afforded occasion of skirmishes which lasted for a while, no advantage appearing on any side; and the King wheeling about, came in good order back to his Trenches. The Spanish Camp still advanced, till from the top of a little Rise within two Cannon-shot of the Enemy, it made them a gallant and stately spectacle; and passing forward from thence, came almost within musket-shot of the Enemies Trenches. The *French* thought for certain that the *Spaniards* would assault them; insomuch as many of the meaner sort of them began to waver; many of the Victuallers and those who had care of the Baggage, transported by blind fear, went to convey their goods to the other side of the River, for their more safety sake. This disorder began also amongst some of the more ordinary souldiers, which manifestly appeared in the ambiguous form of defence which they put themselves in. Which the Admiral of *Arragon* and Count *Sora* perceiving, who led the Van of the

Spaniards horſe, they failed not ſuddenly to advertiſe the Cardinal thereof, and did earneſtly perſwade him not to loſe ſo advantagious an occaſion of aſſaulting the Enemy. But Count *Mansfield*, who had the firſt place under the Cardinal, and ſome other of the Commanders were abſolutely of a contrary opinion. He ſaid,

That it would be manifeſt raſhneſs to give ſo upon the Enemies Works. That the tumults which were ſeen there might be cauſed by ſome occaſional confuſion, which the French Commanders would ſoon remedy. That if they ſhould reſolve to preſent Battel, and conſequently come out of their Works, it ſhould be accepted, and a good end hoped for: But that to aſſault the Enemy within their own Fortifications, with ſo much advantage to them, would be to adventure that Army to too evident a blow, and all Flanders *to too manifeſt danger.*

The Cardinal thought this the ſafeſt councel, which he reſolved to follow; though the whole Army was generally of opinion, That if the Enemy had been aſſaulted then with due reſolution, they ſhould have met with but ſmall reſiſtance; and that together with the ſudden relieving of *Amiens*, the Cardinal might peradventure have obtained one of the greateſt victories that the *Spaniards* had of a long time gotten over the *French*. The French Commanders had this mean while provided for the aboveſaid diſorders; and the King coming himſelf in perſon to where it behoved moſt to ſecure the Trenches, he furniſht them with ſuch men as were moſt valiant. Nor herewithall content, he went forth with all his Horſe; and dividing them into many Squadrons, he extended them a great ſpace, and ſheltred thoſe parts of his Trenches which were moſt threatned by his Enemies, to defend them ſo much the better. Then letting his Artillery flie furiouſly againſt the Enemy, he did ſo prejudice them, as they reſolved to remove from that ſo near place, and went to another where they were ſufficiently ſheltred. The night came on this mean while, and the Cardinal ſtaid there with all his Army, reſolving to accoſt the Enemy again the next day, and to provoke them to battel. The night paſt over more quietly then was expected, the ſo very nearneſs of two ſo powerfull Armies being conſidered. Nor did the Cardinal fail to draw near with his, as formerly, to that of the Enemy. But the King being ſtedfaſt to his former reſolution, and preparing in like manner as before to defend his Trenches, he would not loſe his advantage.

The Cardinal having ſtaid with his Army drawn out into Battel-array, as long as he thought fitting, reſolved at laſt totally to retreat; conſidering that he could come by victuals but too hardly in thoſe parts, and that the other incommodities which his Army ſuffered in thoſe quarters were too great. Turning therefore his Van into the Rearguard, he made his Army march leaſurely and in good order off. The *French* endeavoured more then once to indammage the Rear; but the Flying-Squadron facing about, and with miraculous diſcipline now handling their Pikes, now their Muskets, and being ſheltred by the Horſe likewiſe on both ſides, all the Enemies aſſaults proved vain. Thus they marched for above two houres; after which the Cardinals Camp being free from all moleſtation, took up its quarters with all ſecurity, and was by degrees divided in the neighbouring Frontiers of *Artois*. At the Armies retreat, the Cardinal ſignified to the beſieged in *Amiens*, that it being impoſſible to relieve them, they ſhould immediately ſurrender the City, and not loſe any more men to no purpoſe. He infinitely praiſed their pains, and promiſed them reward; leaving them to make ſuch conditions as they could at the ſurrender. Which when they came to be treated of, were granted them by the King, in as ample manner, and upon as honourable terms as could be by them deſired. He highly commended the worth they had ſhewed in defending themſelves; which had made the like of his Army appear in oppugning them. The Marquis *Montenegro* marcht out of the Town with 800 ſound Souldiers, and above as many more that were wounded; and was very graciouſly received by the King at his coming forth, as alſo the other Commanders that came out with him. When the King came into *Amiens*, he preſently cauſed a ſtrong Citadel to be deſigned there, which was ſoon after built, that it might ſerve for a greater curb to the people, and be a greater ſafety to the City. Then leaving *Picardy*, he went to *Paris*, where he was received with great applauſe by that multitude of people,

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for his new atchieved glory in having ſo happily conducted ſo difficult a Siege, for having hindred ſo powerfull a Succour, and recovering a City of ſo great conſequence to the intereſts of that Kingdom.

The Cardinal Archduke being retreated to *Artois*, he preſently ſent ſome of his Forces to take *Montalin*, the onely Town which remained in the French hands within the precincts appertaining to *Calis*, and from whence *Calis* was much incommodiated. The care of the enterpriſe was given to the Admiral of *Aragon*; who finding the place not very ſtrong, nor yet well guarded, took it within a few dayes. The King of *France* was already gone from *Picardy*; nor was it known that he had as then any further end upon that Frontier. Wherefore the Cardinal reſolved to leave *Artois* likewiſe, and to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Province of *Flanders*, which did very much deſire that *Oſtend* might be beſieged. The Cardinal would therefore go thitherward himſelf; and cauſing the Town to be well ſurveyed, he thought it was impoſſible to keep it from being ſuccour'd. Wherefore, as alſo becauſe *Autumn* was already well advanced, the Cardinal determined to leave the enterpriſe till a better conjuncture. Nor having any other in which it was fitting to imploy his Army at that time, wherein there was hapned a new Mutiny again, he reſolved to ſend it to its winter-quarters, and came himſelf with his Court about the end of *November* to *Bruſſels*.

But the United Provinces loſt not the opportunity this mean whiles which offered it ſelf ſo favourably to them. The Cardinal by reaſon of the ſiege of *Amiens* being gone with ſo many Forces towards the Frontiers of *France*, and having left the peculiar affairs of *Flanders* in a forlorn condition; Count *Maurice* took preſently to the Field. And having ſpeedily raiſed about the beginning of *Auguſt* an Army of 10000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe, together with a great Train of Artillery, and whatſoever elſe was requiſite for his deſigned ends, he went to beſiege *Reinberg*, a Town ſituated upon the left ſide of the *Rhine*. It had but few Souldiers in Garriſon, and was but weakly provided of all things elſe. Wherefore *Maurice* coming without any difficulty to the Walls, and playing upon them with his Cannon, he forced the beſieged in a few dayes to ſurrender the Town. From thence he went to before *Mures*, a Town not far from thence, but ſomwhat remote from the *Rhine*: And meeting with the like weak defence, he with the like eaſineſs won it. He this mean while had thrown a bridg of Boats over the *Rhine*, and paſſing with all his Army to the other ſide, he ſate down before *Groll*, a ſtrong Town both by nature and art: He found ſome greater reſiſtance there; yet many proviſions being wanting which are moſt neceſſary for ſuſtaining a ſiege, having dryed the Ditch on one ſide, and threatening a furious Aſſault, he forced the Defendants to deliver up the Town. From thence he turned to *Oldenſel*, a weak Town, which he therefore ſoon took. And no Town remaining now at the Kings devotion in thoſe parts but *Linghen*, a place well flanked and fortified by a good Caſtle, *Maurice* incamped before it, and beſieged it ſtraitly on all ſides. Count *Frederick de Berg* defended it, which he did very valiantly for many days: But that place being but ill provided, as were the reſt, he was forced to ſurrender it upon very honourable conditions. So to boot with *Reinberg* and *Mures*, all the whole Country on the other ſide the *Rhine* fell in a ſhort time under the Dominion of the United Provinces; which in acknowledgment of ſo advantagious ſucceſſes did forthwith give the ſame Town of *Linghen*, with the Territories thereunto belonging, which make up a very noble Lordſhip, to Count *Maurice* and to his heirs for ever. About the end of Autumn, *Maurice* returned with his men to their quarters; and paſſing himſelf afterwards to the *Hague*, he was received there with demonſtrations of great joy. Which afforded new occaſions to ſuch Provinces as were yet obedient to the King, to complain and grieve; conſidering that for the intereſts of *France*, which were very uncertain, the ſelf-affairs of *Flanders* were ſo much neglected: And they were more ſcandalized, that to defend the Catholick cauſe in that Kingdom for the advantage of ſtrangers, the ſame cauſe was abandoned in the Kings own Country; ſuffering ſo great a part thereof to fall into the hands of Rebels and Hereticks, who by all the moſt deſperate means would implacably maintain their double perfidiouſneſs againſt the Church and King.

Anno 1598.

Thus ended this year, and the year 1598 inſued, memorable for two of the greateſt events which could then have hapned. The one, Peace concluded between the two Kings, after ſo bitter war; aud the other the Marriage between the Cardinal Archduke, and the Infanta *Iſabella*, the King of *Spains* eldeſt daughter, to whom the King her Father gave the whole Low-Countries for her Dowry. As concerning the Peace, Pope *Clement* the eight had mediated it a while before; moved thereunto by the ſame zeal whereby he had already ſo happily reconciled the King of *France* to the Apoſtolick See, and afterwards indeavoured to reconcile the two Kings, by making ſuch a peace as might conduce to the eſtabliſhing of univerſal quiet in Chriſtendom. To this purpoſe having firſt wiſely and maturely ordered all things, he ſent a Legat into *France*, which was *Alexander de Medici*, Cardinal of *Florence*; who was judged the fitteſt for ſuch a Negotiation, for his candor of life, grave behaviour, and dexterity in handling of buſineſs. And theſe vertues, together with ſome other, raiſed him (though but for a very ſhort while) to ſucceed the ſaid *Clement* in the Apoſtolick See. He then parting from *Paris* in the beginning of the year, and going to *Vervin*, an opportune place, upon the Confines of *Henault* and *Picardy*: and the Deputies of both Kings joyning there with him, he laboured by all poſſible means to overcome thoſe difficulties which interpoſed themſelves to the effecting of the Peace. The King of *Spain* did very much incline thereunto: though he were thereby to reſtore ſo many Places which his Forces had taken in *Picardy*. But the agreement could not be made without full reſtitution. For what remained, he knew he was near death, by reaſon of his great age, oppreſt by continual indiſpoſitions of health. That he had only one ſon, and he very young. That it would be very advantagious for that his ſon not to inherit ſo bitter a War, and with ſo powerfull an adverſary. That he would find his Kingdoms exhauſted by ſuch exceſſive expences; and finally that it would redound much to the advantage of the new Princes to whom he intended to give *Flanders*, if they ſhould find *France* and him firſt at peace. Theſe were the chief reaſons which made the King of *Spain* incline ſo much to peace. But the King of *France* had altogether as many motives to make him willingly imbrace it. He conſidered that the greateſt impediments which kept him from ſucceeding to that Crown, proceeded from the Spaniards. That his Kingdom was rent in pieces by ſo many diſcords, and waſted by ſo many vaſt expences. That it was now time to enjoy it in ſecure obedience; and if it were poſſible, under one and the ſame Religion. That this could not be effected but by his reconciliation to the Apoſtolick See; and by making a good peace with the King of *Spain*. That the one having already had happy ſucceſs, he ſhould deſire the like in the other. So as *France* after having ſuffered ſo many calamities, horrible Factions and troubles, might once enjoy thoſe accommadations, which by a happy change might turn her troubles into quiet.

Out of theſe efficacious reaſons, the King of *France* was well inclined to deſire peace. Wherefore after a long Treaty, the knots which gave moſt diſturbance to the happy ending of the buſineſs, being untyed by the Legats abilities and authority, about the beginning of *May* the peace was fully agreed upon and concluded between the two Kings. To the ſo much glory in particular of Pope *Clement*, as he was mightily applauded for it every where; it not being eaſie to be judged by which of thoſe two actions he merited moſt: either by his late reuniting ſo powerfull a King as the King of *France* to the See of *Rome*, or in making univerſal peace throughout Chriſtendom by according theſe two Crowns. This may ſuffice to be ſaid here touching this affair, as a ſucceſs which doth not properly belong to the thred of this our Hiſtory. Wherefore paſſing now to the Treaty of Marriage, we will with all brevity firſt relate the conſultations which were had thereupon; and the Kings reſolution.

The Negotiation of ſeparating the Provinces of *Flanders* in perpetuity from the Crown of *Spain*, was doubtleſly one of the weightieſt affairs that hath of a long time been reſolved on by that Court. The King was then paſt threeſcore and ten years old. But though as well by reaſon of his years, as of his ſo long and weighty affairs, he was a Prince of infinite wiſdom, and who could of himſelf put on any reſolution how difficult ſoever; yet was he very doubtfull what to do

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in this point. He was assailed on one side by his love to the Infanta; and on the other by his duty to his Crown. The King desired nothing more then to Marry the Infanta to any whatsoever highest degree: as well for that she was his eldest daughter, and one, upon whom, if his only son should chance to die, the succession of so great a Monarchy was likely to fall: as out of the tender affection which he always bore her, and had still bred her up with great contentation, in his own company. And truly it was commonly famed and thought, that there had not been any Princess of a long time in *Europe*, in whom so many rare indowments both of body and mind had met, as now in her. Great was the affection likewise which the King bore to the Cardinal Archduke; for passing into *Spain* whilst he was a young man (as we have already touched upon) and having purchased great praise in those Kingdoms, sometimes in the Court at *Madrid*, and sometimes in the Government of *Portugal*, he had so particularly conformed himself to the Kings ways and humour, as he made him his example, after a proportionable measure, in all his actions. For which the King so loved and favoured him, that he treated him not as a German, but as a Spaniard; nor with demonstrations only belonging to an Unkle, but with a true Fatherly affection. These considerations made the King very much incline to the aforesaid Marriage, and to give the Provinces of *Flanders* in dowry to the Infanta. But on the other side, to devide so noble a member from the body of that Empire which he had inherited from his fore-fathers, pleaded hard for the contrary. The truth is, he was of opinion that the best course he could take to keep the yet obedient Provinces in their allegiance, and to reduce those that had rebell'd, would be to give them a Prince of their own, who might become a Fleming, and from whom a Flemish discent might be expected. And he feared that if this were not done, the whole Country might one day be lost. Yet he thought he was not to give way so soon to this danger, nor so easily lose the advantage, which for other considerations the Crown of *Spain* received, by possessing even the yet remainder of those Provinces. The King was therefore much agitated amidst the several difficulties which arose in this affair. Nor was his Councel less uncertain. Where by his appointment the business was with all attention discust. Count *Fuentes*, being returned with great reputation from *Flanders*, was at this time in the Court of *Spain*. After the Duke of *Parma*'s death, he had supplyed the chiefest place (as we then told you) under Count *Mansfield*, and likewise under the Archduke *Ernestus*, both which were Governours of *Flanders*. And in the time of his own Government had won great renown, in the battel of *Dorlan*, in the recovery of *Cambray*, and by his other prosperous successes, gotten by the Arms of *Spain*, in the Frontier of *Picardy* against the French. The King had already designed him to be Governor of *Milan*, and of all the Spanish Forces in *Italy*. And doubtlesly there was not any one of the Spanish Nation, who was as then highlyer esteemed in the Military profession. This *Fuentes* opposed himself with all his might to the propounded marriage, with the cession of the Low-Countries. But on the other side, *Christoval di Moura*, Count of *Castel Roderigo*, who was in great authority with the King, did stiffly maintain the contrary opinion. *Moura* was come out of *Portugal* many years before the devolution of that Kingdom, and came to *Madrid* with the Dowager Princess, *Donna Jovanna*, the Kings sister, being in a very good place about her; and after her death he was suddenly taken into the Kings Court, where he was entertained in many noble imployments. When the devolution did afterwards happen, the King imployed none more then *Moura* in the occurrences of that so important Negotiation; in so much as the differences which were therein met withall were soon overcom by the Duke of *Alba* with Forces on the other part, and by *Moura* his negotiating, on the other part: wherby *Moura* stil increasing in favor, merit, and authority with the King, none shared more thereof then he in these latter times. The King being willing therefore to put on his full resolution touching this business, sent for his Councel one day into his own bed-chamber, where for the most part he lay in bed, by reason of his great years, and the gout which he was troubled withall; and where ount *Fuentes* spake thus *The advantage is so great (most powerfull Prince) which those so many members whereof your Majesties Empire is composed, do receive from* Flanders, *as to bereave*

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it of so noble a member now, cannot in my opinion but be of great prejudice to the rest Wheresoever the Sun goes, it looks upon some one of your Kingdoms. But though the world reverence you in so many parts, and bow unto you, it is notwithstanding seen that your Enviers and Enemies respect your Greatness and fear it more from that of Flanders *then from all the rest. What, and how great the opportunities of those Provinces are, none knows better then your self. There were you put into the Inheritance of that so glorious Emperor your Father, before you were yet his Heir, by that his so memorable Renunciation: There you began to take the conduct of so eminent and so painfull a Government: And tarrying there afterwards about a year, you your self had still better occasion to know how much the possessing of those States did import your greatness, together with the rest of your Empire. By the Arms of* Flanders *you did then make an advantagious Peace with the King of* France; *with those Arms you have oftimes succoured the Catholick Cause in that Kingdom, and maintained your own with much honour in these last times against the now present King. And how oft have you from thence assisted the Catholicks of* Germany? *and in what a terror, from that side more especially, did you put* England *not many years ago?*

The World turns round with perpetual vicissitude, and is continually producing new things. And therefore it is to be believed, that by the occasion of past times, other the like will arise in times to come; insomuch as the Arms of Flanders *are likely to be no less necessary hereafter thereabouts, either for the good of the Church, or of this Crown, or of them both; their welfare being seldom severed. I know notwithstanding how much those Provinces are lessened; and confess that dangers may daily grow greater there by the obstinate home-Rebellion, and by the malignant correspondencie which hath always been had there from neighbours. Yet when you shall well weigh the remainder of the yet obedient Provinces of* Flanders, *and shall add thereunto the other Forces which your so powerfull Monarchy will be able to subminister thereunto; wherefore may it not be hoped that your Majesties so just cause may be thereby bettered, or at least be secured from growing worse? If the wars in those parts should cease by reason of this new propounded Principality, and that the expences should likewise cease there, this Crown would doubtlesly be thereby much eased; and in such a case it might the better be without those Provinces. But it being to be believed that War will grow hotter there then ever, through the love the Rebels have taken to Liberty and Heresie, and through the hatred which they consequently bear unto the Austrian blood, and especially to this Kingdom from whence the new Principality is to proceed; will not the burthen of the Forces and Expences lie still upon this Crown? If otherwise, To what purpose should a new Principality be erected, if it were not to be maintained by the Forces of* Spain? *So the prejudice which would redound to your Monarchy by the one side, would not be recompenced by any benefit from the other: And so wanting that advantage which it hath always received from the* Flanders *Forces, it might receive thereby such prejudice as might every day peradventure prove worse. Let* Spain *then keep* Flanders; *and let that your Empires Magazine of Arms be preserved. Great Empires cannot be without Arms; nor can Wars be made without Souldiers; nor Souldiers be bred but amongst Arms. And what more flourishing Seminary of Souldiers can* Spain *desire, then that of* Flanders *which she hath for so many years enjoyed, and doth still enjoy? My opinion therefore is, that your Majesty shall not doe well to mutilate those so important Provinces from your other Dominions. Your Majesties greatness and infinite wisdom will not want other means whereby to accommodate the Illustrious* Infanta *according to her own high worth, and her exalted degree.*

But the Count of *Castel Rodorigo* was of another opinion, and spoke thus.

I should never be of opinion (most glorious Prince!) that your Majesty should diminish any the least part of your Kingdoms and Dominions, if I should not think that that diminishing should tend rather to the advancement then prejudice of your greatness. The marriage of the most illustrious Infanta is now the business in hand; every one knows what, and how sublime prerogatives both of blood and of merit meet in her Highness. Now if out of the immense body of so many States which your Majesty by Gods goodness are Master of, her Highness may be endowed with some of them, by the parting wherewith the rest may rather be bettered then impaired, wherefore should not your Majesty willingly give way thereunto? And this being granted,

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it is not to be doubted but that your infallible wisdom will presently point out unto you your Provinces of Flanders: *They are most remote from all the rest of your Empire, the most differing both in tongue, custom, laws, and all things else: It is they, who more then all the rest abhor to fall under the Government of Foreigners, as they term them; and consequently do most desire to have a particular Prince of their own. Out of all these reasons, hardly was your Majesty gone from thence, when Heresie began to creep in amongst them From thence they proceeded to Tumults; from Tumults to Rebellion: and from Rebellion to a cruel War: The unquenchable fire whereof hath now burnt above these forty years; and how oft to bring it to an end, to boot, by the way of force, have you used treaties of concord? But still in vain, so unappeaseable hath the double rebellion of the Flemish proved against the Church, and against your Crown; and so very much have they continually been fomented by their neighbours on all sides: insomuch as* Holland *and* Zealand, *and many other of those Prouinces which are up in Arms, grow every day more obstenate in resolving never to return under the obedience of* Spain. *Then if you, who have lived whole years in those Provinces with such experience of their own particular affairs, and of the affairs of the whole world, with so many Forces, and so many valiant Commanders; when* France *was most grieved with inward wounds, and* England *apprehended the like sufferings under a woman; have not been able to shun such great losses in* Flanders: *why should we not fear that your successors may yet suffer every day greater? So as at last (which God forbid) this Crown may be wholly deprived of those Provinces. How much better souldiers do those Rebels daily grow? And how much better may* France *and* England *foment them now then they could have done formerly?* France *being at peace within it self; and* England *which daily expects the King of Scots for their King? The vils which* Spain *suffers from* Flanders *reacheth even to the* Indies: *& it is to be feared they may indammage you more in the West-*Indies. *then they have hitherto done in the East. As a Canker in any one member of a mans body works upon, and consumes the vigor of all the other members: So the ulcerate part of* Flanders, *makes the body of your whole Empire daily languish. The gold of the* Indies, *the people supplyed from* Spain, *from* Italy, *and those which for the like end are continually raised in* Germany, *are not sufficient, (as by experience is found) to maintain that war. The hunger of that ravenous Beast is still increased by food; and how much do mutinies devour? Which are now grown so Domestick, that as one ends another begins, and often too much to our loss, divers happen at one and the same time.*

This is the condition of Flanders, *and this is the state of the losses which the Crown of* Spain *hath thereby suffered till now, and of what they may suffer hereafter. My opinion therefore is, that your Majesty shall do well to give the Low-Countries in Dowry to the most Illustrious Infanta; whereof framing a principality in your daughter, and honouring the Cardinal Infanta your Nephew with her, by making him her husband, the Flemish will by this means have at last a Prince of their own, which is that which they at all times have so thirsted after. If the marriage of these new Princes prove fruitful, (as it is to be hoped it will) the yet obedient Provinces will continue their obedience to the Church, and Austrian blood at least, if not to the Crown of* Spain. *Nor is it to be doubted but that the same good and profitable correspondency will pass between that branch and this, as hath past betwixt this and that other established in* Germany. *And to say truth, of what use may such an example be? In which it is seen that the Emperor your father, in great wisdom would there a-grandise that Austrian branch, because he thought it impossible that the greatness of that and this joyned together, should continue here in your* Spain, *though the chief branch, but too far remote from* Germany. *Their neighbours will then rejoyce at this new Flemish Principality, and will assist it as much hereafter, for seeing it dismembred from this Crown, as they have been formerly averse thereunto; for that it was joyned to your Majesties Kingdom. Iealousies will be succeeded by assurances; instead of having the wars fomented from those parts, friendly offices will be done for the introducing of Peace: And the Flemish race being by this marriage established; why should we not hope that at last even the rebellious Provinces should by degrees reunite themselves, according to the ancient form with those which are obedient? In fine; either is this the remedy which remains to heal the wounds of those Countries; or we shall never finde any sufficient to effect it.*

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When *Monra* had ſpoken, the other Councellors gave their opinions. *Jovanni d'Ideaques*, a Councellor likewiſe of great authority with the King, joyn'd with *Monra*. *Idiaques* (as we have told you upon another occaſion) had been Ambaſſador in *Genua* and *Venice*; and after other imployments being returned to *Spain*, did now exerciſe a place of the greateſt importance belonging to that Crown. But there were divers others of the Councel who adhered to *Fuentes* his opinion. Wherefore the King was for a while in doubt what to doe: yet at laſt thoſe reaſons prevailed with him which firſt inclined him to give the *Low-Countries* in Dowry to the *Infanta* his eldeſt Daughter. He conſidered, and foreſaw how *France* would grow daily greater in power; That the Queen of *England* being now very old, was to be ſucceeded by the King of *Scotland*, who would unite that Kingdom to *England*, and of them both make but one of all *Great-Britain*; That from thoſe parts the Rebellion of *Flanders* would ſtill be more and more fomented, and ſtill he ſhould be in greater danger of loſing all thoſe Provinces. He likewiſe foreſaw the dangers wherewith the *Indies* might be continually threatned; and thought that if *Flanders* were reunited under an Auſtrian Prince, the Maritime Provinces returning again to enjoy as formerly the Commerce of the *Indies*, in that of *Spain*, they would no longer think of their new ſo long and ſo expenſive Navigations. But the King ſeemed to be chiefly affected with the loſſes which the Church had already ſuffered in *Flanders*, and which they might again ſuffer at the ſame time together with him. And laſtly it was believed, that to boot with the reaſons formerly touched upon, this conſideration ſwayed much with him, That in caſe his onely Son ſhould dye, and the *Infanta* being in ſuch a caſe to ſucceed him, he ſhould doe wiſely to give her a Husband who was already ſo well known, already becom a Spaniard, and who would cauſe no alteration in the affairs of *Spain*. The King being thus fully reſolved, he cauſed the Articles of Marriage to be drawn up, the chief whereof were theſe.

That he gave the Provinces of Flanders, *together With the County of* Burgony, *in Dowry with his Daughter, Which ſhe was to enjoy joynly together with her Huſband. That either Males or Females which ſhould proceed from that marriage, ſhould ſucceed; the men being notwithſtanding to be preferred before the women, and ſtill the firſt-born ſons or daughters. That if the inheritance ſhould reſt in a Woman, ſhe ſhould be bound to marry either a King, or Prince of* Spain. *That be the Heire either man or woman, they ſhould not marry without the knowledg and conſent of the King for the time being. That if the iſſue of the Princes of* Flanders *ſhould fail, thoſe Countries ſhould revert to the Crown of* Spain. *That thoſe Princes ſhould be bound to make their Subjects deſiſt from their Navigation into the* Indies. *That when they ſhould come to their ſucceſſion, they ſhould ſwear to profeſs the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman religion. And that if they ſhould fail in any of all theſe Conditions, theſe Countries ſhould again revert to the Crown of* Spain.

Theſe were the chief Articles. Neither in this Grant did the King reſerve any thing to himſelf nor to any of his ſucceſſors, ſave only that they might intitle themſelves Dukes of *Burgony*, and retain the Order of the Golden-Fleece. The Marriage being agreed upon, the King immediately ſent the Articles away to the Archduke, to the end that he calling together the States-Generall of the obedient Provinces as ſoon as he could, ſhould procure their neceſſary conſent. The Aſſembly was held in *Bruſſels*; and after ſome difficulties, the Articles were approved of, with unexpreſſible ſigns of joy & Jubile by thoſe people to think that *Flanders* might hope to return again under its own ancient Principality. But it is not to be ſaid how much contrary at the ſame time the other Provinces which had withdrawn themſelves from the obedience of the Church and King of *Spain*, appeared to the ſenſe of theſe Catholick Provinces: They ſpightfully gave out, that this would prove but a naked and vain Principality; That the *Infanta* being already well advanced in years, the *Spaniards* would with ſpecious allurements give a barren Marriage unto *Flanders*; That therefore the new Princes would rather appear as Governors then as Princes; That being ſtill to be maintained by Spaniſh Forces, the *Spaniards* would domineer over them more then ever; That in the Articles of Marriage, *Flanders* was ſpoke of as a Feudatory to *Spain*, and not as a Country depending upon its own Soveraignty; to witneſs which, thoſe

Articles

Articles were full of Conditions whereby the States of the new Princes might soon fall again to the Crown of *Spain*. But that let what will happen, the United Provinces would never change their former Resolves, nor ever acknowledge any other Empire then their own.

The Archduke prepared this mean while to go for *Spain*, whether the King was very earnest with him to come. But it behoved him first to provide for many necessities appertaining to the affairs of *Flanders*. In particular the mutiners disorders were grown to that excess, as the plague thereof infected even the best qualified Garisons. It began first to creep into all those Towns of *Picardy*, which the Spaniards were to quit in relation to the peace. So as to restore them with satisfaction to the Garisons had cost a vast sum of mony. Afterwards in *Flanders*, the Garisons accustomed to be in the Citadels of *Cambray*, *Antwerp* and *Gaunt*, which were the three most suspicious Bulwarks of the obedient Provinces, did likewise mutiny. And this Infection in fine, was dispersed into so many other parts, as one Garison seemed to contend with another, in shewing no further inclination, but rather a repugnancy to the service of the King of *Spain*. Their want of pay might in some sort excuse them; but the corruption was much greater then it needed to have been. But at last, new monies coming from *Spain*, and the Country having furnished some, the Archduke was able to satisfie the souldiery, and to betake himself to his intended voyage for *Spain*. In his absence the Admiral of *Aragon* was to have the chief command of the Militia; and in the inure administration, Cardinal *Andrea d' Austria*, Bishop of *Constance*, who to this end was already parted from his house in *Germany*, to come for *Flanders*. The King desired very much to see his daughter married before he should die; wherefore he renewed his desires to the Archduke, that laying aside his Cardinals habit, and taking upon him the habit of a secular Prince, he should come unto him with all speed. Yet could not the Archduke hasten his journey, for to boot with the aforesaid reasons, the marriage being at the same time concluded between the Prince of *Spain*, and the Archdutchess *Margaret* of *Austria*, who was then at *Grats*, the chief Town of *Carinthia*, the Archduke was to take her from thence, together with the Archdutchess her mother, and to carry them both to *Spain*. This mean while Cardinal *Andrea* came into *Flanders* to govern those States, as you have heard; till such time as the new Princes should come. The Cardinal arrived some few days before the Archduke went thence: And having received full information concerning the affairs of those Countries; about the midst of *September* the Archduke took his journey towards *Germany*, first to visit his brother the Emperour, and then to go for *Grats*, as aforesaid. But he was not well thereinto entred, when he heard news that the King, still more oppresst with years, and sickness, died about the midst of that very month. Who was then little above 70 years old; the last of which had been very painfull to him by reason of the extraordinary torment which he had suffered by the gout.

Thus after having reigned three and forty years, dyed *Philip* the second, King of *Spain*, and Lord of so many other Kingdoms and Countrys. He was little of stature; but well proportioned; of a Noble aspect; in all the lineaments and colours thereof Austriacal. No age peradventure ever saw a graver, nor a more composed Prince. He had a capacity in Governing answerable to so large an Empire. He was notwithstanding still more inclined to peace then war. Wherefore passing into *Spain* after his last voyage and abode in *Flanders*, he kept continually there; issuing out his Commissions from that Center, in his Chamber and like an Oracle: and governing Wars at all times where it was needfull by his Commanders. He had four wives, and by three of them he had many sonns and daughters. By the first he had *Charls*, whose Tragical end shews with what reason Princes thereunto constrained by just necessity, prefer the obligation due unto their States, before the love of their bloud. And by the last he had *Philip* the third, who hath given another *Philip* to the Government of the Spanish Monarchy. By nature, and much more by choice, the second was very jealous of his Authority, in so much as he inclined to severity; nor was he almost ever seen to lay aside that Majestical gravity which he at all times, and in all his actions observed, both in his speech and countenance. He was very easie to give audi-

ence; nor was he leſs gratious in tollerating them, then in giving them. It not being known that he ever interrupted any one, how much ſo ever the ſpeaker might abuſe his benignity and patience. He ſpent almoſt all the reſt of his time in buſineſs; knowing that ſo vaſt an Empire required frequency in buſineſs. In the firſt place he was ſeverely carefull of Piety and Juſtice. And did always imploy his worthieſt Subjects in the adminiſtration of them both, chuſing them of himſelf unexpectedly, according as their merits did ſuggeſt unto him. His ſo great age and ſo long Government, made him try the more various turns of Fortune; and made it the more appear how equal, how conſtant, and how much ſuperior to himſelf he was in all ſucceſſes. And indeed it may be doubted whether proſperous or adverſe Fortune ſwayed moſt with him. For what greater felicity could he deſire then to enjoy *Spain* with ſo much quiet? then to command it wholly every where, with the addition of *Portugal*? then to enjoy ſo peaceably his Territories in *Italy*? and ſee himſelf ſo much reſpected in thoſe that appertained to others? then to have the memmorable victory of *Lepanto* in favour of the Chriſtians in ſo great a part attributed unto him? then to have ſo highly maintained the reputation of his name? and made the Majeſty of his Empire be ſtill ſo reverenced and feared? But he accounted it his greateſt fortune and glory to be held ſo great a defender of the Church; and that upon ſo many occaſions, and in ſo many parts, recourſe was had to his zeal for the favouring and protecting thereof. Theſe and many others were his proſperities ſundry times, both in peace and in war. On the contrary, what greater adverſity could befall him, then to ſee *Flanders* amidſt ſo long and ſo horrible troubles? then to loſe ſo much of that his moſt antient patrimony? then to have his moſt remoteſt Countrys of the Indies wounded by that wound? Then to have ſo unfortunately loſt that great Armado, which was to have aſſaulted *England*? Nor had his deſigns in the revolutions of *France*, any ways anſwered his hopes. The domeſtical events of his own houſe may likewiſe be ſaid to have been not very fortunate. Having hardly one ſon by ſo many marriages. The fatal death of the firſt; with the ſuſpitions alſo of *Don Johns* death. So much more ſeeming then true, are the felicities which the vulgar do ſo much adore in Princes. And ſo much greater proof thereof do they give who are in higheſt places with them. But in affairs of Fortune; as moſt of theſe were, humane wiſdom is not to be blamed. For what remains, ſo eminent were *Philip* the ſecond's vertues, and which made him ſo memorable a Prince, as doubtleſſy few like him have been found either in former or in latter times.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK V.

The Contents.

The Archduke goes to carry the new Queen of Spain *from* Germany. *They arrive happily at the King her husbands Court. The King hath this mean while powerfull Forces in* Flanders. *But great mutinies insue; and great sums of money are spent in appeasing them. So as for want of pay the Army is wintered in the neighbouring Countrys of* Cleves, *and* Westfalia, *and in other places under the jurisdiction of the* Empire. *The Princes that are interessed are sensible of this Novelty. They indeavour to receive satisfaction by way of Treaty; which not obtaining, they at last resolve to have it by force. Yet they move but slowly. The Kings Army is this mean while drawn out into the field under the Government of the Admiral of* Arragon *General of the Horse. They advise what to fall upon; and by Cardinal* Andrea's *intervention, they resolve to enter the Island of* Bomel, *and to besiege the* Town *of* Bomel *which denominates that Island. But Count* Maurice *opposeth them with such Forces; as the Admiral is forced to forgoe that design. The Cardinal resolves afterwards to plant a great Fort upon a narrow passage of the Island; to the end that so he might command the chiefest passes over the* Mause *and* Wahal; *and cals it the Fort of St.* Andrea. *Great haste is made in the erecting of it, and notwithstanding all the enemy could do, it is brought to perfection. The German Camp begins at last to move. It first besiegeth* Reinberg, *but soon*

retreats with no great honour. From thence it goes to recover the Town *of* Res, *and rises from thence likewise in great disorder and confusion. Great discords happen between the Commanders thereof: So as it soon disbands, and is afterwards dissolved. The new Princes of* Flanders *part from* Spain. *They come to* Italy, *and pass the* Alpes *at* Turin. *They come to their own Country. An Interview between them and Cardinal* Andrea, *who returns into* Germany, *and the new Princes are received with all solemnity in* Brussels.

Anno 1598.

PHILIP the second, King of *Spain* being dead, the Archduke hastens his journey, that he might the sooner bring a wife to the succeeding *Philip* the third, to which purpose the Archduke was gone for *Germany*, as you heard before. He came with all speed to *Pragne*, where having visited his brother the Emperor, he went to *Grats*; and from thence to *Italy* by the way of *Tirol*, with the new Queen, and her mother the Archdutchess. Pope *Clement* the eight was then in the City of *Ferrara*, which together with the Dukedome thereof, was devolved the year before to the Apostolick See. The occasion of this his neighbourhood was very acceptable to the new Queen and the Archduke, that so they might have their marriages celebrated by the Pope. Nor was the Pope less glad to celebrate them. They therefore passed from *Trent* with all their attendance to *Ferrara*; where being received as became so great Princes, both their marriages were effected by the Pope in the Cathedral Church with such solemnity and magnificence as was most requisite for such an action, by such a hand, between such personages. The Kings part was supplyed by way of Proxy, by the Archduke, and the Infanta *Isabella* s by the Duke of *Lasse*, the King of *Spains* Ambassador in the Popes Court. The Queen departing then from that City, together with her Mother and the Archduke, they followed on their journey towards *Milan*, where having staid awhile, they went to *Genua*; and taking ship there, they in a few days sail arrived happily in *Spain*. Where we will leave them, and continuing to relate the affairs of *Flanders*, we will with all brevity acquaint you with what passed there till such time as the new Princes came thither.

The Archduke at his departure had left these particular directions with the Admiral of *Aragon*, That he should endeavour to preserve the Army as much as he could till his return from *Spain*. That therefore he should shun all difficult sieges, so not to lose his men, nor be at greater expences. That by all means he should endeavour to get some good pass over the *Rhine*, that so if it were possible, he might enter the Enemies Country on the other side, and quarter his Army there. Which if he could not do, that then he should strive to quarter it in the neutral Countries of the Duke of *Cleves*, and others of the like nature thereabouts. The Archduke left this last condition in particular; to the end that such quarters might serve for pay to the Army; the needs whereof he could not satisfie otherwise, by reason of the vast sums of mony which the mutinies in so many parts had exhausted. To boot that the Archduke was necessitated to be at great expences by reason of so long and costly a journey, in which he had carried a flourishing Court along with him, both for his own honour, and that he might attend the new Queen with all the greater magnificency.

The Admiral having received these directions, and the Archduke being gone, the Admiral went immediately to the Army. Not many months before 4000 Spaniards were come to *Flanders*, to supply the foot which were wanting in the old brigadoes. One of which being formerly commanded by the Campmaster *Velasco*, who was now made General of the Artillery, was given to *Gaspero Zapena*. The Army was then composed of 7000 Spanish foot, 3000 Italians, 2000 Burgonians, 1000 Irish, and 7000 Germans and Walloons; and to these were added 2500 horse, all very gallant men. The Army past over the *Manse* near *Ruremond*, and continuing its march drew near *Orsoy*, which is situated three hours journey above *Reinburg*, upon the left side of the *Rhine*. The Admirals designe was to possess himself of that pass, and to fortifie it; and raising a Fort upon the other side, to secure the passage over the *Rhine* in that place. The Town

of

of *Orſoy* belonged to the State of *Cleves*; and therefore, it being a neutral Country he would not willingly have uſed any violence in entring into it: but it could not be effected otherwiſe, by reaſon of ſome oppoſition which was made; which ſoon ceaſed and the Admiral entred, cauſing all fair uſage to be obſerved. When he was Maſter of the Town of *Orſoy*, Count *Frederick di Berg*, who then ſupplyed the place of Camp-maſter General. paſt over to the other ſide of the River, to raiſe the aforeſaid Fort as ſoon as might be on that ſhore. He had ſuch men given him as were requiſite to ſecure the work: nor was he wanting in uſing all diligence to perfect it; yet he was forced to imploy above a moneths time about it; during which the Admiral kept ſtill in *Orſoy*, and quartered his Army thereabouts. When this paſs was ſecured, it was judged by the Councel of war that that of *Reinberg* would have been much better, both in reſpect of the place it ſelf, & for its nearneſs to *Skincks Sconce:* This Town was in the Enemies hands, and well guarded, as it was known; and by the Arch-Duke's direction the Admiral was to ſhun ſieges; yet the Councel though that this of *Reinberg* might ſoon be ended; for that the united Provinces had no Army in the Field, nor could they muſter Forces any waies able to oppoſe the Kings; wherefore about the beginning of *October*, the Admiral incamped before *Reinberg*.

This Town, as hath been ſaid, ſtands on the left ſhore of the River; it is but of a ſmall circuit, it hath a Caſtle which guards the River, and an Iſland made by the River in that very place. For the greater ſecurity of the Town, there ſtood a Fort in the Iſland, which Fort was likewiſe defended by the Town: on the left ſide of the River did the Admiral quarter, with the greateſt ſtrength of the Army; and on the right ſide Count *Frederick di Berg*, with thoſe that were already with him. And becauſe it was thought fit firſt to get the Fort within the Iſland, they began to play upon it cruelly from the ſide where Count *Frederick* was, till ſuch time as the Camp-maſters *Lewis d' Villiar* with his Spaniſh Brigado, and *Barlotta* with his Walloons entred the Iſland on that ſide; and *Carlo Colonna* and *Eſtinley* entred it likewiſe on this ſide with their Spaniſh and Iriſh Brigadoes. Then, the Fort was played upon nearer hand with regular batteries; and the Kings men prepared already to fall on; when they found that thoſe within, not willing to abide the aſſault, had abandoned the Fort: which being taken, they hoped ſoon to take the Town; for the Army had already ſtraitly beſieged it on all ſides, and having advanced their Trenches, prepared their Batteries, that accordingly they might come to the aſſault. But by a ſtrange accident, they came by the Town ſooner then they could have hoped. All the Gun-powder, whereof there was good ſtore, was kept in a Chamber of one of the Towers of the Caſtle. It ſo fell out that a Cannon Bullet, one of many which were continually ſhot from without, both againſt the Town and the Caſtle, entred by a window into the Chamber where the powder was kept, and gave ſuddenly fire thereunto; which cauſed ſo terrible an earth-quake, not onely in the Caſtle and circuit of the Town, but in all parts thereabouts, as the very river was much agitated, and many ſhips which were upon that ſhore were likely to be drowned: the houſes in the field were ſhaken thereby: great ſtones and great ſtore of Aſhes cauſed by the fire fell down; but the force thereof was particularly ſuch againſt the Caſtle, as it blew it almoſt wholly up into the air. The Governor of the Town with his wife and children were thereby ſlain, and great was the number of others that periſh'd in the Caſtle and in the houſes neer unto it. This made the Defendants quite looſe their courage; wherefore they treated that very night of ſurrendring, and afterwards marched out of the Town upon honorable conditions.

The Kings Forces being entred into *Reinberg*, all the adjacent Countries were put into great terror. A little below *Reinberg*, on the ſame ſide ſtood *Burich*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Cleves*: This Town immediately accepted four Foot colours, which were ſent thither by the Admiral. Over againſt *Burich*, on the other ſide lyes *Weſel*, one of the beſt inhabited, moſt merchandiſing, and beſt ſeated Towns of as many as ſtand upon the *Rheine*; which River runs by the beſt part thereof, and on another ſide the *Lippa*, a noble River falls into it. *Weſel* was likewiſe in former times under the Dukedom of *Cleves*: but being infected

fected with Hereſie, and by that means having brought it ſelf into liberty, it hath ever ſince maintained it ſelf therein, particularly by imbracing the Sect of Calviniſm, as that which is moſt oppoſite to Monarchy. The Townſmen being ſore afraid when they ſaw ſo great an Army approach it, that if they ſhould receive in a Spaniſh Garriſon, the City might fall into the Kings hands, or elſe that he might reſtore it to the houſe of *Cleves*, they treated preſently of compounding by money for their not receiving in of Souldiers: And thinking that to promiſe free liberty for the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion hereafter in *Weſel*, would be of great help to them in their Treaty, they added this ſecond offer to the former. The Admiral accepted of them both, willingly; ſo to get, in ſo great a ſtrait ſuch a ſum of money, which was agreed to be 50000 Crowns, as alſo that ſo great an advantage might be got in ſuch a City for the Catholick Religion: the monies being paid, and divers Prieſts and Votaries being admitted into the City who might excerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Rites, thoſe Citizens were freed from being burthened with a Garriſon. It was hoped that the Catholick Religion, and the exerciſe thereof would daily increaſe in *Weſel*, wherefore the Apoſtolick Nuntio for that coaſt of the *Rheine*, who uſually recides in *Colen*, went thither, and was there received with great reſpect and honour: though the event ſhewed afterwards, that all this was done fraudulently, only to give way to the preſent neceſſity, as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place.

The Admiral paſſed with his Army from *Burich*, to the other ſide of the River; but very ſlowly; for they had not as yet made a Bridg of Boats, as they intended to doe. The Admiral would not therefore longer delay providing of winter-quarters for the Souldiery. The Town of *Res* lies ſix leagues from *Weſel*, upon the ſame ſide on the lower part of the River. It is one of the beſt Towns in thoſe parts; and the Inhabitants for the moſt part are Catholicks. The Admiral endeavoured by fair means to get ſome Souldiers into it: but the Townſmen refuſing to receive any, he was forced to uſe threats, and brought his Artillery before the Town; at the ſight whereof they granted the deſired Quarter. The City of *Emrich* did after the ſame manner receive likewiſe a Garriſon. This is the greateſt, and moſt Catholical Town in all the Dukedom of *Cleves*; and not above three leagues from *Res*. *Emrich* ſtands very near the River *Yſel*, upon which the United Provinces had many important places. The firſt which preſented it ſelf was *Deſburg*, the taking whereof would have afforded the Kings Camp conveniencie of entring into the *Velo*, an Enemies country, which was very fruitfull, and where they very fain would have been; and which was alſo one of the ſtraiteſt Orders that the Archduke had left at his departure. But the Enemy fearing this, had cauſed Count *Maurice* to come to thoſe parts with good Forces. Conſidering therefore what oppoſition they were to meet withall, and the difficulties of the Siege it ſelf, and eſpecially the Year being ſo far advanced, the Councel of War did in no ſort think it fit to make that attempt. The Admiral turned therefore againſt *Dotechem*, a little weak Town not far from thence, but commodious for the better ſecuring the quarters in *Weſtphalia*. The Town was plaid upon for ſome few hours, and the Kings men prepared already for the aſſault; but the Defendants without any further oppoſition yielded of themſelves. The Caſtle near *Sculemburg* fell alſo into *Velaſco's* hands, the Generall of the Artillery; and therefore very fitting to preſerve the acquiſition of *Dotechem*. And becauſe ſo great rains had fallen, as the Army could keep no longer in the field, the Admiral reſolved to quarter his men in the beſt Towns of *Weſtphalia*, as he had done in the Dukedom of *Cleves*. And he ſoon had his deſire: For fair means not prevailing, ſuch force as was thought neceſſary without much difficulty was likewiſe uſed in that Country. Yet it coſt the Kings men ſome blood to get into ſome places: And particularly, as *Velaſco* would have ſtorm'd the Town of *Dorſt*, he himſelf was wounded by a muſket ſhot in the arm. The Admiral choſe *Res* for his own winter quarters. He placed the Count *Bucquoi* for Governour of *Emrick*: which being ſo neer *Schinks* Sconce, and other places belonging to the Enemy, had ſo much the more need of a valiant Commander, as the Count was; though not long after being too forward upon a certain occaſion of fight, he fell into the Enemies hands and was taken priſoner.

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe affairs were in hand, the year 1599 began. And in the interim it was noiſed every where, that the Kings Army was by force quartered in the County of *Cleves*, and in *Weſtphalia*, both which belong to *Germany*. In former times thoſe parts, as alſo the Countries of *Juliers*, *Liege*, *Colen*, and *Trevers*, and the other adjacent parts, were ſuffered to ſtand Newters both by the Spaniards and the United Provinces, both of them receiving friendly Quarter only by the way of paſſage. Wherefore ſeeing the Neutral right violated ſo openly, and in ſo many places; it is not to be ſaid how much all parties intereſſed were offended. A good part of *Weſtphalia* is ſubject to ſome Eccleſiaſtical Principalities, eſpecially to thoſe of *Munſter* and of *Paterborn*, which were at that time enjoyed by Duke *Erneſtus* of *Bavaria*, Archbiſhop and Elector of *Colen*, and alſo Biſhop of *Liege*. The Dukedom of *Cleves* was alſo under its own peculiar ſecular Prince; who being at the preſent ſomwhat ſhallow-witted, ſuffered himſelf to be wholly governed by his Officers. Theſe two Princes were moſt ſcandalized at the Kings Army, as being thereby moſt injured. But the Elector of *Colen*, by reaſon of the good correſpondencie which he had always held with the King of *Spain* in the affairs of *Flanders*, inclined not to reſcent himſelf by Arms, nor to joyn his Forces with thoſe of the other intereſſed Princes; wherefore he could have deſired that remedy might have been had fairly by the way of Treaty. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Cleves* Officers, were it either of themſelves, or that they were won to do ſo by the other Princes, were of opinion that they muſt joyn their Forces and openly fight with them: and that making up a good body of an Army, they muſt at leaſt drive the Kings men out of thoſe places of theirs which they had poſſeſt themſelves of; and by this preſent remedy ſecure themſelves from all future invaſions. This advice was chiefly given by the Elector Palatine of *Rheine*, whoſe Territories lying very neer thoſe parts where the Kings men were lodged; and knowing how much his family had ever favoured the inſurrection and hereſie of the Low-Countries, was therefore more affrighted then uſually at this ſucceſs. The Landtgrave of *Heſſe* ſeemed to be agitated equally out of the ſame conſiderations of neighbour-hood and hereſie, nor were ſome Hans Towns upon the *Rheine* leſs moved out of the ſame reaſons. It being then made a common cauſe, chiefly between the Duke of *Cleves*, the Elector Palatine, the Landtgrave of *Heſſe* and many other Counts and Lords of quality, who were comprehended under the circle of *Weſtphalia*, they all endeavoured to draw the other circles of the Empire into the ſame cauſe, or at leaſt the neareſt circles, which were conſequently moſt concern'd. Great was the commotion every where; but it being thought fitteſt firſt to uſe Treaty before Arms, recourſe was had unto the Emperor, who was eaſily perſwaded to uſe his Authority, in ſuch manner, as upon this occaſion he thought beſt. He therefore publiſhed a ſtrict Edict, wherein he commanded the Admiral and all the other heads of the Kings Army, that they ſhould forthwith reſtore thoſe Towns which they had taken, and march with all their men out of all ſuch places as did any waies belong unto the Empire. He mediated the ſame likewiſe very much with Cardinal *Andrea*; but the neceſſities of the Army not being otherwiſe to be provided for at that time, the Cardinal and Admiral alledged many excuſes by way of juſtification; and ſtill endeavored to enjoy that conveniency which they received by being ſo quartered. The aforeſaid Princes and Hans Towns had often before, according to the uſe of *Germany*, had meetings to treat of this common cauſe: but being deſirous to reſolve at laſt on ſomewhat, their laſt meeting was appointed at *Confluenza*, a Town belonging to the Arch-biſhop of *Treves*, and ſeated where the *Moſel* falls into the *Rheine*. Here the Deputies wo met, ſtriving who ſhould moſt complain againſt the Spaniſh Forces, they in diſpiteful terms exagerated how worthily the German Empire was then delt withal.

Anno 1599.

That in former times the very name thereof was reverenced in all parts. And when was it ever known that the neutrality profeſt in her Countries neighbouring upon Flanders, *touching the Forces of* Spain *and their Adverſaries, was openly violated? That now the Spaniſh Forces, breaking all Laws, both of particular neutrality and common juſtice, had not onely poſſeſt themſelves of one or two of their Towns, but had hoſtily invaded Whole States. Say money was wanting to maintain them;*

Muſt

muſt Germany therfore ſupply them? and by the eſtates of her miſerable people ſatisfie the vaſt immeaſurate deſires of others? That they had firſt recourſe to Ceſar; *but reaped little good thereby. That this occaſion ſhewed, as it was ſeen in ſo many others, of what advantage it was to the houſe of* Auſtria *in* Spain, *to enjoy the ſucceſſion of the Empire as hereditary, from that other branch of the ſame houſe in* Germany: *and that therefore fair means having done no good in ſo weighty an occurrency, they muſt now reſolutely betake themſelves to arms. That if ſo ſmall a part of the Lower* Germany *had thrown off the Spaniſh yoke, how much more eaſily might it be denyed to be received by ſo great, ſo powerfull, and ſo majeſtical a body as was the Upper* Germanies.

With theſe and the like bitter complaints, the Deputies raged againſt the aboveſaid Novelty of the Spaniſh arms. Nor did they any longer contain themſelves. Monies and men being promiſed according to the abilities of every one that was concerned, whereby to raiſe an Army, they reſolved to put it ſpeedily in execution: and even then they choſe the Count *di Lippa* to be the head thereof. He was one of the chief Lords of *Weſtphalia*; and was already Lieutenant General of all the Forces of that Circle. This was the reſolution taken at this meeting. But when they were parted, their actions bore no correſpondency with their words. So as the Army was very ſlow in being brought into the field, as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place.

The Cardinal *Andrea* had this mean while with all fervency taken upon him the adminiſtration of the Government. According to the uſe of other Governors, he had taken up his uſual reſidence at *Bruſſels*; whether in the beginning of the year ſome of the Elector of *Cullen*, and Duke of *Cleves* Deputies were come unto him from their Maſters. Who added their own interceſſions to thoſe of the Emperor, to the end that the Cardinal might take the ſpeedier courſe to remedy the novelties committed in their Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal States. They were honourably received by the Cardinal, and ſent back with good hopes. And really he ſeemed to be very ſenſible of ſuch a diſorder: yet not being able to overcome the neceſſity which the Army was in, he muſt himſelf yield to the ſame Force. The Elector of *Cullen* for the aforeſaid reaſons was ſtill for the way of Treaty; but the Duke of *Cleves*, or to ſay better, his Officers by whom he was governed, quickly falling from their deſired hopes, had already reſolved together with the reſt that were concerned to take up arms. The Spaniſh Cariſons which were in mutiny in the Caſtles of *Antwerp* and *Gaunt*, could not yet receive ſatisfaction. Therefore the Cardinal went in the beginning of *February* to *Antwerp*, that he himſelf might ſee thoſe payments made, and to ſee whether he could borrow ſo much money as might in ſome ſort ſatisfie the Armies neceſſity, and make them the ſooner go out of thoſe States which appertained to the Empire. Both thoſe Gariſons were paid. And becauſe in that of *Gaunt* they were ſo modeſt as not to receive any ſouldier from without, the ſame Gariſon was therefore permitted to guard the Caſtle. On the contrary, that of *Antwerp* had uſed great inſolencies, both by ſhamefully driving out the Governour *Auguſtine Meſſia*; and in receiving in many other Spaniards, to thoſe of the uſual gard, and in being extream in their demands of pay. Wherefore it not being thought fit to leave ſuch an exceſs unpuniſhed, the Cardinal changing the Gariſon, cauſed Proclamation to be made, That upon pain of life all thoſe that had been of the former Gariſon, ſhould within fifteen days be gon out of all the Provinces which were obedient to the King of *Spain*. Nor did their puniſhment ceaſe here: for, for the odious name of Mutiners, and of the Kings Army, againſt which all the neighbours were then ſo incenſed, and for that it was ſaid they went away full of mony, the moſt of them were ſeaſed upon by the way, pillaged, and ſlain.

When the Cardinal had put a new Gariſon into the Citadel of *Antwerp*, and had the luck to raiſe ſome conſiderable ſums of money, he went from thence to *Maſtrick*; where he was met by the Admiral, and the other chief Officers of the Army. And long diſcourſe was had touching what was to be done, when the Army ſhould go into the field. But there was no reſolution then put on, becauſe it was too early in the year. About the end of *March* the Cardinal parted from thence, with all the reſt towards the Town of *Res*, where the Admiral had made a bridg of boats over the *Rhine*. And having tarryed ſome days there, he went

to

to *Emrich*, and threw the bridg over thereabouts. The ſouldiers by reaſon of their ſo good quarters were but little leſſened in their number; ſo as they might ſtill make a body of 18000 Foot, and 2300 Horſe.

The time of drawing into the field being then come, they firſt conſulted to what ſort of enterpriſe they ſhould apply themſelves. *Schinks* Sconce is ſome two leagues beneath *Emrick*, the ſituation whereof we have deſcribed in another place, when *Martin Schink* from whom it had its name propounded it to Count *Maurice*, and had afterwards the charge of ſeeing it built, and of keeping it. But we will here touch upon ſomwhat of new, and will likewiſe give you a particular notice of the Iſland called *Bomel*, which is not far from thence; becauſe the Kings Army was then imployed in thoſe parts. The *Upper-Germany* is for a long tracke of ground watered firſt by the *Rhine*. Here as it comes nearer the *Low-Countries*, not being able to keep longer within its former Channel, by reaſon of ſo many other Rivers which fall every where into it, it divides it ſelf into two branches, each of them almoſt of equal greatneſs with it ſelf. Theſe two branches frame the ancient Iland of the Battavians, and at this hour it continues the corrupted name of *Bettow*. That of the right hand doth for a good ſpace keep the name of *Rheine*, till aſſuming the name of *Lech*, it goes with other waters, and with other names thorow *Holland*, till it looſeth it ſelf in the Sea. The left branch as ſoon as it parts from the *Rheine*, takes upon it the name of *Wahal*, continuing which name for a long ſpace, it at laſt joyns it ſelf with the *Mauſe*. But theſe two Rivers are not well joyned, when they part again, and do not rejoyn till they have made an Iland of ſome good circuit, which is called *Bomel*; taking its name from the chief Town therein. Having formed this Iſland, theſe two enter not long after joyntly into *Holland*; where together with other Rivers diſperſing themſelves into divers Gulfs, and carrying as it were new Seas into the Sea, they at laſt by many ſpacious mouths diſgorge themſelves and falls into the Ocean. Upon the very point of this great Iſland of *Bettow* ſtands *Schinks* Sconce, and is raiſed there with ſo much advantage, both of Nature and Art, as greater is not peradventure ſeen any where elſe. Four leagues lower upon the Banks of *Wahal* is the City of *Nimínghen* ſeated, with her great Fort on the right hand bank. Deſcending much lower from thence, where the *Mauſe* and *Wahal* meet firſt together, you finde the Fort *Worden*, and preſently the other point of the Iſland called *Bomel*, formed by the *Mauſe* and *Wahal*, in manner aforeſaid. The Town of *Bomel* ſtands upon the banks of *Wahal*, about the midſt of the Iſland; on that ſide the River it ſelf ſecures it ſufficiently. And it is provided with neceſſary defences on the other ſide: And this may ſuffice for the aboveſaid diſcription.

Cardinal *Andrea* not willing to keep longer out of the field, muſtered the whole Army, about the end of *April*, in the parts of *Rheine* towards *Emrich*: and to ſatisfie them in ſome degree, gave them one pay. And upon diſcourſe what was to be undertaken, the Councel of war were of ſeveral opinions. They all agreed that in the firſt place *Wahal* was to be paſt over, and that they were to advance as far as they could into the Enemies Country. But divers were the opinions concerning what they ſhould fall upon. The Admiral of *Aragon* was very earneſt for the ſtraitning of *Schinks* Sconce.

And what greater acquiſition (ſaid he) *can we make? It is the moſt important ſeat of the* Rhine. *By this Key the paſſage of greateſt conſequence thereabouts is opened and ſhut; So as when we ſhall have fixt our foot there, we may endeavour other acquiſitions in thoſe parts, and hope to atchieve them with much ſafety. When we ſhall be entred firſt into the Iſland, we muſt draw a great Trench from one branch of the River to the other, ſo as the Fort ſhall not be able to be ſuccoured by land. If the Enemy will ſend any relief by way of the Rivers, they muſt ſend it againſt the ſtreame; ſo the effect thereof may eaſily be hindered by armed barks on both ſides. Such a ſiege conſidered with all its circumſtances, will doubtleſsly prove difficult; but when it ſhall be effected, as it is to be hoped it will be; the more difficulties we meet with, the greater will our honour be.*

So many weighty objections were made againſt this the Admirals opinion, both for bringing the Army into the Iſland, by reaſon of oppoſition which might

be made by the Enemy; and for their not being able to keep out succour by water, wherein the enemy did so far exceed them in power, as many of the Councel thought it would prove a desperate siege. They instanced in the Duke of *Parma* for example, who when the sconce was hardly tenable, would never endeavour to take it. Others advised to go at the same time against *Nimingben*, and against its Fort on the contrary shore. Thinking that so great an Army might undertake both these sieges at once. But in this, the opposition which they should find in passing the *Wahal*, to besiege the Fort was considered. As also that the Duke of *Parma* was sate down before it, and forced to raise his siege. And that the difficulties in besieging *Nimingben* would afterwards prove much greater. A City of a large circuit, and which as it was well munited, would be well defended. Others finally propounded, that passing lower over the *Mause*, as they might easily do, the Army should march into the Island of *Bomel*, and should try to take the Town, situated, as hath been said, upon the Banks of *Wahal*. Thinking that by the taking thereof they might command the whole Island, as also the Pass of that River.

The City of *Baldnke* which was then in the Kings hands, is very near the Island of *Bomel*. Wherefore it was considered that the making of this purchase would be very advantagious for that City: and that it might be the better kept when it should be united to that Frontier. The Cardinal inclined to this resolution: and keeping it very secret, it was resolved that to cosin and divert the enemy, they would seem to besiege *Schincks* Sconce. Count *Frederick di Berg* parted thus from *Emrick* with 7000 fot, and 1000 horse, and came almost within Canon-shot of the Sconce on that side: and the Cardinal passing over to the other side of the River, with the rest of the Army, made the Admiral advance in like manner towards the Fort. They then began to play upon it furiously from both sides with many pieces of Artillery: not being able notwithstanding to do any thing but batter and indamage it. Upon this motion of the Kings Camp, Count *Maurice* made his move also, and came to within sight of the Fort. He doubted that the Kings men would effectually pass over *Wahal*, and get into the Island to begirt the Fort by land. Wherefor he immediately sent away a great number of Pyoniers, that they might raise a Trench towards the suspected shore, whereby the passage of the Kings men might be the more impeded. He afterwards manned it sufficiently for defence, and sent 80 English into the Fort. And passing himself afterwards with a great part of his Army into the Island, he totally secured it. The Kings men continued notwithstanding to play incessantly upon it; nor were those of the Fort less slow in letting fly at them. And because the seat thereof is low, Count *Maurice* caused a great Platform to be raised without, and placed some great Canon upon it, whereby he so much indamaged the Kings men on that side the Admiral was, as he slew above four hundred of them in a few days.

The Enemies Camp being by the Spaniards cunning thus imployed, the Cardinal had in the interim sent the Campmasters, *Zapena*, *Estenly* and *Barlotta*, with their Spanish, Irish, and Walloon Brigadoes, and with some horse commanded by *Henry di Berg*, to try whether they could get into the Island or no, by passing over the *Wahal* on any side a little lower. These made up the number of 4000 foot, and 600 horse. The Cardinals Orders were, That they should endeavour to pass the River two leagues above a certain Town called *Tiel*, where for divers circumstances it was thought more feisable. The good event thereof consisted chiefly in secrecy. But *Maurice* having an eye every where, got notice of it: and sending some armed boats down from *Nimingben*, he ordered them to make fitting opposition by the River. Wherefore these men, when they found their designe discovered, were very much in suspence, and afterwards varied much amongst themselves touching what they were to take in hand. *Zapena* was of opinion, that howsoever they were to try the passage, and *Estenly* was of the same mind; on the contrary *Barlotta* thought it would be to no purpose, and that to endeavour it, would be the loss of many men. They notwithstanding put some of their boats into the River, and from the shore-side sunk three of the enemies boats, with the Artillery which they brought with them. And endeavoured to get with their

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men which were imbarked, to the contrary ſhore. But finding great obſtacles both by land and water, they ſaw they could not make the paſſage. From thence the Kings men went down the River, with their boats and the reſt of their ſouldiers and proviſions, on the left ſhore. And the enemy did the like on the other ſide, that they might be the readier to meet with them every where. The Cardinal had given order that if they could not paſs the *Wahal*, they ſhould at unawares aſſail the Fort *Worden*, and indeavour to take it: which if they could not do, that then the Campmaſters were to uſe all diligence to get into the Iſland of *Bomel*, and to ſecure themſelves there of the Paſs, in the beſt manner they could. As for getting the Fort, they had no hopes to effect it, conſidering what the enemy had done. Wherefore leaving *Wahal*, and carting their boats again, they went forthwith towards the Iſland of *Bomel*; and coming to the *Manſe* about the Village *Emple*, they paſt it with ſuch ſecrecy, as they ſcarce met with any impediment. At their entrance into the Iſland, they took the Caſtle *Hell* which was neareſt the ſhore; and did thereby ſo much the more ſecure themſelves of the Paſs. Then coming again out of the Iſland, according to the directions which the Cardinal had firſt given them, they went againſt the Fort *Crevecoeur*, which was not far from thence. This Fort was very prejudicial to *Balduke*, becauſe it ſhut up the mouth of a River, which runs through that City, and which not above a league from the walls thereof, falls into the *Manſe*. The Cardinal therefore intending to make himſelf Maſter thereof, willed the aforeſaid Campmaſters, that when they ſhould have ſecured the paſs whereby to enter into the Iſland, they ſhould incamp before that Fort. Which when they had done, and had given the Cardinal notice of it, and of all that they had done beſides; the Kings Camp roſe preſently from before *Schincks* Sconce, and went to before *Crevecoeur*; which was not in a condition of making any conſiderable reſiſtance; wherefore the Army was no ſooner quartered about it, and had threatned it with batteries and aſſaults, but that thoſe within, expecting no longer, and without making almoſt any reſiſtance, quitted the Fort. The Cardinal was this mean while gon to *Balduke*, to make divers proviſions there for the buſineſs of *Bomel*. And therefore the Admiral after the taking of *Crevecoeur*, turned towards the Iſland of *Bomel*, and entred thereinto with all his Army about the beginning of *May*. Great banks are made all along the ſides of thoſe Rivers, to defend the fields, which are ſubject to innundation.

The Army parting thus from the *Mauſe*, marched upon the bank on the right hand, and bending towards the *Wahal*, ſtaid in the Village *Hervin*, which ſtands upon the ſame River; in which were many of the enemies men of war: For Count *Maurice* had diſcovered the Cardinals intention, and therefore had not omitted to prepare ſuch obſtacles as were fitting by water, that the Kings men might find more difficulty in paſſing it. They notwithſtanding indeavoured by their Artillery to drive away thoſe Veſſels, and did ſomewhat prejudice them; but they putting themſelves into ſome creeks that were in the River, the Kings men could never free themſelves from that oppoſition. They paſt from *Hervin*; and drawing nearer *Bomel*, they quartered their Army in ſundry parts: one part thereof was lodged upon the bank; and the reſt more inward, according to the opportunity of the ſituations. *Maurice* was this mean while come with all ſpeed, and with the moſt of his Army; and quartering on the other ſide of the River in the face of *Bomel*, he had ſent 1000 foot thereinto for the better defence thereof. Here with all diligence he placed two bridges over the River; the one above the Town, the other beneath it: the one was of ſmall boats for the foot to paſs over; and the other of greater flat-bottomed boats which ſerved for the horſe, and commodity of Carriages: and this was ſo broad as two Carts might paſs one by another upon it. The Bridges being thrown over, he ſent 3000 foot more, and 400 horſe for the defence of *Bomel*: and the Town not being capable of ſo many men, he quartered them without the Town; and did ſo ſhelter them with Trenches, Flankers, Redouts, Ditches and *ſtrade coperte*, as *Bomel* of a little Town, ſeemed ſuddenly as if it were a large City. The Kings men were very much indamaged by the Enemies Artillery, before they could ſufficiently fence themſelves on the Rivers ſide: For being at the ſame time thundred upon both

by thoſe of *Bomel*, and by thoſe that were placed upon the contrary ſhore and in the ſhips that were in the River, they knew not well what to doe, nor how to defend themſelves. But at laſt, ſuch Rampiers of earth as were requiſite being made, and many Peeces of Artillery being placed upon the bank, they likewiſe began to play furiouſly upon the Town of *Bomel*, and upon all thoſe Works wherein the Enemies Forces were lodged without the Town; nor was the damage little which they did them, till they ſheltred themſelves better.

This mean while the Enemies whole Army was met together; which was ſo increaſed, as it amounted to 18000 Foot, and above 3000 Horſe. And *Maurice* having quartered them in divers Towns and Villages on the ſame ſhore that he was, ſeemed not any thing to value the ſiege which the Royaliſts had undertaken; nay rather, his men, which were in ſuch numbers in *Bomel*, reſolving rather to play the parts of aſſailants then aſſailed, began to iſſue out againſt the Kings men, and to annoy them in ſundry ſorts both day and night. They notwithſtanding forbore not to advance with their Trenches, covering them as well as they could, and ſecuring them better then formerly by oblique Windings and Redouts. But the beſieged, willing to uſe all their force to the contrary, ſallied out on divers ſides, about the midſt of *May*, againſt the Royaliſts; and in ſuch numbers, as it might be thought rather an intended Battel then a Sally. The *Italians* and *Walloons* were quartered upon the Bank above *Bomel*; the *Spaniards* in certain Paſtures; and the *Germans*, *Burgonians*, and *Iriſh* were quartered on another ſide. The Enemy being recruited by new men which Count *Maurice* had ſent unto them from the other ſide the River, ſallied out about Noon at once, againſt all the aforeſaid quarters; and that they might the more indamage that which was quartered upon the Bank, they placed above 30 Barks loaded with Artillery in the River juſt over againſt it. The firſt aſſault was made on that ſide by 3000 Foot, and 400 Horſe; and 4000 Foot, with a proportionable number of Horſe, divided into two parts, gave on upon the other quarters. The Kings Camp was very vigilant; ſo as the Enemy came not ſo ſuddenly out, but they were ready to receive them. The fight was therefore very reſolute on both ſides; the Enemy ſtriving to get into the Kings works, and the others valiantly defending them. Nor was the buſineſs leſs hotly diſputed between the Horſe: nor did the Artillery of both parties forbear to play at the ſame inſtant violently. But the Enemy at laſt not being able to have the better of the Royaliſts, they reſolved after three houres fight to retreat. The number of the ſlain and of the wounded was much alike of both ſides; and the action well conſidered was cauſe of greater noiſe, then loſs of blood.

The Enemy returned the next night to aſſault the Kings men; thinking that they ſhould find them the leſs provided, for that they would not in likelihood expect ſo ſuddenly ſuch an aſſault. The charge was notwithſtanding only upon the *Italians* and *Walloons*: And truly it came ſo unexpected, as at the firſt falling on many of both thoſe Nations were ſlain and wounded; and *Avalos* the Italian Campmaſter was in particular ſorely hurt. The Enemy had the better of the Aſſault for a while: But the Kings men rallying together, and reaſſuming courage, did ſo well defend their Trenches, as the Enemy not being able to injure them, retired. They were notwithſtanding much inheartned by finding their numbers ſtill ſo increaſe, ſo as within three dayes after they returned to make a briſk aſſault upon the Kings men, and reſolved to make it by night, to the end that it might come ſo much the more unlooked for, and be the more dreadfull. Monſieur *de la Nue* was come from *France*, with many Hugonots, to ſerve the United Provinces. He was ſon to the late Monſieur *de la Nue*, a ſo cry'd up Commander, and of whoſe valour you have often heard in divers parts of this Hiſtory. This man in his military comportment proved himſelf worthy to be the ſon of ſuch a father. Count *Maurice* therefore gave him the chief charge of this new ſally; and would have it performed chiefly by the French Foot, together with a ſelect number of Engliſh, which in all might come to about 5000 Foot. The aſſault was chiefly to be made againſt the Works which the Kings men continued to make upon the bank, and in thoſe neighbouring parts. *La Nue* therefore ſallied out couragiouſly, and aſſiſted by a fog, gave ſo fiercely on upon the

Royaliſts

Royaliſts, as he put them in diſorder. The Walloons had the Van, with the Campmaſter *Achicurt*, who had then the command thereof: He and his men failed not to make all poſſible reſiſtance; till being himſelf ſorely wounded, and the Enemies force ſtill increaſing, he was forced to retire, and to crave a new recruit of men. But the noiſe of the Aſſault had already cauſed thoſe of the Royaliſts who were neareſt hand to move, and had given the Alarm to thoſe that were further off, ſo as the whole Army was in a readineſs to fight. Some Companies of Spaniſh and Italian Foot were to come firſt in to the aſſiſtance of the Walloons. Theſe ſtopping the fury of the Enemy, did ſtoutly ſuſtain them; and freſh men coming in, they ſecured their Trenches. And the Enemy deſpairing of doing any further damage when the day began to break, retreated in very good order; being purſued by the Kings men to beneath the Fortifications and wals of *Bomel*, and the fight continuing ſtill fervent on both ſides. The ſiege had by this time been laid twenty dayes, and no conſiderable progreſs had been made. And it was plainly ſeen, that the enterpriſe would prove totally vain; ſince they could not keep the beſieged Town from being relieved, and that Count *Maurice* was thereabouts with ſo great Forces. The chief end of the Kings men in endeavouring to get *Bomel*, was that they might have a ſtrong Hold upon the *Wahal*, ſo as they might command the Paſs of that River, and might introduce themſelves into the heart of the Enemies country, and eſpecially into *Holland*.

Deſpairing then of the enterpriſe of *Bomel*, the Cardinal propounded, that a Fort Royal might be raiſed in ſome part of the ſame Iſland, whereby they might reap the ſame end. Where the *Mauſe* and *Wahal* met firſt together, and then imediately part again, they ſhape a certain point of ground, which delating it ſelf a little, doth afterwards grow ſtraiter; from thence doth the Iſland afterwards inlarge, and extend it ſelf, till the two aforeſaid Rivers meet again and incloſe it: it was therefore propounded unto the Cardinal that a great Fort ſhould be raiſed in that narroweſt neck of ground, by which they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of all that Avenue which lay between the one River and the other; which might prove a great curb to the Enemy, and which would keep them more in awe then that of *Schink* would have done, for that it was nearer their very bowels then the other was. The Cardinal was mightily herewithall pleaſed; and cauſing it to be well diſcuſſed in the Councel of War, it was with a general applauſe agreed upon. Nor herewithall contented, he would go with ſome of the chief Commanders to the very place it ſelf, and there put on his laſt reſolve; which was, That by all means the Fort muſt be raiſed and muſt with all ſpeed be begun. The Cardinal reſolving upon this, preſently raiſed the Camp from before *Bomel*, which was done about the beginning of *June*; and the charge of ſeeing that effected which was reſolved on, was chiefly given to *Velaſco* Generall of the Artillery. The ſiege being abandoned, the Camp removed to the Village of *Hervin*, and came coaſting from thence to the place where the Fort was intended to be built. Count *Maurice*, having diſcovered the deſign, paſt over likewiſe a little higher upon the contrary ſhore and ſtaid juſt over againſt the Kings Camp: He afterwards placed many Peeces of Artillery upon that ſide, and with them began immediately to annoy the Kings men who were to begin the raiſing of the Fort on the other ſide of the ſame *Wahal*. The like was done by *Velaſco* on the other ſide againſt the Enemy. And becauſe the Artillery plaid furiouſly from both ſides, *Maurice* raiſed a great Trench on his ſide for his better defence; and added thereunto a great Platform, ſo large at the top, as 20 Peeces of Cannon might be placed upon it. *Velaſco* put himſelf in the ſame poſture on his ſide, with a like great Trench and Platform. Inſomuch as the like Offences and Defences were made at the ſame time by both Parties. But before theſe were ſufficiently raiſed, the Artillery and Muskets did ſo inceſſantly play from both ſides, as more then 1200 men were ſlain or wounded in both Camps. *Velaſco* having at laſt ſufficiently fenced himſelf, great haſt was made in raiſing the Fort. It was planted (as we have ſaid) in the narroweſt part of that point of Land: Two royal Baſtions were raiſed towards the *Wahal*, two the like towards the *Mauſe*, and a fifth towards the Land. All theſe were well ſuited with Curtains, and the Rivers were to ſerve for Ditches on the ſides, the other parts being to be munited with other large and deep Ditches in the

the beſt befitting manner. Three thouſand ſouldiers guarded the works; one thouſand of which with two thouſand Pioniers, wrought inceſſantly upon them. The Fort *Worden*, which was in the enemies hands, was very near the place where the Kings men raiſed their Fort. *Maurice* reſolved to go thither; wherefore paſſing with the moſt of his men over the *Wahal*, he tarried there, intending to annoy the Royaliſts works at a nearer diſtance: which that he might the better do, he threw over a bridge, and ſent 3000 foot unto the point of the Iſland of *Bomel*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a Village called *Herverden*. Here thoſe men did ſo fortifie themſelves, as the Kings men began to be much indamaged by them, Who were not long in uſing all means to drive them from thence.

To this purpoſe Count *Frederick de Berg* went with a great body of foot, almoſt all Spaniſh, who made a fierce aſſault; but they were ſo ſtoutly withſtood by the enemy, partly through their works, and partly through their own valour, as they were forced to retreat, after having loſt above 300 of their men, amongſt which were divers Captains, and other perſonages of quality; yet did the working about the Fort never ceaſe: For all the foot being quartered in thoſe parts, diligent gards were kept, and were reinforced according as occaſion required. The horſe could not be quartered within the Iſland by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs of the place, and for that there was no forrage there to be had: wherefore they were gon beyond the *Mauſe*, towards *Brabant*; and kept there about *Mega* in diverſe Villages which were neareſt the Camp, from whence they might receive neceſſary ſuccours, by a bridg over the ſame River. But for their better ſecurity, they raiſed a Fort upon a certain part of the bank, where they might have been eaſilyeſt injured by the enemy: yet they being thus parted from the reſt of their Company, Count *Maurice* hoped he might aſſault them upon advantagious terms, and that he might give them a notable blow. To this purpoſe he threw a bridg over the *Mauſe* from the Fort *Worden* to the other ſide, and giving 6000 choice foot to Colonel *Vere*, an Engliſh-man, and to Monſieur *de la Nue*, a French man, and 1500 horſe to Count *Erneſtus* of *Naſſaw*, he ordered them to be ready to fall upon the enemies horſe, when he ſhould think it fitting. The aforeſaid Fort was not as yet made ſufficiently defenſible, which was called *Durango*, for that *Diego Durango* a Serjeant Major of a Spaniſh brigado had the charge thereof. The horſe were commanded by *Ambroſio Landriano* who was their Lieutenant General; who was not negligent in uſing all neceſſary diligence both in placing the gards, and in being himſelf preſent where any occurrency called him. To boot with this Fort *Durango*, which was not yet finiſhed, *Landriano* had endeavoured to ſecure all that tract of the bank about which the horſe were quartered, with divers good Redoubts. *Maurice* reſolved to effect his aforeſaid deſigne before the Fort *Durango* ſhould be made fully defenſible. It was in the Beginning of *June*, when one morning about the break of day, Count *Erneſtus*, *Vere* and *La Nue*, paſſing over the *Mauſe* with their foot and horſe, began to move. They were of neceſſity to poſſeſs themſelves firſt of the Fort *Durango*, that they might not have it as an obſtacle both in their aſſault and retreat. *Vere* and *La Nue* went therefore with the moſt of their foot to aſſault the Fort: Count *Erneſtus* ſheltering the foot with his horſe, as well as the place would permit him to do. The aſſault was exceeding reſolute and fierce: *Vere*'s Engliſh, and *La Nue*'s French, were ſeen to vie with one another in the fight; and not only ſouldier with ſouldier, but Captain with Captain. A good many ladders being applyed unto the walls, they all ſtrove to get upon the Fort; nor could they now make any longer uſe of muskets, or of pikes, but flew to it with their ſwords and ſhields. In the Fort were 500 Spaniſh and Walloon foot; and they ſtriving likewiſe which of them ſhould beſt make good the defence, fought with wonderfull undauntedneſs: and though the works of the Fort were yet but weak, the imperfections thereof being ſupplyed by the valour of hands, the further the aſſailants advanced, the greater reſiſtance did they meet withall. The buſineſs laſted thus a good while: at the noiſe of the aſſault, the Admiral was this mean while advanced, with the greateſt part of his foot to come in unto the ſuccour. This cauſed much terror in the enemy; wherefore firſt cooling in their fight, they began at laſt to give back, and in fine, reſolved to retreat, above 300

of

of them being ſlain, and about 70 of the Kings men. The foot ſucceeding but ill in their aſſault, Count *Erneſtus* would make no further attempt with his horſe. And *Landriano* was already prepared with his horſe ſo, as the enemy could have done him but little hurt though they ſhould have aſſaulted him.

This was the laſt action which happened between the two Camps; for the Fort *Durango* being ſoon afterwards compleated, and the horſe quarters being ſtill better ſecured, Count *Maurice* betook himſelf to nothing more on that ſide; nor could he do any thing on the other ſide within the Iſland of *Bomel*, where the great Fort was in building: for the work was already ſo far advanced, as it wanted but very little of being perfected. Cardinal *Andrea* deſired very much to ſee it finiſhed before he ſhould quit the Government, and therefore he himſelf went often thither to ſollicite the building thereof. Not long before, his brother, the Marquis of *Burgaut* was come to viſit him; who had formerly ſerved the King under the Duke of *Parma*. The Fort being then almoſt totally finiſhed, the Cardinal came to give it his laſt viſit, and brought his brother with him; each of them very well viewing all the works, and giving ſuch orders as were requiſite in all places. In midſt of the Parado, a Church was intended to be built; the firſt ſtone whereof the Cardinal's ſelf did lay; and in relation to his own name, and for the particular devotion which he bore to that Saint, he called both the Church and the Fort St. *Andrea*. This Ceremony was performed with all military rejoycing, the Canon thundring on all ſides out of the Caſtle, which were ſeconded by the ſouldiers joyfull acclamations, as if that Bulwark ſhould be perpetually kept for the Kings advantage, and that *Holland* ſhould be thereby chiefly curbed. And yet you ſhall quickly ſee, that the Fort was afterwards baſely delivered up to the Enemy, or rather ſold unto them to the great ignominy of the Gariſon that was in it: and certainly in common opinion the Fort was impregnable, if it had been well provided for and defended: and it was thought it would have been a great terror to all the enemies Country over againſt it; and particularly to *Holland*, neareſt the very heart whereof it ſtood: Nor was it long ere it was fully finiſhed. It commanded the *Manſe* on one ſide, and the *Wahal* on the other. Each of the five Baſtions were of equal proportions, and ſtood very handſomly at equal diſtances from forth the Curtains. And where the ditches were made, the water was above a Pikes length deep. Thus by their means was the one River joyned to the other; the *Manſe* ſometimes contributing water to the *Wahal*, and ſometimes the *Wahal* to the *Manſe*, according to their ſeveral exuberances. The *Strade Coperte* ran to without about the Ditches; from which likewiſe many Redoubts were alſo thruſt out to defend them the better: and the more to anoy the enemy, twelve great Frigats were placed in the Ditches, that they might be continually the readier to put into thoſe Rivers. This was the condition of the Fort St. *Andrea*.

The United Provinces knew very well how prejudicial it might prove unto them, and therefore Count *Maurice* cauſed another Fort to be built on the contrary ſhore; not a Royal one; but only ſufficient to keep the Kings men from making that paſſage, if at any time they ſhould attempt it, and that they might make the fewer incurſions into thoſe parts.

But it is now time that we ſhould acquaint you with the ſucceſſe of thoſe Forces which the Confederate Germans were to put together, for the aforeſaid occaſions. Perſevering in the reſolution which they had put on at Confluence, they did not let ſlip making neceſſary proviſion for the putting of it in execution: yet mony not coming in either ſo plentifully or ſo ſpeedily as the condition of the buſineſs required; and all things elſe being carryed on with the wonted ſlackneſs of the Nation, and with the uſual difficulties of making ſeveral intereſſed parties joyn in the ſame opinion. The Count *di Lippa*, who was choſen Commander in chief, could not ſo ſoon aſſemble all the Forces together which were to come from ſo many ſeveral places. The United Provinces uſed all poſſible means to incite the Confederates, preſſing the opportunity of the preſent conjuncture, whilſt the Kings Army was buſied in the taking of *Bomel*, and afterwards in building the Fort St. *Andrea*. They adviſed particularly that the German Camp might joyn with theirs, alleadging that by this means, and by ſo many Forces,

Forces, the *Spaniards* might not only be driven out of the Empire, but might be brought to great ſtraits in *Flanders*. To make theſe their endeavours the more efficacious, the ſame Provinces had ſent their deſires by Count *Hollach*; who meeting with Count *Lippa*, did no more part with him. Theſe demonſtrations of the United Provinces were very welcom to the Confederate *Germans*, and were willingly imbraced by them, to cauſe the more fears and jealouſies in the *Spaniards*. On the other ſide, Cardinal *Andrea* had uſed all diligence ſo to ſweeten affairs, as the Confederates might be kept from breaking forth into Arms. When the Kings Army marched into the field, that part thereof which was quartered in *Weſtphalia* was taken totally from thence. The Cardinal had cauſed the City of *Emrich* to be again delivered up to the Duke of *Cleves*, and gave aſſured hopes that *Res* and the other Towns appertaining to the ſame Prince ſhould be ſuddenly likewiſe ſurrendred. Nor was the Elector of *Colen* wanting in continuing his former interceſſions with both the parties.

Theſe Negotiations had this of operation, That not to irritate too much the Forces of the King of *Spain*, the Confederate *Germans* would not joyn their Army in a body with the United *Flemiſh*; thinking that it was ſufficient for them to reaſſecure their Neutralities which had been violated. They ſeemed to be very reſolute herein: And therefore not any whit relying upon the aforeſaid hopes, but fearing leſt the Kings men would not only not go out of the Neutral Towns where they yet were, but that they might think of wintering again in thoſe where they had not yet been, they reſolved no longer to delay the aſſembling of their Army. They appointed their Rendezvouz to be upon the banks of the *Rhine* towards *Reinberg*; where all their Forces met not before the beginning of *Auguſt*. Their numbers were much more conſiderable then their conditions: They conſiſted of 25000 Foot, as it was ſaid, and of 4000 Horſe; but moſt of them new and weak men, under a Generall of but ſmall experience, and under other Commanders who were but weak alſo, and of little eſteem. The firſt effect of their marching was, that thoſe of *Weſel* would no longer continue in the Catholick religion. We ſhewed you before, that they fainedly received it; but now encouraged by the neighbouring German forces, and for that the Kings forces were imployed in other parts, they reſolved again to inhibit all Catholick rites in that City, and that Hereſie ſhould only reign there and the profeſſion thereof, as before. The Apoſtolick Nuntio of *Colen* was as yet in *Weſel*; who underſtanding what reſolution they had put on, went out of the City, as did alſo all the Prieſts and Votaries; which the common people did not forbear to injure, eſpecially ſome Votaries, whom they ſeemed moſt to deteſt.

The affairs of *Weſel* being returned to their former condition, the German Camp marched, and quartered about *Reinberg*; it being pretended by the Confederates, that that was likewiſe a Neutral town, and ſubject to the Empire; and that ſundry times, now the Kings men, now the contrary parties had unjuſtly poſſeſſed it. It was not long before fallen into the Kings mens hands, as you then heard; and there was in it a Garriſon of German Foot, and ſome few Walloons. Mutinies were at this time grown ſo domeſtick, as every day ſome of them were ſeen to ariſe in one place or other. One of them had hapned a little before in *Reinberg*, where the Garriſon took up Arms, and ſhamefully drove out the Governour of the Town, putting their Elect in his place, with other ſubordinate Officers. Before the Confederates incamped about it, the two Counts of *Lippa* and *Hollach* had made great offers to the Garriſon, to perſwade them to put it into their hands; ſhewing, that they had a community of blood, which did alſo render the intereſts of the Nation common between them. But the Garriſon though they had failed in their obedience, yet would they not be failing in their faith; wherefore they rejected all offers, and betook themſelves manfully to defend the Town. Nor did they come ſhort in their deeds: For the German Camp having ſate down before the Town, and beſieged it many dayes, they found the Defendants ſtill more ſtout and reſolute in making reſiſtance; wherefore they were at laſt forced to riſe from before it, little to their honour. Count *Lippa* did notwithſtanding raiſe a Fort on the oppoſite ſide of the River, and put many men into it, to incommodiate that Town; and intending to beſiege it again, if it ſhould be needfull.

From

From *Reinberg* the Camp paſt to *Res*, which was the only Town almoſt that remained to be reſtored to the Duke of *Cleves*, and the Kings party gave continual hopes that it ſhould be ſpeedily reſtored. But the *Germans*, either not believing them, or elſe deſirous to doe ſomwhat with their Arms, reſolved to beſiege it. The United Provinces did ſtill preſs them very much; and ſhewing that they had a great deſire to be intereſſed in their cauſe, they ſent a certain number of Horſe and Foot to Count *Hollach*, to be imployed in their ſervice. Count *Lippa* incamped then before *Res* about the end of *Auguſt*, and beſieged it on all ſides. *Ramiro di Guſman*, a Spaniard, commanded in chief therein, and had with him little more then 80 Souldiers, ſome Spaniards, ſome Germans, ſome Walloons. Juſt over againſt the Town, on the other ſide of the River, there ſtood a Fort to ſecure that Paſs the better; ſo as ſome Souldiers muſt alſo be imployed there. And becauſe the Garriſon was not ſufficient to defend both the Town and Fort, the Governour ſent to the Admiral, deſiring him that he would with all ſpeed ſend him ſome more men. The ſiege being begun, the *Germans* fell to fortifie their quarters where it was moſt behovefull: The Count *de Lippa* was quartered on the lower part of the River, and Count *Hollach* above. Theſe were the two chief Quarters; and both of them began to open their Trenches. Count *Hollach*, an old Souldier, and one well verſt in ſieges, would have had them have paſt ſome men over the *Rhine*, and ſo at the ſame time to have ſtraitned the Fort, which was poſſeſt by the Kings men on the other contrary ſhore; fearing leſt by that way (as it not long after hapned) the beſieged might receive ſuccour. But were it either through ignorance, or through the emulation of the other Commanders, his advice was not followed. The Trenches were quickly ſo far advanced, as they were not long in falling joyntly to their Batteries. A great Bank ran along the River, to defend the Town and the circumjacent grounds from being thereby overflown. Upon the higheſt part of this Bank, the two Counts cauſed divers Peeces of Artillery to be planted; by which commanding the Town, they began to play upon it furiouſly afar off. Then placing many great Guns nearer hand, they came to a nearer oppugnation: wherein Count *Hollach* being better verſt, all things were better performed on his ſide. He plaid particularly upon the point of a walled Bulwark; and at the ſame time advancing with his Trenches, he was confident he ſhould ſoon be able to make a happy aſſault there. The Garriſon was not this mean while idle, but had endeavoured by frequent ſallies to incommodate the Enemy in divers ſorts. Yet were not the numbers of their Souldiers any wayes anſwerable to their need of defence. Wherefore *Guſman* continually ſollicited the Admiral to ſend him ſome ſuccour: which was ere long done; for 700 choiſe Foot coming at the ſilenteſt time of night to the banks of *Rhine*, where the aforeſaid Fort ſtood, they paſt over the River, and got without any diſturbance into the Town. This increaſe of Forces did ſo increaſe their courage that were within in the Town, as they reſolved to ſally out ſuddenly with good numbers, and to aſſault the Count *de Lippa's* quarter, where there was leſs oppoſition made. The one half of the Garriſon ſallying out in three equal Squadrons, they aſſailed the Enemy on that ſide with ſuch reſolution and valour, as they not being able to reſiſt them, began quickly to give back, and ſoon after to fall into manifeſt diſorder. The more theſe were diſheartened, the more were the others encouraged. So as the firſt blow being ſeconded by another, and the Garriſon continuing ſtill manfully to fall upon them, they made the Enemy forgo many of their Trenches; and coming to their Batteries, they unhorſt ſome of their Peeces, they nail'd up ſome others; and being of neceſſity afterwards to retreat, they carried a Demy-Canon in triumph with them into the Town. In this action about 200 of the Enemy were ſlain, and but very few of the Garriſon. This bad ſucceſs did much augment the diſcords between the German Commanders; one complained of another, but almoſt all of them blamed Count *Lippa*, and the weakneſs of his government. And the confuſion, diſorder, and fear was ſo generally ſpread throughout the whole Army, as no obediance being given, nor diſcipline obſerved, the Commanders were forced two dayes after to raiſe the ſiege. More ſhamefull councel could not have been given; nor could it have been more ſhamefully followed: For the Camp re-

treating without any manner of order, and the Souldiers ſtriving who ſhould get furtheſt from the walls of *Res*, much Baggage was left in their Quarters, many Carriages left in the fields,and ſome Barks loaded with victuals abandoned upon the River. Nor failed the Garriſon to come out upon ſuch an occaſion; but fell upon thoſe that went away laſt, ſlaying many of them, putting many of them to flight, and rendring the Retreat ſtill more baſe, and more confuſed.

The Army having raiſed this their ſiege, came before the City of *Emrick*; but being here ſtill moleſted by the ſouldiers of *Res*, and the diſcords amongſt the Commanders ſtill increaſing, and the complaints amongſt all the reſt, the people began to disband, and afterwards wholly to diſſolve. The United Provinces ſent Count *William* of *Naſſaw*, Governour of *Frieſland* to the German Camp; a very grave and valiant man, and who was full couſin German to Count *Maurice*, that he might endeavour to compound the differences, and to reduce them to ſome better diſcipline: but he could do but little good. So as *Autumn* being already advanced, and great ſtore of rain being fallen, in ſuch ſort as the Army could no longer keep the field about the end of *November*, it of it ſelf did wholly disband:and to compleat their diſorders,a good part thereof didat laſt mutiny for want of monies, as they retired to their own homes: in ſo much as it was requiſite to have an Imperial Proclamation, and likewiſe to uſe force, to extirp that malady which had ſo eaſily taken root every where. The effecting of the promiſed hope was not after omitted by the Kings Party; for the Town of *Res* was put again into the Duke of *Cleves* hands, and whatſoever elſe of his was holden in thoſe parts: and in the other neutral Countries, all things were returned to their former condition. Thus ended the movings of the German Camp; and the effects thereof proved, as it is uſually ſeen in other Leagues, greater in appearance then in reallities: few joyning in the Government of Chieftains, as the Intereſts of Princes are ſeldom alike; and which uſe to laſt as long, as each that is intereſſed, may compaſs, not the ends of others; but their own intents.

Whilſt the aforeſaid affairs were in hand, the Archduke *Albertus* and the Infanta *Iſabella*, having conſummated their marriage in *Spain*, and tarryed ſome months with the King, had at laſt taken their journey to come and enjoy the new Principality of *Flanders*. They Imbarqued at the beginning of *June* in *Barcelona*, in 24 Gallies, commanded by Prince *Doria*; and within a few days arrived ſafely at *Genua*. Coming from thence to *Milan*, they tarryed in that City almoſt all *July*; where they were honoured with an Ambaſſy from the Pope, who to that purpoſe ſent the Cardinal *Piechtriſtain*, a German, to them. From thence paſſing the *Alpes* at *Piemont*, and going through *Burgony* and *Lorain*, they entred into the Province of *Lucemburg*; and about the beginning of *September* they came to *Bruſſels*, having firſt ſtaid two days at the Town of *Hall*, which is three hours journey from that City: where at the ſame time Cardinal *Andrea* was; who having given them an account of the affairs of *Flanders*, took his journey preſently towards *Germany*, as his brother, the Marquis of *Burgaut* had done but a little before.

Preparation was had this mean while in *Bruſſels* for the receiving of the new Princes with all ſolemnity; and upon this occaſion there was already an infinite number of Foreigners in the City. They made their entry on the 6 of *September*, which was full of extraordinary pomp and magnificence; as well on the Cities behalf which erected many Triumphant Arches, all richly adorned; and which added thereunto all other demonſtrations of joy; as on the behalf of the new Princes, who came attended by a moſt flouriſhing Court,and who took pleaſure to make it appear ſo that day. Being come into *Bruſſels*, the Archduke began to take the adminiſtration of Government into his hands; the Infanta having thought it fit he ſhould do ſo, though the chiefeſt Prerogatives of the Principality were in her. The firſt buſineſs was to form the reciprocal Oaths, which were in the firſt place to be taken by the new Princes, and by the States of thoſe Provinces which were under them. Nor were the difficulties ſmall which aroſe therein, by reaſon of the wonted jealouſie of Priviledges wherein the Countrey would

would be maintained : But all impediments being removed, the new Princes went about the end of *November* to *Lovain*, which holds the firſt place of all the Cities of *Brabant*, as that Dukedom does amongſt the Provinces of *Flanders*: and here the ceremony of Swearing was performed in ſuch manner as gave beſt ſatisfaction to all ſides. The like was afterwards done in the neareſt Cities; and the City of *Antwerp* in particular, did receive the new Princes with more ſplendid and ſumptuous demonſtrations, then upon the like occaſion had been known. The like was done in many other Provinces, where the Archdukes (for ſo would the new Princes be ſtiled) thought it fitteſt to ſhew themſelves. And having given and received all poſſible ſatisfaction in all places, after having made a large progreſs, they at laſt returned to *Bruſſels*, which was to be the ordinary abode of their Court.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK VI.

The Contents.

The new Princes being come to Flanders, *their affairs proceed but ilfavouredly: many of their Souldiers mutiny, and other diſorders happen in their Army. Count* Maurice *fails not to make uſe hereof. He ſurpriſeth* Vachtendonch, *a place of importance in* Ghelderland; *and then by open ſiege takes the Forts of* Crevecoeur *and* St. Andrea. *Some Ambaſſadors from* Cæſar *come to* Bruſſels; *and paſſing afterwards into* Holland, *a Treaty of Agreement is commenced by them between the Archdukes and the Confederate Provinces, but proves at laſt bootleſs. The like endeavours between the King of* Spain's *and the Archdukes Commiſſioners on the one part, and thoſe of the Queen of* England *on the other, proves vain likewiſe. Count* Maurice *marcheth this mean while into the field with great Forces. He enters into the Province of* Flanders, *and incamps before* Newport. *The Archduke goes himſelf in perſon to obviate him. A Battel inſues between the two Camps, and* Maurice *gets the Victory. He returns to beſiege* Newport, *but cannot get it. Wherefore he returns to his quarters: And the next Spring marcheth into the field, beſiegeth* Reinberg, *and takes it. The Archduke reſolves to incamp before* Oſtend. *The ſituation and deſcription thereof. It is begun to be ſtraitned on ſundry ſides. What progreſs is made therein, and what vigorous oppoſition. In this interim Count* Maurice *goes to before* Balduke. *The Archduke relieves*

the

the City, and Maurice *retires. The ſiege of* Oſtend *continues, and the Town is bootleſly aſſaulted. A new Treaty of Peace is reaſſumed between the King of* Spain *and the Archdukes on the one ſide, and the Queen of* England *on the other. The Queen dies, nothing being concluded. She is ſucceeded by* James *King of* Scotland.

GReat were the demonſtrations of joy which were ſhewed by the Catholick Provinces upon the coming of the new Princes to *Flanders*. But the adverſe Provinces continuing more then ever in their formerly taken reſolutions, and more then ever confiding both in their own Forces and in thoſe of their Confederates, they omitted not to prepare diligently for war. The year 1600 was already begun, wherein the Archdukes new Principality had but unfortunate ſucceſſes. They were not well come to thoſe Provinces, when their Souldiery in the retiring from the field began to break forth into divers mutinies. The firſt aroſe amongſt the *Spaniards*; who coming in ſmall numbers at firſt into the Village of *Hamont* upon the State of *Liege*, and fortifying it, did ſoon make up a body of 2000 Foot and 800 Horſe. The Garriſons of *Germans* and *Walloons*, who kept the two Forts of *Crevecoeur* and St. *Andrea*, followed this example; and generally the Army in all parts, for their want of Pay, and by being ſo long uſed to this abuſe, was ſo inclined to doe the like, as had not the Commanders particularly minded the danger, it was to be feared the diſorder might have proceeded to a general Mutiny. It was endeavoured to appeaſe the *Spaniards*; and they had the Town of *Diſte* in *Brabant* aſſigned over to them, with ſuch monies as might ſuffice for the preſent, till they might be wholly ſatisfied in point of Pay. So the exceſs proceeded no further on their behalf. But the *Spaniards* were not well gone from *Hamont*, when many *Italians* entred thereinto; who reſolving likewiſe to mutiny, choſe the ſame place: From whence they were afterwards removed to *Verte*, a Town likewiſe in *Brabant*, upon the ſame terms as was firſt agreed upon with the *Spaniards*. The *Italians* might amount to 1600 Foot and 1000 Horſe; but many others of other Nations were mingled with them, as alſo with the *Spaniards*. *Anno* 1600.

The Archdukes Forces being thus weakened, the adverſe Provinces failed not to take advantage thereby. The weather was then exceeding cold in *Flanders*, and ſo very ſharp, as not only all ſtanding waters, but even almoſt all running ſtreams were frozen over every where. By the opportunity of this Froſt Count *Maurice* reſolved to endeavour the ſurpriſal of *Vachtendonch*, one of the ſtrongeſt Towns of *Ghelderland*. This Towns greateſt advantage lies in its ſituation; for it is almoſt every where ſurrounded with mariſh grounds, and therefore there is hardly any coming to the walls thereof. *Maurice* having with all ſecreſie aſſembled together all thoſe of the neareſt Garriſons, gave order that unexpectedly by night the aboveſaid ſurpriſal ſhould be endeavoured. The Souldiers found no difficulty in paſſing over thoſe mariſh grounds, for they were then all frozen; And by the ſame conveniencie paſſing over the Ditch, they ſet their ladders againſt the wall. Thoſe within were all aſleep; inſomuch as the Aſſailants being entred before they were diſcovered, poſſeſt themſelves ſuddenly of the Town, and ſoon after with little reſiſtance took the Caſtle. From thence, the rigor of the ice not being well over, Count *Maurice* marched openly againſt the Fort *Crevecoeur*; and ſtraightly beſieging it, he in a ſhort time brought the Mutiniers, who had the defence thereof, to put it into his hands. From thence he went againſt the other great Fort of St. *Andrea*. The ſpeedieſt ſuccour which could there be expected was to come from *Balduke*. Wherefore *Maurice* not content to beſiege the Fort by his Forces, reſolved to drown all the fields thereabonts with water; and to ſecure the higher places ſo, as it ſhould be kept from being ſuccoured on all ſides. The banks of the *Mauſe* being therefore cut in ſundry parts, a great ſpace of ground towards *Balduke* was ſoon overflown; and the waters did increaſe ſo much likewiſe towards the Fort, as the Garriſon could not get out on any ſide. On the higheſt ſituations *Maurice* planted divers little Forts where it was moſt needfull,

needfull, and began briskly to infeſt the Town. The Garriſon had mutinied, as we told you before; and it conſiſted of about 1500 Foot, part *Germans*, part *Walloons*, who were under their Head the *Elect*, and under other Captains which they had tumultuouſly choſen, in their places whom, together with the Governour, they had driven out of the Fort when they began firſt to mutiny. They ſhewed at firſt as if they would make an honorable defence; the rather for that they knew that *Velaſco*, Generall of the Artillery, was preparing to come and relieve them with a great ſtrength of men. But *Velaſco* not being able to advance, for that he found the wayes all ſtopt, the Garriſon began to cool. *Maurice* this mean while advanced further and further every day: And yet thinking that Intereſt would prevail more with ſuch men then Force of Arms, he offered to pay unto them all their Arrears, which came to 50000 Crowns, if they would ſurrender the Fort. Nor was he deceived in his opinion. The Mutiniers were at firſt ſomwhat backward in enttrtaining the offer; but afterwards foregoing all ſhamefaſtneſs, and then growing infamous, they at laſt yielded to deliver up the Fort upon the aforeſaid price, or rather to ſell it; and to make the action the more unworthy, they condeſcended to fight under the Enemies Colours.

The Archdukes were very much moved at theſe loſſes, and particularly for that of St. *Andrea*, which had coſt ſo much the building, which bore with it ſo many advantages; and which may be ſaid was loſt, ere fully finiſhed. It was moreover known, that Count *Maurice* made great preparations to come into the Field with powerfull Forces: And the Archdukes having but ſmall hopes ſo ſoon to ſatisfie the Mutiniers, but rather fearing the increaſe of thoſe diſorders, they ſaw their new Principality reduced into ſtraits before they were well warm in it. By reaſon of their being newly come to *Flanders*, the States-Generall of the Obedient Provinces were then met at *Bruſſels*. Which was done, that ſuch an Aſſembly being together in one place, the mutual needs both of Princes and Country might be the better conſidered, and convenient remedies applied thereunto. The greateſt miſchief, and which required the moſt efficacious remedy, was the Mutinies which had happened, and which might happen. Wherefore the Archdukes did very much preſs the Provinces, that by ſome extraordinary quantity of monies they would ſupply the neceſſity of the Army. The Deputies ſeemed to know very well the urgencie thereof, and to be willing that the Country ſhould by their endeavours contribute as much as they could thereunto. But they made it alſo plainly appear, that the Obedient Provinces would be much better pleaſed to come, if it were poſſible, to ſome good and reaſonable Agreement with thoſe which had thrown off their Obedience, then ſtill to ſuffer under the miſeries and calamities of wars. Which whilſt they were diſcourſing of, a good occaſion preſented it ſelf of commencing a Treaty to that purpoſe. And this it was. There were then likewiſe ſome of *Cæſars* Ambaſſadors at *Bruſſels*, the chief of which was *Salentino* Count of *Yſemberg*: The Emperor had ſent them chiefly upon the occaſion of that Novelty which had hapned the year before in the Neutral Countries, with ſtrict command to endeavour by all means poſſible that things ſhould be there reſtored unto, and maintained in their former condition. It was pretended that *Reinberg* did belong unto the Archbiſhoprick of *Colen*; and that the ground whereon *Schinks* Sconce was a little before built by the United Provinces, did depend upon the State of *Cleves*; and that the ſame Provinces had alſo under various pretences poſſeſt themſelves of the Town of *Emrich*, after the Spaniards were gone out of it. This was all the Ambaſſadors chiefeſt Commiſſion. They were alſo in the Emperors name to congratulate the Archdukes for their new Principality, and to ſee whether they could introduce any Treaty of Agreement between them and the United Provinces.

The Ambaſſadors diſcharged their truſt in all the aforeſaid buſineſſes. As concerning the Neutral Countries, the Archdukes excuſed the late exceſſes as much as they could, and aſſured the Ambaſſadors that it ſhould be amended for the time to come; without binding themſelves to any thing concerning the particular of *Reinberg*. For their congratulating their new Principality, they anſwered them in

in terms full of reſpect and honour And as for their mentioning a Treaty of Agreement between them and the United Provinces, they ſeemed to deſire nothing more then the peace and tranquility of thoſe Countries; affirming that for their part they would never be wanting in contributing their beſt endeavours thereunto.

Having thus declared their Commiſſions firſt to the Archdukes, the Ambaſſadors went afterwards into *Holland*, and there did the like to the Deputies repreſenting the States Generall of the United Provinces. Touching the novelties happened in the Neutral Countries, the Deputies anſwered with all obſequiouſneſs towards the Emperor and Empire, and complained bitterly of the *Spaniards*. As for *Schinks* Sconce, they endeavoured to juſtifie the ſucceſs thereof with divers reaſons: And the Ambaſſadors giving aſſured hopes, that if the United Provinces would reſtore *Emrich*, they would make the Archdukes reſtore *Reinberg*, the Deputies promiſed that that Town ſhould be reſtored, as it ſoon after was. In the point of the Treaty of Agreement, the Ambaſſadors found great reluctancie in the Deputies, who ſaid, That the United Provinces would never confide in the *Spaniards*; that therefore they would not enter into any Treaty with them; and that the Archdukes, by the form of their new Principality, did wholly depend upon the King of *Spain*. Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the Ambaſſadors did ſo work it, as at laſt the United Provinces gave way that their Deputies ſhould meet with thoſe of the obedient Provinces, to make if it were poſſible ſome good agreement between both ſides; and the Convention was agreed upon to be at *Berghen-ap-Zome*, a Town belonging to the United Provinces, and but a ſhort dayes journey from *Antwerp*. Thus was this Conference occaſioned by the means of theſe Ambaſſadors; though no good came thereof, it being broken almoſt as ſoon as begun, as ſhall be related in its proper place. About the ſame time almoſt, another Negotiation was put in hand to bring the affairs to ſome good correſpondencie between the King of *Spain* and the Archdukes on the one ſide, and the Queen of *England* on the other. Cardinal *Andrea* had laid ſome ground-works hereof whilſt he had yet the Government of *Flanders*. Nor did the Queen ſhew herſelf averſe thereunto. When the Archdukes were come to *Bruſſels*, they took occaſion to continue the friendly offices begun by the Cardinal; and the Queen did the like with them. Wherefore theſe demonſtrations proceeding from both ſides, by letters, and particular perſonages, it was believed that the Treaty might hold on, and that they might come to ſome good agreement. Not long after, the Town of *Boloign* in *France*, which lies upon the Engliſh Channel, was choſen for this end. Where about the beginning of *May*, *Baltazar de Ziniga*, who was Ambaſſador for the Spaniſh King in the Court of *Flanders*, and *Fernando Cariglio*, came in behalf of the King of *Spain*; and with them the Preſident *Richardotto*, and the Audienciarie *Verrechin* on the Archdukes part: And on the behalf of the Queen of *England*, Sir *Henry Nevil*, who was her Ambaſſador at that time with the King of *France*, Sir *John Herbert*, and Sir *Thomas Edmonds*. But all theſe being met in *Boloign*, ſuch difficulties aroſe in point of precedencie between the Spaniſh and the Engliſh Agents, as it was not poſſible to reconcile them: wherefore they came not to any agreement at all; but departing almoſt as ſoon as they were met, the Negotiation was put off to a better conjuncture of time.

Count *Maurice* was by this time ready to march into the field. It was thought he would go againſt the peculiar Province of *Flanders*; for he imbarqued his men in the maritime Gulfs which were neareſt that Province; and therefore it was judged that his principal deſigns tended thitherward. Nor was it ill imagined: For about the midſt of *June* he landed all his Army about the Fort *Saſſo*, which conſiſted (as it was commonly ſaid) of 15000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe. Divers Rivers run through *Gaunt*, which is the chiefeſt City of the Province of *Flanders*; one of them ſtreams out in a large Channel, which falls into the neareſt maritime Gulf to that City, and which afterwards joyns with the reſt which doe incompaſs the Iſlands of *Zealand*. Here ſtands the Fort called *Saſſo* of *Gaunt*, as not being above five leagues from that City. This Fort was very carefully guarded by a Spaniſh Garriſon, eſpecially for the ſecuring of ſome Sluces by which

which the water of the aforesaid Channel might either be raised or let down, and drown all the fields thereabouts. Neer this Fort upon the brink of the same Gulf, two lesser Forts were placed. *Maurice* assaulted these, and easily taking them, it was thought he would have assaulted the great Fort of *Sasso*; but he fearing he should be entertained there longer then he could be dispenced withal by his other greater designs, he went from thence and marched with all his Army towards *Bruges*, and past almost by the Gates thereof. It was thought, that having many in that City who sided with him, he hoped that upon occasion of his being so near the Town, they might occasion some tumult which might happen for his advantage. But failing of his expectation, he pursued his march, with evident signs that he would lay siege to *Newport*, a Town near the Sea, and not far from *Ostend*. At the same time as he march by land, those many ships waited on him by sea, which served to land his Army in the Province of *Flanders*. When he was entred into *Ostend*, he publickly declared his resolution of besieging *Newport*. The Archdukes had divers Forts to withstand the excursions which were made by the souldiers of *Ostend*; and in particular three, called St. *Albertus*, *Snaeschercb*, and *Bredene*; and there was another between *Ostend* and *Bruges*, upon the pass of a river in a place called *Andemberg*. *Maurice* turn'd first upon these Forts, which were but weakly garrisoned and munited; and meeting but with little resistance, possessed himself speedily of them all. He thought that the Catholick Camp would not adventure to relieve *Newport*, unless they had first recovered those Forts, and that if they should not recover them all the sooner, he might the mean while take the Town, which was neither very great, nor very strong, nor sufficiently provided of men, nor of other things requisite to make defence. With this design and these hopes he drew near to *Newport*, and being still followed by his Maritime Train, by means whereof his Army might continually be largely furnished with whatsoever he wanted, he began to straighten the Town both by sea and land. *Newport* doth not stand fully upon the sea-shore, but very neer it: on the one part thereof there runs a little River; which though it be but of a mean Channel, yet where it fals into the sea, makes a considerable haven, and especially at high tydes.

Upon the first news of Count *Maurice* his being moved, and of his Armies being landed in the Province of *Flanders*, the Arch Dukes went presently from *Brussels* to *Gaunt*, the better by their presence to secure both that City, and the other Towns of that Province. Where mustering as many men, with all diligence, as they could assemble together, they made them all come into the same Province, that they might make use of them against the Enemy, and oppose all their designs. A good part of their men had mutinied, as you have heard, and therefore they could not make so great a Body, nor so vigorous Forces, as so weighty an occasion did require. The Spanish mutineers, who as you have heard, were in *Diste* were contented to come unto the Army with 800 Foot, and 600 Horse, provided they might serve under their own Commanders and Officers. It was impossible to bring the Italian mutineers at *Hamont* to this, because they were not yet wholly agreed, nor gone to *Verte*, as you heard before they were to do. By reason of these mutinies, and for that the Arch-Dukes souldiers did still diminish, they could not assemble on their sides above 12000 Foot, and 1200 Horse. These came marcing apace, and before the Arch-Duke's was come to *Gaunt*, *Velasco* General of the Artillery was already march'd forwards towards *Bruges* with 3000 Foot, and 300 Horse: the rest followed under the two other chief Commanders, The Admiral of *Aragon*, General of the Horse, & Count *Frederick de Berg*, who supplyed the place of Camp-master General, in lieu of Count *Mansfield*, who by reason of his great age could no longer exercise that place in his own person. The Army was made up of Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and Walloons, together with some Burgonians, and Irish. The way by which they marched led them close by the walls of *Gaunt*, which the Arch-Dukes were well pleased withal, that they themselves might appear in Person, whereby the more to encourage the souldiery upon this so great Emergency. They therefore went out into the field, and the Infanta getting on horse-back, and followed by all her Court on horse-back likewise, she presented her self before the colours

where

where in particular the Spaniſh mutineers were. She was endowed with a Princely aſpect and maſculine valors, and being ſo long bred up amidſt the chiefeſt negotiations of the world, in the School of ſuch a father, ſhe was very knowing therein, and capable thereof. Suffering her ſelf firſt to be fully ſeen, and the Army being much joyed with her preſence, ſhe by her weighty and ſprightly words, did yet more enbarten them againſt the Enemy. Saying,

There were never any ſouldiers who fought in the defence of a more juſt cauſe. That many of them had been in Flanders, *from the very firſt beginning of the war; and therefore knew how oft by all convenient waies the King her father had endeavoured to reduce the Rebels to their due obedience. That now they had peculiar Princes of their own, ſeparated from the Crown of* Spain, *according to their ancient deſire, and were notwithſtanding ſtill more obſtinate then ever in their Rebellion. That they warred likewiſe againſt God more then againſt their Soveraigns, having oppoſed from the beginning, and ſtill continuing to oppoſe Hereſie to the Catholick Religion. That therefore neither ſhe nor the Arch-Duke could any waies doubt, but that the ſouldiers of that Army, who were all of them ſo Catholick, ſo valiant, and ſo Loyal, would ſhew themſelves to be the ſame men in the preſent occaſion, as they had alwaies been formerly; That to boot, with the certain reward that their ſervice, which they ſhould do to God, bore with it, they might alſo aſſure themſelves to be rewarded by the Arch-Duke, by her, and by the King her Brother, with whom their cauſe went joyntly hand in hand. That they ſhould not doubt of pay. For monies were expected from* Spain, *and ſome large ſums were hoped for from the obedient Provinces of Flanders. But that if all other waies ſhould be wanting, ſhe would make uſe of her own Jewels to that purpoſe, and of the very Plate ſhe uſed for her own ſervice.*

Theſe words were received by the Army with incredible applauſe; each ſouldier ſtriving who ſhould ſhew himſelf moſt ready to dye for the Infanta with his ſword in his hand, and eſpecially upon this occurrency. Nor was the Arch-Duke wanting in adding what he thought fitting, to continue the ſouldiers the more in their preſent good diſpoſition; declaring at laſt that he would be there himſelf in perſon, andrun the ſame fortune with them.

The Army being marched on, the Arch-Duke went likewiſe from *Gaunt*, and about the end of *June* came to *Bruges*; where the whole Army was muſtered. The firſt counſel they took was to regain the Forts which were faln into the Enemies hands: in conſequence whereunto, that of *Audemburg* was ſuddenly ſet upon with ſuch reſolution, as the defendants either for want of Forces, or want of courage, did immediately ſurrender it: From thence the Catholicks went, and with equal violence aſſaulted the other of *Sneaſcherch*; and being withſtood by thoſe within, the Fort was ſoon ſtormed, and all the Garriſon put to the ſword. By this example the Enemies did of themſelves forgo the Forr of *Bredene*. From hence without any delay the Army marched towards the Fort St. *Alberto*, which was the greateſt and beſt provided; and marched towards the Enemies Camp,. Count *Maurice* did then ſend 2000 Foot, the moſt of which were Scots, with ſome Troops of Horſe commanded by Count *Erneſtus* of *Naſſaw*, to poſſeſs themſelves of a Paſs, wherein he thought to entertain the Catholick Camp longer, thinking that it would not ſo ſoon advance towards his Army. Theſe ſouldiers of the Enemy gave at unawares upon the Catholicks, who finding themſelves ſo much ſuperiour in numbers, and with ſuch advantage of freſh ſucceſs, ſoon routed the Adverſary, and made a bloody ſlaughter amongſt them. This happened on the ſecond of *July* in the morning, and they had yet a conſiderable way to march, before they could come up to the Enemies Camp, to aſſault it Wherefore the Arch-Duke deſired to know what his Councel of war thought fitteſt to be done. *Velaſco*, the General of the Artillery was ſo far behinde with above 3000 Foot, as he could not come up time enough to the reſt of the Army, when the Arch-Duke would notwithſtanding have marched ſpeedily to the Enemy. Who were likewiſe leſſened in their numbers, by reaſon of the late loſs of the Scots, by reaſon of thoſe that were either loſt or left in the Forts, & for that *Maurice* at his coming to *Oſtend* had added to the former Gariſon thereof. When the Archdukes Councel of war came to ſpeak their opinions, it was variouſly diſputed. Amongſt the Spaniſh Commanders, Camp-maſter

Gaſper Zapena was particularly well eſteemed of for his valour, and for his long experience, which notwithſtanding made him always rather imbrace cautious then hazardous reſolutions. He was clean againſt falling violently upon the Enemy then. He conſidered,

That they were to make above an houre and a halfs march before they could come to where they were; that the Catholicks would come thither after their journey, and their that mornings fight. And what military Maxim (ſaid he) is it, that doth teach to fall with blind reſolution upon an Enemies Camp, without having firſt well known what it is? and when ſo conſiderable a number being behind, the Catholicks would come ſhort of them in numbers?

Then turning more freely towards the Archduke, he ſaid,

Moſt mighty Prince! Your Highneſs in my opinion hath a glorious Victory ſafe in your hands, if you will be carefull in the carriage thereof. Doth not your Highneſs apprehend Count Maurice *his raſhneſs? He is come, firmly believing that he ſhould take* Newport *before it could be ſuccour'd; and did conſide more then became him to doe in the Forts which he had taken, and which were afterwards ſo eaſily loſt again. Now when he ſhall ſee himſelf faced by our Army, he muſt of neceſſity think of retreating; which muſt be done either by land, or by ſea. He hath no place whither to have refuge by land, but* Oſtend; *and if he retreat by ſea, he muſt of neceſſity reimbarque his men, together with all his Artillery, munition and baggage which were formerly landed. Let our Army then halt between the Towns of* Newport *and* Oſtend; *ſo as* Maurice *ſhall not be able to get by land to the latter. He will then be inforced to retreat by ſea: which if he doe, how great will his diſorder in imbarking be? and how great opportunity ſhall we then have to aſſault the Enemy with all advantage? to rout, and to diſperſe them?*

This opinion was grounded upon very ſound reaſons. But *Claudio Barlotta*, the antient Walloon Campmaſter, a lover of hazardous enterpriſes, and who ofttimes degenerated from audacity to raſhneſs, did with ſuch vehemencie oppoſe it, as he drew moſt of the other Commanders to ſide with him. He ſaid,

That it was too great an error to let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion of aſſaulting the Enemy; that it was to be believed they had already received a great blow, both by the loſs of the Forts which they before had got, and much by their loſs of ſo many men that very morning. That they did not expect ſo furious a tempeſt: wherefore it was to be believed, that poſſeſt with fear and confuſion, they would in all haſte imbarque themſelves, and rather think of flying away, then of fighting. That he did therefore earneſtly preſs, that the Army might be ſpeedily led on to purſue their begun victories: That of all others, the Mutiniers were impatient of delay; and of what advantage was it upon ſuch an occaſion to make uſe of the Souldiers forwardneſs? That ſome of the Catholicks were behind; but that it was very well known the Enemy was likewiſe very much leſſened in their numbers; nor was it numbers, but valour that gave the victory: That this victory might be built upon for certain, if they would march immediately towards the Enemy, and fall upon them. And what doubt was there to be made of it? ſince the Souldiers were to fight under the command, and in the eye-ſight of their own Prince, who would likewiſe be their Captain-Generall? and to detain the Army in ſo fair a courſe, would it not be totally to diſcourage the Souldiery? would it not be to bereave them of certain hopes, and to feed them with more uncertain? For if time were allowed unto the Enemy, they would peradventure provide ſo for their retreat, as the ſucceſs of victory might prove as doubtfull, as it might now be thought certain.

The Souldiers ardencie to fight was really very great, and chiefly the fervor of the Mutiniers; who ſtormed, ſaying, that they had not left their Companions to ſtand idly now before the Enemies; and they did very much preſs to fall immediately upon them. The Archduke notwithſtanding did ſtand ſomewhat in ſuſpence between theſe two Opinions; when a Chance made him reſolve to march immediately againſt the Enemies Camp. Fortune hath always a great ſtroke in all humane affairs here below: But in the concernments of war ſhe does almoſt what ſhe pleaſeth; and ofttimes by unexpected accidents cauſeth loſſes to inſue, where victory was expected. The Army marched upon the Sea-ſhore; and it ſo fell out, that juſt as the Archduke was to put on his reſolution, a great many of

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the Enemies ſhips were deſcried, which upon ſeveral occurrences came from *Newport* towards *Oſtend*. The Catholick Camp did then verily believe that the enemy was reſolved to retreat, and that this was already the beginning of it. Wherefore being now more incouraged then before, they purſued their march, each ſouldier with all fervor ſolliciting one another. There remained yet four hours of day when the Catholicks came within ſight of the enemies Camp; 60 horſe marched foremoſt in the van, and then the foot followed, devided into two great Battalions; each of which was confuſedly mixed of all Nations; the reſt of the horſe took their place in each of them, where it was fitteſt. And the Spaniſh mutiners, both horſe and foot, that they might ſignalize themſelves the more upon this occaſion, had obtained to march in the head of the Army.

Count *Maurice* was not this mean while idle. At the firſt news that the Enemy came to aſſault him he called a Councel of war, where it was reſolved that they would manfully joyn battel. They thought that to retreat by imbarking themſeves, would not onely appear baſe and unworthy, but that it might likewiſe prove dangerous. That the Catholicks would come weary, whereas their men were in good plight and vigor. That the Catholicks were fewer in number then they, and that their men were not to yeild in goodneſs to the Catholicks. That the mean while they might make choiſe of the moſt advantagious place to fight in; and out of ſo many reaſons have aſſured hopes of victory. This being reſolved upon, *Maurice* roſe with all his men from before *Newport*, and drew as far from thence as was needful, to keep unmoleſted by that Garriſon, whilſt he ſhould fight the Catholicks; and that he might the more incourage his men, by leading them to encounter with thoſe of the Arckduke's. Then ſtaying in an oppertune place, he was very diligent in fitting his Army for the battel. And that he might neceſſitate them the more to fight, he gave order that all the ſhips ſhould ſtand off at ſea, that there might be no hope of ſafety that way. His camp conſiſted likewiſe of divers Nations, furniſhed with gallant Commanders, and long accuſtomed to the wars of *Flanders*, to boot, with the Flemiſh, which conſiſted chiefly of Frieſlanders, and men of *Ghelderland*; there were in the Army of the united Provinces a great number of French, Engliſh, and Scots, and there were then alſo ſome Foot of Switzers amongſt them. Colonel Sir *Francis Vere*, an old Souldier of known valour, and of whoſe Military actions you may have often heard in this our Story, Commanded all the Engliſh foot. But Count *Maurice*, willing to encourage his Army to battel, before he compoſed his ſquadrons, advanced before them, and ſaid thus,

I ingeniouſly confeſs, my fellow ſouldiers, that I am deceived in the hopes I had when I firſt undertook this ſiege; I hoped that the Paſſes and Forts which we had taken, would have ſo long entertained the Enemy, till the Town being, as we know, but ill provided, might have faln into our hands. The Fortune of War alters the condition of affairs in a moment, and ſo ſhe hath dealt with us upon this occaſion. But we ought to thank her for it, becauſe that ſuddenly altring the face of affairs, ſhe hath proved more favourable to us, when it was to be feared ſhe might have proved more averſe. And truly, if the Arch-Duke, weighing affairs better on his behalf, had made his Army ſtay betwixt Newport *and* Oſtend, *in what ſtraits ſhould we now be? All hereabouts, unleſs it be* Oſtend, *is the Enemies Country; we ſhould not have been able to have got thither. And then being enforced to have retreated by Sea, with how much advantage might the Enemy have aſſaulted us? Clean contrary, the advantages will now lie wholly on our ſide. They come wearied with marching, ſhort in numbers, blinde with rage, and with the very fury of mutineers. Did they peradventure, after this mornings tumultuous action, think that we either buried in ſleep, or born away by fear, would either not have taken up Arms at all, or elſe have thrown them away without any waies diſputing the buſineſs? Will this be the firſt time that our Forces ſhall have beaten theirs? Nay I hope this ſhall prove the moſt noble victory that we ever got of them. Our men are as good as theirs: we exceed them in numbers; and we will take the moſt advantagious place to fight upon. But ſtill our greateſt advantage muſt lye in our Arms and courage. I for my part will be in all places and from this time forward I declare my ſelf unworthy the prerogatives of a Commander, if upon this occaſion I be not equally forward in all danger with*

every common Souldier. And that there may be no escaping out of the Battel, I have given order that all the ships stand off at Sea far from the shore. That I might make the Victory certain, I have chosen to adde despaire to hope. In fine, my Souldiers, we must this time either overcome, or die with our swords in our hands.

This discourse was received by the Army with joyfull acclamations, and all readiness to fight was shewn. Then *Maurice* gave out his Orders. He assigned the Van to Colonel Sir *Francis Vere*, the Battel to Count *Solme*, and the Rear to Monsieur *de Temple*; mixing together the Souldiers of all the several Nations. He disposed of the Horse, (of which Count *Lodovick de Nassaw* was Generall) some on the Front, and some on the Flanks; and kept no particular place for himself, resolving to be at his liberty of transferring himself wheresoever the greatest need should require. He had with him his brother *Henry*, a Youth of 16 years of age, and the Duke of *Alsatia*, the Prince of *Henault*, and Count *Coligni*, Grandchild to the late Admiral of *France*; together with divers other young Gentlemen of great quality, who were come a little before from the Heretick Countries into *Flanders* to be trained up under him in the exercise of Arms, would keep near his person.

The Armies met upon the Sea-shore. From thence more towards the Land appears great Hills of Sand; which seem to be on purpose placed by Nature, to keep the Land from being swallowed up in those low situations by the Seas when they are most tempestuous. Those little Mountains of Sand lie all along the Coast of *Flanders*, and are called Downs. The Sand is there moveable, and is easily raised by the wind, which makes them the more troublesom to be dealt with. The Tide began to flow when the Armies marched: wherefore they were forced still to draw towards the Downs; and in fine the Main Battel must be given there. To boot with the Catholicks being wearied and fewer in number, the Sun was then going towards the West, on which side the Enemies Camp was; and therefore his beams gave upon the Catholicks faces, which were on the East side. It was in *July*, and the hotteſt hours had very much inflam'd the sands; and there was then likewise a little wind stirring, which raising the sand, did much more incommodiate the Catholicks Camp, then it did their Enemies. Count *Maurice* placed some Peeces of Artillery between the Downs and the Sea-shore, where the high Tide had left way, for his better advantage on that part. He possest himself of the highest parts of the Downs, where on one of the most advantagious sides he likewise placed some Peeces of Artillery. And having all these advantages, expected that the Enemy should come and assault him. Nor were the Catholicks long in coming. The Archduke in few words endeavoured still to encourage them to the conflict.

He put them in mind of their former victories; of the service they did to God to the Infanta, to himself, and to the King of Spain: *And that as he himself would be an eye-witness of their this dayes behaviour, they might with more security expect to be largely recompenced.*

The Mutiniers Horse gave the first assault; who led by the Admiral through that passage which remained then betwixt the Downs and the Sea, met with a fierce encounter, and were quickly very much indammaged by the Enemies Artillery placed with the aforesaid advantage. At the same time almost did the Foot fall on on both sides, upon the Downs; betwixt whom happened one of the fiercest fights that hath any time been known. The Spanish Mutiniers were on foot in the Front of the first Catholick Battalion; who together with the rest gave miraculous testimony of their valour: And the Enemies Van began already manifestly to give ground; for Sir *Francis Vere* who commanded them being wounded, and many of their first Ranks slain, the rest observed orders no longer. But new Souldiers of the Battel coming in to reinforce the Van, the latter was sustained by the former, and the fight continued more hot then before. Their Muskets and other Fire-weapons being discharged, they came to closer fight; to the push of Pike, and managing of their swords. Various, but equally fierce were the instigations on each side. They fought out of Honour, and out of Hatred; as if what for hope, what for despair, they had been mad. Each side

hoped

hoped to overcome; and as if they had deſpaired at the ſame time, they would rather die then be vanquiſhed. You might therefore ſee the Squadrons of each ſide to billow up and down like waves, ſometimes advancing, ſometimes giving back; the place whereon they fought being full of dead and wounded men, and the fighters full of ſweat, blood, and fierceneſs. And by this time all the Forces of both ſides were joyned in Battel. But the diſadvantage on the Catholicks behalf was too great: Tired men fought againſt thoſe that were freſh; and the exceſſive heat of the ſand made them more ſenſible of their wearineſs; they ſuffered likewiſe more by the duſt, and by the ſun. Yet did they valiantly make good their party: when the Catholick Horſe being oft-times diſordered, and oft times rallied again, were at laſt wholly routed; and as they turned back, fell foul upon their own Foot, and diſordered them alſo; which gave ſo great advantage to the Enemy, as it totally ſecured the victory to them. Amongſt the Enemies Horſe, there were ſome Troops of French Curaſiers who gave particular proof of their valour that day: And queſtionleſs the Enemies Horſe were ſo much the more in number, as the Foot being ſundry times thereby invigored, which was likewiſe more numerous then that of the Catholicks, they alſo had the better of the battel. The Arrchduke by being preſent every where, was not wanting in playing the part which upon ſuch an occaſion became a generous Prince and Commander; thruſting himſelf ſundry times into where the fight was hotteſt, he expoſed himſelf to apparent danger of death: Nor did he this without the loſs of blood; for wearing no helmet, to the end that he might be the better known, he was ſtruck with a Halbert on the head towards the right ear; but the blow was given ſo at random, as it did him but little harm. The Archduke being by reaſon of his wound retired, it was noiſed abroad amongſt his men, that he was not only wounded, but taken. The Enemy had already taken the Admiral priſoner; ſlain, taken or wounded almoſt all the Campmaſters, Captains, and other moſt conſiderable Souldiers of the Catholicks Army. Inſomuch as the reſt, diſcouraged through ſo many great loſſes, threw away their Arms confuſedly here and there, and ſeeking to ſave themſelves by flight, yielded the final victory to the Enemy.

The number of the ſlain in Battels is always uncertain; but at this time it was moſt uncertain: For many thought it was equal on both ſides; and many, that the Catholicks loſt many more men. It was certain, that the beſt and valianteſt amongſt them were found miſſing. Beſides the Admiral, two of the Spaniſh Campmaſters, *Gaſper Zappena*, and *Luis de Vigliar*, were taken priſoners; the firſt whereof was ſo ſorely wounded, as he ſoon dyed. The Campmaſter *Baſtock*, an Iriſh-man, was ſlain in the battel. *Roderigo Saſſo*, Captain of the Archdukes Horſe-guard, was wounded to death; ſo likewiſe was the Italian Campmaſter *Avolas*. Count *Bucquoi* and *Barlotte*, both of them Walloon Campmaſters, were more ſlightly wounded. And in fine, all the Catholick Officers, as well greater or leſſer, were either ſlain wounded, or taken. They loſt above a hundred Colours, together with all their Artillery, Baggage and Ammunition; and the common report was, that above 3000 of each Army were ſlain in the battel. Amongſt divers Italian Nobles, *Alexander* and *Cornelius Bentivoglio* dyed in the firſt ranks, and when the battel was at the hotteſt; the one of them was our Brother the other our Nephew; both of them being young men about 20 years of age, who were come a little before into *Flanders*. There were ſlain of the Enemy, to boot with the ordinary Souldiers, above 30 Captains, and a good number of Under-Officers. They fought certainly upon great advantage; and Count *Maurice* knew very judiciouſly how to make uſe of it; and in all things elſe proved himſelf to be a good Souldier, and a gallant Commander; and by that dayes action he either cauſed, or continued the opinion, that if he were good at Sieges, he was no leſs good at Battels. This Battel laſted the ſpace of three hours; and the Catholicks being fled, many councelled Count *Maurice* to purſue them: but becauſe night came on, and much blood was ſpent, and for that his ſide likewiſe had laboured hard, he thought it ſufficient to have prevailed thus far, without attempting other advantages, which might have proved uncertain. The Archduke retiring that very night to *Bruges*, went ſoon after to *Gaunt*, where the

Infanta

Infanta was; who welcomed him with a manlike ſpirit, as ſhe had likewiſe done the various reports that he was either ſlain, wounded, or taken. He came accompanied by the Duke *d'Aumale*, who was likewiſe ſlightly wounded, and but by few other people of quality; for all the chief Lords of the Country were then at *Bruſſels*, by reaſon of the States-Generall which as yet continued, being deſired ſo to doe by the Archdukes themſelves, that by their preſence and authority they might facilitate ſuch reſolutions as were to be taken.

This is the ſo famous Battel of *Newport*, or of the *Downs*, for it is equally called by thoſe two names: wherein according to the uſual ſports of Fortune, that Army was overcome, which thought it ſelf ſure of the victory. From *Gaunt* the Archduke returned ſuddenly again to *Bruges*; where having rallied the Souldiers that were diſperſed here and there after the Battel, he gave order that they ſhould joyn with thoſe that were under *Velaſco* Generall of the Artillery, who had not been at the Conflict, and that they ſhould all of them draw down near *Newport*. To this purpoſe *Velaſco* marched to *Dixmuda*, a good Town within three hours march of *Newport*: This was done with ſuch diligence, as *Velaſco* was able to reinforce *Newport* with men, and to furniſh it likewiſe ſo with all things elſe, as there might be no fear of loſing it. This mean while Count *Maurice*, after he had got the Victory, had reſolved to reaſſume the Siege, and began already to open the Trenches on one ſide: but underſtanding that *Velaſco* was thereabouts, and that the Town was well provided, he would not ingage himſelf any further therein; conſidering how much his Army was diminiſhed by the Fight, and the new difficulties which he might meet withall, in caſe he ſhould be inforced to retreat. He therefore raiſed his Camp from before *Newport*, and with all his Naval preparation paſt to *Oſtend*. We told you before, that to keep the Enemies of that Town from making excurſions, the Archdukes had divers Forts about it, to boot with thoſe which were a little before loſt, and again recovered; and amongſt the reſt, one which was called *Sancta Catherina*, and which was well garriſon'd and munited. *Maurice*, before he left *Oſtend*, would try whether or no he could make himſelf maſter of that Fort, and began to begirt it: But Campmaſter *Barlotte* being ſent by the Archduke to relieve it, and Count *Frederick de Berg* coming in afterwards to the ſame intent, the Fort was ſo ſecured, as *Maurice* was forced to quit the enterpriſe. Yet there happened a loſs which the Archduke was much diſpleaſed at; which was, that as *Barlotte* was advancing from a certain place againſt the Enemy, he was ſhot into the head by a Musket, and preſently knockt down dead. In him certainly the Catholick Army loſt a Souldier exceeding forward in execution; though it may be ſaid, that throwing himſelf too oft into dangers, he had delayed his death therein too long. Count *Maurice*, loſing all hopes of making any further acquiſition in the Province of *Flanders*, went quite away from thence, and returned with all his men from *Oſtend* by Sea, into *Holland* and the adjacent parts; not reaping almoſt any advantage by ſo noble a Victory, ſave only the cry'd up glory of having ſo happily atchieved it.

In this interim, about the end of *July*, the Deputies of the Obedient Provinces were met with thoſe of the United, to come to ſome Treaty of Agreement, as it was touched upon before. But as we then told you, the Aſſembly was hardly well met, when it was diſſolved: For the Propoſals of the ſeveral ſides were ſo far differing, as it was thought impoſſible to find any way of adjuſting them. The Deputies of the United Provinces perſiſted in their former opinions in matters of Religion, Liberty, and deteſtation of the Archdukes their new Principality; and were the more reſolute therein, by reaſon of the advantages which the laſt Victory, and their other preceding ſucceſſes had brought to their affairs. Whereupon the Catholick Deputies departed very ill ſatisfied from the Aſſembly; and the Obedient Provinces ſhewed themſelves preſently ready to aſſiſt their Princes with large Contributions; that ſince the others would not come to any Treaty of Peace, the War might be the more vigorouſly maintained on the Catholicks behalf. Nor did any thing elſe of conſiderable happen on either ſide, that Year.

Anno 1601.

The Year 1601. being begun, the Archduke, who together with the Infanta was returned to *Bruſſels*, gave order for the raiſing of new men in *Germany*, and in the *Walloons* Country; and in *Spain* they reſolved to ſend a Brigado of Spaniſh Foot, and three others of Italians. Neither did the United Provinces uſe leſs diligence in their providing to come ſtrong into the field that new year; and they were ſpeedier in their proceedings. For as ſoon as the ſeaſon of drawing into the field came, Count *Maurice* failed not to muſter his Army. He made the Rendezvouz near to *Schincks* Sconce; and ſeeming to threaten *Balduke*, he turned upon *Reinberg*, and about the beginning of *June* incamped before it. He began from the oppoſite ſide of the *Rhine* to batter a little Fort, ſeated in the Iſland, whereof you have formerly heard, and eaſily took it: Then begirting the Town round about, and having firſt well fortified himſelf on the outward ſide, to keep off ſuccours, he began his Trenches. The Archduke was not yet in a condition of coming into the field; wherefore he was troubled at this news, and at the difficulties he ſhould meet withall in relieving the Town. He notwithſtanding commanded Count *Herman di Berge*, who was Governour of that part of *Ghelderland* which was yet under the Archdukes, that he ſhould endeavour to convey ſome men into the Town, and to doe what elſe was requiſite. But diverſion was judged the beſt remedy for ſecuring of *Reinberg*; and that of *Oſtend* was thought the moſt important. The Province of *Flanders* did greatly deſire (as it hath been often ſaid) that that place might be taken from the Enemy, by reaſon of the great prejudice it was to all the parts thereabouts; for they muſt either be ſubject to excurſions, or elſe muſt pay great contributions to be free of them. The ſame Province, by contributing monies much more largely to the Archdukes then all the other obedient ones, had renewed with all eagerneſs their former deſires of getting *Oſtend*, offering what further aſſiſtance they could therein. The Archduke applyed himſelf therefore to this diverſion: And parting from *Bruſſels*, came to *Bruges*; and about the end of *July* he himſelf began to ſtraiten *Oſtend*. This mean while the people which were expected from *Spain* and *Italy* were come to *Flanders*. The Campmaſter *John de Bracamonte* commanded the Spaniſh Brigado: And the Italian Brigadoes, were one of them *Lombards*, under Count *Theodore Trivulſio*; and the other two *Neapolitans*, under the Marquis *di Bella*, and *John Tomaſo Spina*. The Archduke commanded *Bracamonte*, that he ſhould come with his Brigado, & joyn with the Army which was incamped before *Oſtend*; and that the reſt of the new come *Italians* ſhould joyn as ſoon as they could with Count *Hermans* men, that if it were poſſible, they might ſpeedily relieve *Reinberg*. But neither did this new ſuccour doe any good; nor did the diverſion againſt *Oſtend* keep *Reinberg* from being taken. For upon Count *Hermans* march, Count *Maurice* had ſo fortified himſelf without, as there was no hope left for the Town. *Luigi Bernardo d'Avila*, a Spaniard, was Governour thereof: He had in it a Garriſon of 1200 Foot, and 100 Horſe; and from the beginning endeavoured as much as in him lay, by many ſtout ſallies to keep the Enemy from the Ditch. Which when they had got, thoſe within did for a while valiantly defend the breach which was made. But the terror of Mines, whereof ſome one was every day made to play by thoſe without, ſucceeding the Batteries, and eſpecially there being no hope of ſuccour; upon the laſt of *July*, the Town was ſurrendred up to Count *Maurice* upon honorable terms.

We will now come to the Siege of *Oſtend*: which being one of the moſt memorable of this our Age, doth certainly challenge, that as much brevity and diligence as may be being joyned together, it be duly conſidered and repreſented with all clearneſs. It was above three years before it was brought to an end; and it was almoſt as uncertain at the laſt day as at the firſt, to which ſide the victory did incline. The beſieged never wanted freſh ſuccours by ſea, nor did the beſiegers at any time ceaſe advancing by land. Infinite were the Batteries, the Aſſaults infinite; ſo many were the Mines, and ſo obſtinate the Countermines, as it may be almoſt affirmed as much work was done under ground, as above ground. New names were to be found for new Engines. There was a perpetual diſpute between the Sea and Land: The works on the latter could not operate ſo much, as the ruines made by the former did deſtroy. Great ſtore of blood ran

every

every where, and men were readier to loſe it, then to preſerve it; till ſuch time as the beſieged wanting ground, and rather what to defend, then defence, they were at laſt forced to forgo that little ſpot of ground which was left them, and to yeild. In as many other memorable ſieges as are contained in this Hiſtory, we have endeavoured alwaies to give the continued deſcription thereof; that laying the daily ſucceſs thereof before your eyes, they might be the more fully and clearly conceived: But it is impoſſible to do ſo in this ſiege of *Oſtend*; for continuing ſo long as it did, we ſhall be forced often to divert the Narrative thereof to other important ſucceſſes which cannot waite the end of this.

Oſtend ſtands upon the ſea ſhore, and in the midſt of a mariſh ground, and of divers Channels, which comes from the continent: but it is chiefly environed almoſt on all ſides by two of the greateſt of them, by which the ſea enters into the land, and grows ſo high when it is full ſea, as you would rather think the Town were buried, then ſituated in the ſea. In former times it was an open place, and ſerved rather for a habitation for ſhepheards, then for ſouldiers. But the importancy of the ſeat being afterwards conſidered, the houſes were incloſed with a Platform, inſtead of a wall, and from time to time the Line was ſo Flank round about it, as it proved to be one of the ſtrongeſt Towns of all the Province of *Flanders*. It is divided into two parts, which are called the old-Town and the new. The former which is the leſſer, ſtands towards the ſea; the latter and greater lyes towards the land. The old-Town is fenced from the fury of the ſea by great piles of wood driven into the ground, and joyned together for the defence of that part, and there the waves ſufficiently ſupply the part of a ditch. The Channel may be ſaid to do the like on the ſides, and eſpecially at full ſea, of Channels they become Havens, being then capable of any kinde of veſſel, and by them at all times the middle ſiſe of Barks enter into the ditches, and from the ditches in divers parts into the Town it ſelf; to boot, with the chief well flanked Line on the outſide of the ditch, towards the land ſide is a *Strada Coperta* raiſed, which is ſo well furniſhed with new flanks, and with a new ditch, as this outward fortification doth hardly give way to any of the inward ones. The Town is but of a ſmall compaſs, and is innobled rather by its ſituation, and fortifications, then by any ſplendor either of Inhabitants or houſes. The united Provinces cauſed it to be very carefully kept at this time, wherefore it was largely provided of Men, Artillery, Ammunition, and of whatſover elſe was neceſſary for the defence thereof. In this condition was the Town, when the Arch-Duke reſolved to ſit down before it. When Count *Maurice* went from thence, he cauſed the Fort St. *Alberto* to be abandoned, Wherefore the Arch-Duke entred thereinto, and on that ſide was the chiefeſt quarter of the ſiege placed. This Fort ſtood on the Weſt-ſide, amidſt the Downs, neer the Sea; and on the Eaſt-ſide, about the Downs likewiſe ſtood the Fort *Bredene*; into which the Arch-duke put Count *Frederick de Berg*, and made another quarter there. And from both theſe places they began preſently to advance with their Trenches, and to ſtraiten the Town. After the Fort St. *Alberto* divers other little Forts were raiſed more towards land, called by the name of St. *Iſabella*, St. *Clara*, and St. *Michael*; which were all erected before the Arch-duke beſieged the Town, to hinder, as hath been ſaid, the continual excurſions of the Garriſon. In St. *Alberto*'s quarter lay moſt of the Spaniards, Italians, and Walloons, and the Camp-maſters *Jerolimo di Monroy*, a Spaniard, and *Nicholas di Catris*, a Walloon were already got to a little ſandy Hill, neer enough the Town; where placing ſome peeces of Artillery, they did from thence much indammage the Enemy. The better to fortifie themſelves there, they drew a great Trench towards the field ſide, and there raiſed a Redoute. And Count *Frederick* being likewiſe advanced from the Fort *Bredene*, he had alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of a high ſeat of one of the Downs, and from thence did much prejudce the Town. In this firſt beginning of the ſiege, *Charles Vandernot* was Governor of the Town, nor did he omit any diligency which might make for the defence thereof. He thought the weakeſt part of the Town was that which lay towards St. *Clara*; and therefore going further into the land, he began to entrench himſelf there. On the contrary, the two Camp-maſters, *Monroy*, and *Catris*, did likewiſe purſue their begun works: and having

already

already finish'd their first redoubt, they would add another, when *Monroy* was kild with a musket shot. The Archd. gave his Brigado to *Simon Antunes*, a Portugueſe, a valiant, and an ancient ſouldier, who together with *Catris*, continuing the ſame deſign, made the ſecond Redout, and joyned it to the other by a great Treneh. The ſiege being thus begun, the united Provinces put Colonel Sir *Francis Vere* into *Oſtend*, to the end that a Commander of known valour and authority might be there, he brought with him 3000 Foot, and new proviſions of all things neceſſary for defence: nor was he long in making uſe of ſuch a recrute, by ſallying out almoſt immediately, and aſſaulting the Enemy; but being repulſed with ſome loſs, he thought to fortifie himſelf better to landward, towards St. *Clara*, and there he raiſed three new redouts, which were by a popular word of ſouldiery called Pouldrons; in which placing ſuch men and Artillery as were requiſit, he was very diligent in making the fortifications which were already there, yet more ſecure on all parts of the chief Line, and on the *Strada Coperta* thereabouts; judging like a ſouldier of great experience, that the Arch-duke would turn the chief weight of the ſiege upon that ſide: nor did his reaſon deceive him; for the Arch-duke being minded to ſtraiten the Town more on that ſide then on any other, would have Count *Frederick* to forgo his quarters of *Bredene*, & to take them up in the Fort St. *Clara*, and hinder the Enemy from advancing further into the field with other new redouts. To this purpoſe Count *Frederick* raiſed preſently two Forts in oppoſition of the aforeſaid *Pouldrons*, and called the one of them St. *Mary*, the other St. *Martin*. Yet the Enemy endeavoured to advance with another fortification; but Count *Frederick* aſſaulted them, killed divers of them, forced them to forgo the work, and poſſeſſing himſelf of that ſeat, planted a Fort there which he called St. *Anne*, becauſe the place was won on St. *Annes* day. Theſe were as yet the works of the Catholick Camp more within land towards the Fort St. *Clara*; and at the ſame time they were no leſs buſie about their works begun in St. *Alberto*'s quarter, to boot, with thoſe that were ſtill continued towards the fields, they were reſolved to draw a bank ſo far forward between the Downs and the Sea-ſhore towards the old Town of *Oſtend*, that it might hinder Barks to enter into the Town by the Channel which runs on that ſide. They ſupplyed the ground which was there all ſandy, with other materials; they made bavins of twenty foot long, and they incorporated bricks, which they joyned well together, and placed one on the top of another, in ſo great abundance, as the bank was raiſed and drawn out in length by peece-meal, according as occaſion required. They were called Saucidges, but they were almoſt ſtill conteſted with by the Sea, which eſpecially when it flowed gave againſt them with ſuch violence, as it ofttimes threw them down, and did often ſo diſperſe them, as they could no longer be of any ſervice. The workmen were likewiſe greatly indammaged by the continual Hail of Musket-ſhot which poured down upon them from the Town: Yet the Bank was brought to perfection, and a Fort was raiſed at the end thereof, on which many peeces of Artillery were placed, which did afterwards totally hinder the uſe of the aforeſaid Channel. They within had alſo a Bank without, which beginning from the Downs towards the Fort St. *Alberto*, came to joyn with the great Bulwark of the old *Oſtend*, called the Sea Bulwark. This Bank ſerved to obviate the prejudice which the high-tyde, which their outward fortifications might ſuffer thereby on that ſide: but becauſe they ſaw that the Catholicks made uſe thereof, the better to advance with their works in that place; they reſolved firſt well to ſecure their aforeſaid Fortifications with other materials, and afterwards cut gaps in the Bank in divers places, and thereby made the Catholiks diſpair of advancing any further there. This mean while the works on *Bredene*'s ſide were not ſlacked: when Count *Frederick* was gone to the quarter of St. *Clara*, the Arch-duke had put Count *Buckquoy* into that of *Bredene*; he forthwith advanced a little redout, to which he added another greater, and called it St. *Charles*; whereupon placing ſome peeces of Artillery, he began to prejudice the Enemies Barks, which entred on that ſide into *Oſtend*. The Channel there divided it ſelf into two parts; the one whereof entred into the chief ditch of the Town, and the other into the narrower ditch, which ſhut up the *Strada Coperta* on the outſide. The Enemies Barks were therefore ſo plaid

upon by the Artillery from the new Redout, as they were forced to get into the Town by the chief Channel. But this was no considerable damage, by reason of the more commodious ingress which the Barks had; and because the Artillery of the Redout shot from so far off, as they did but little harm. Wherefore the Archduke resolved that a great Bank should be led towards the master Channel from the Redout, which was afterwards called a Fort; which should be brought so near the shore side, as that a Fort being there raised, and well furnished with Artillery, the Enemies might be as well hindred from making use of their Barks on that side of *Bredene*, as they were on the other of S. *Alberto*.

These were the works about *Ostend*. But at the same time Count *Maurice* suffered not his Army to be idle. Having taken *Reinberg*, he went to before *Balduke*; hoping either to get a place of that concernment, or to make the Archduke remove from before *Ostend*. Incamping therefore before that Town, he began to begirt it, but with some leisure, by reason of the great compass thereof. Monsieur *de Grolendunk*, a valiant Souldier, and one the best esteemed of all *Flanders*, was Governour thereof. That City would always defend it self by its own Citizens, who had always proved themselves very faithfull to the Church and King; yet were not they of themselves able to defend themselves against so great and manifest a danger: wherefore the Governour advertised the Archduke of what condition he was in, and prest very much to be relieved. The Archduke found himself in a great strait; fearing lest his Forces were not sufficient at the same time to maintain the Siege before *Ostend*, and to relieve *Balduke*. Yet taking heart, and leaving only so many men as might keep the Siege from rising, he sent Count *Frederick de Berg* towards *Balduke* with 7000 Foot and 1500 Horse, giving him order, by all means to relieve the Town. He likewise got the Italian Mutiniers at *Verte* to joyn many of their Souldiers to those of the Count. And therefore having got together a reasonable good body of an Army, he seemed as if he would fortifie a certain Town called *Helmont*, within four leagues of *Balduke*: But dispatching away privately by night Count *Jovanni Giacomo Belgioioso*, Commissary-Generall of the Horse, by a certain way not well observed by the Enemy, with 1000 Horse and 800 Foot, he gave him order to convey those Foot into *Balduke*, and to back them, if need should be, with the said Horse. No order could be better given, nor better pursued: For the 800 Foot having with much resolution forced a Pass, wherein they met with some opposition, entred all into *Balduke*; and did so secure that City, as *November* being now near at an end, and the season being colder then usual, *Maurice* resolved to give over the Siege and to retreat.

Balduke being thus luckily relieved, the Archduke turned to begirt *Ostend* with all his Forces. And it so fell out, as at this time it was thought that the Town would for certain have been surrendred. For about the end of *December* a terrible storm at Sea did so shatter the Town in divers parts, and especially the old Town, as the Inhabitants despairing to resist an assault which upon this occasion they did expect, began to parley, and Hostages were delivered on both sides for observancie of what should be agreed upon. But soon after this unfortunate chance, there fell out another so favourable, by the access of new men to the besieged, together with all manner of provisions, as they would treat no longer of surrendring, saying they could no longer doe it with their honour. The Archduke being thus deluded of his so firm hopes of having the Town, gave order that a great Battery should be raised against the Old Town, which had been most prejudiced by the Tempest. That part was therefore furiously plaid upon; and there was such a breach made, especially in the Sea-bulwark, as they hoped to make a happy assault: Which was thus ordered. The Campmaster *Durango* was to go against the Sea-Bulwork, with the Spanish Foot; and the Campmaster *Gambaloitta*, a Milanese, and Knight of the Order of St. *John*, against another neighbouring Flank on the left hand, with the Italian Foot. These two Campmasters were accompanied by divers of the best Captains of the Army; and the Foot of divers other Nations were mingled with the Spanish and Italian Foot. The Assault was to begin about the coming on of night, when the Tide was at the lowest. And Count *Bucquoy* was likewise ordered to pass over the Channel on

the

the ſide of *Bredene*, and to fall with his men upon the wall that was there beaten down. To divert the Enemy on more ſides, it was commanded that Alarms ſhould be given every where againſt the Town: And the Archduke choſe *Auguſtine Meſſia*, Governour of *Antwerp* Citadel, who had for many years before been a Campmaſter amongſt the *Spaniards*, and ever held in good eſteem, to ſee theſe Orders well obſerved. When they came to the Aſſault, the Aſſailants behaved themſelves gallantly, and uſed all means to get upon the wall; and though many of them fell down dead and wounded, and that the horror of night which already came on made their dangers the more terrible, yet did it ſerve rather to ſet the Catholicks on fire, then to make them cool in their fight. But there appeared no leſs reſoluteneſs of reſiſtance in thoſe within: For oppoſing themſelves valiantly on all ſides, and being very well able to doe it, as having ſo many men, and ſuch ſtore of all other proviſions, they ſtoutly did defend themſelves on all ſides. Upon the coming on of night they had ſet up many Lights in divers parts of the Town, whereby they the better maintained the places aſſigned unto them, did with more ſecurity hit thoſe that aſſailed them, and came the better to where their help was required. They alſo ſoon diſcerned that they were all falſe Alarms that were given without; and that the true Aſſault was made only in one place. To this was added, that Count *Bucquoy* not finding the water of the aforeſaid Channel ſo low as he believed, he could by no means paſs over them. Yet the Catholicks did for a long time continue their aſſault; but the Defendants advantages ſtill increaſing, the Aſſailants were at laſt forced to give over with great loſs; for there were above 600 ſlain and wounded, part of them being *Gambaloita's* men, who was ſlain himſelf; and part belonging to *Durango*, who was ſorely wounded. Nor did thoſe within let ſlip the occaſion of prejudicing yet more the Catholicks, as they retreated: For plucking up ſome of their Sluces, by which they both received the Sea-water into their ditches, and let it out again, they turned the water with ſuch violence into the Channel, which the Catholicks had paſſed over before they came to the aſſault, and which they were to paſs over again in their retreat, as many of them were unfortunately drowned. *John Bentivoglio*, Knight of St. *John's* Order, our Brother, who was but a little before come from *Italy*, after having ſerved the Emperor ſome years in *Hungary*, was in this action; and therein gave ſuch trial of himſelf, as the Archdukes not long after honoured him with a Company of Lances.

The year 1602. was already begun; and with ſo bitter cold weather, as many adviſed the Archduke to give over the ſiege of *Oſtend*, as a buſineſs which might be deſpaired of. But he would not be perſwaded thereunto; thinking the Kings honour and his own too much engaged, not to continue that ſiege ſtill, and bring it to a good end. Wherefore he reſolved to raiſe a great Platform in St. *Alberto's* quarter, which might command the Town as much as might be poſſible on that ſide; and gave new orders that *Bucquoy* ſhould from St. *Charls* his Fort advance with all poſſible ſpeed that great Bank which was deſigned to command the Channel of *Bredene*, as we touched upon before. Having given out theſe directions, and leaving the Spaniſh Campmaſter *John di Rivas*, a valiant and well experienced Souldier, to have the chief government of the Siege, the Archduke retired to *Gaunt* to make ſuch proviſions againſt the Enemy as were requiſite; who on their ſide made very great preparations, that they might be early in the field with great Forces. Anno 1602.

The Treaty of Agreement which had been formerly on foot, and almoſt at the ſame time broken (as we told you then) between the King of *Spain* and the Archduke on the one part, and the Queen of *England* on the other, was this interim continued by many means. Great deſire of coming to ſome good correſpondencie appeared on both ſides: And the Queen being now very full of years, did particularly ſhew her ſelf every day more and more inclined thereunto. When in *March* ſhe fell very ſick, of which ſickneſs ſhe dyed, after ſhe had lived 70 years, and reigned 4[illegible].

Thus dyed *Elizabeth* Queen of *England* and *Ireland*; who ſo much afflicted the Church, and who ſo long and by ſo many wayes fomented the War which we deſcribe. She was Daughter to King *Henry* the Eighth, by Queen *Anne* of

Boloign. After the death of her Father, being bred up in Hereſie, ſhe was much made of by her Brother King *Edward* the Sixth, who was likewiſe a Follower of the new Sects, which were formerly introduced by his Father. But Queen *Mary* who ſoon reſtored the antient Religion, ſucceeding him, *Elizabeth* ran hazard of her life, and was either impriſoned or confined all her Siſters Reign: who dying without iſſue, the Crown came to *Elizabeth.* The marriage of her Father with *Anne* of *Boloign* was always deteſted by the Catholick Church; wherefore ſhe openly maintained Hereſie, and perſecuted the Catholicks. And to ſecure her ſelf the better in her Kingdom, ſhe was not content to favour Hereſie in her own Dominions, but ſtill joyned with the Heretical Factions of *Scotland*, *France*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*; endeavouring thus to keep her neighbouring Countries ſtill in turmoils, that ſhe might be the more quiet at home.

For what remains, it is not to be denyed that (by Common opinion) ſuch gifts both of body and minde concur'd in her, as would have been worthy of the higheſt praiſe, had ſhe ſo much illuſtrated them by the true Religion, as ſhe did eclipſe them by falſe worſhip; a comlineſs of Aſpect, graceful behaviour, weight in her words, or a winning ſpeech, and a pleaſing greatneſs both in her private and publick actions. She was endowed with a rare underſtanding and wit, which made her be a great friend to learning; to the choiceſt, and moſt delightful whereof ſhe applyed her ſelf: ſhe was particularly ſo ready in the Latin tongue as ſhe was often pleaſed publickly to make uſe thereof, and therein to receive the applauſe of the moſt learned in both the Univerſities of *Oxford*, and *Cambridge*. it may be no marriage was ever more coveted then hers: Many Princes in ſeveral parts of *Europe* did for a long time ſtrive to be her husband; hoping that the refuſal of the one, might facilitate the pretences of another; and ſhe very cunningly ſtill nouriſhed hopes in them, and endeavoured divers waies to honeſt her excuſes, thinking her ſelf ſo much more worthy, by how much the more ſhe was pretended unto. Coming at laſt to her declining years, thoſe ſeeming appearances ended; and then it was clearly ſeen, that ſhe being full of haughty thoughts, not caring for iſſue, would never receive a Companion in her Bed, becauſe ſhe could not admit of a Companion in her Throne. She exerciſed her greateſt enmities with the Pope of *Rome*, and King of *Spain*, as may have been ſeen in this our Hiſtory: ſhe kept good correſpondencie with all the other Potentates of *Europe*, and was by the moſt of them continually much honoured. She was a woman of a manlike ſpirit; infinitely intent upon Government, and deſirous of retaining the chief hand in managing thereof, as ſhe had the prime authority. Great were her expences both within, and without her Kingdom. It is not to be credited how much ſhe ſpent at home, eſpecially in keeping *England* well munited with Naval forces; being ofttimes uſed to ſay, That her well arm'd ſhips in that Iſland were her Armies and her Citadels. She enjoyed good health; and that ſo long, as none of her Predeceſſors lived ſo long as ſhe, and but few reigned ſo long. And although ſhe deteſted the Queen of *Scots*, whom at laſt ſhe put to death, yet ſhe was pleaſed that her Son King *James*, who was likewiſe fallen into Hereſie, ſhould ſucceed her, and unite the Iſland of *England* and *Scotland* into one body; which whilſt divided, had formerly for ſo many Ages been cauſe of ſo many diſcords, wars and calamities on both ſides.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK VII.

The Contents.

An Agreement is made between the King of Spain *and the Arch-dukes on the one part; and the new King of great* Britain *on the other. The ſiege of* Oſtend *continues; and with what ſucceſs.* Frederick Spinola *comes into* Flanders *with a Squadron of Gallies. And his brother Marqueſs* Ambroſio Spinola, *comes thither likewiſe with* 8000 *Foot raiſed in* Italy. *Both their intentions to advance themſelves by the military profeſſion. But* Federick *is ſlain not long after in a Sea fight. Count* Maurice *prepares great Forces: beſiegeth* Graves, *and takes it. A new mutiny in the Catholick Camp. The Arch-duke reſolves to turn his Forces againſt the mutineers.* Maurice *comes into their aid, and ſecures them from all danger. With their Forces and his own he beſiegeth* Balduke: *The Arch-duke goes in perſon to relieve it: whereupon* Maurice *retreats from thence. Slow proceedings about* Oſtend: *The ſiege thereof is put into the hands of Marquis* Spinola. *Who with great fervency embraceth the managing thereof.* Maurice *the mean while incamps before* Sluce. Spinola *marcheth to relieve it; but not ſucceeding therein, the Town is loſt.* Spinola *returns to the ſiege of* Oſtend; *and at laſt ends that enterpriſe. He goes afterwards into* Spain, *and returns from thence made Camp-maſter General of the Catholick Army in* Flanders. *He oppoſeth divers of Count* Maurice *his proceedings; then ſuddenly paſſeth the* Rhine, *goes towards* Frieſland, *and there*

there takes Oldenſel and Lingen. *And ſoon after Count* Bucquoy *takes* Vachtendonch. Spinola *goes again into* Spain, *and is ſent back by the King into* Flanders *with addition of Honours. He paſſeth again with his Army towards* Frieſland; *takes* Groll *and* Reinberg; *and forceth* Maurice *afterwards to raiſe his Siege from before the ſame Town of* Groll.

James King of *Scots* ſucceeding Queen *Elizabeth*, came forthwith to *London*, which is the Metropolitan City of *England*: where his arrival was celebrated with great demonſtrations of joy; the *Scots* and *Engliſh* contending by uſual and natural emulation who ſhould glory moſt, the one for having given a new King to the *Engliſh*, or the others for having got him from them. But amidſt theſe mirths, the Catholicks were much afflicted; who ſoon loſt all hopes of being better treated in matter of Religion, as the new King, in the latter time of the Queen, to make them well diſpoſed towards him, had made them believe they ſhould be. For even from his very firſt coming to *London*, they found they ſhould ſuffer no leſs bitter perſecution under him, then for ſo long a time they had done under her.

That he might unite the two Nations together as much as it was poſſible, the new King would be ſtiled King of *Great Britain*, comprehending thus both the Kingdoms under one Title; and endeavouring by all other means, according to the Form of that Heretical Government, to eſtabliſh himſelf at home in all ſecurity. He then applied himſelf to Foreign Correſpondencies; knowing how much the well-grounding of theſe, would contribute to his own domeſtical affairs. He renewed the Confederacies which the late Queen had with the King of *France*, and the United Provinces of *Flanders*: And with the like inclination which ſhe had ſhewed a little before her death of coming to ſome agreement with the King of *Spain* and the Archdukes, he heartily gave himſelf to continue the Negotiation: wherein the King of *Spain* and Archdukes did not refuſe to correſpond on their behalfs. So as the buſineſs growing every day nearer an end, it was not long till they came to mutual ſplendid Embaſſies, by which ſuch correſpondencie was at laſt eſtabliſhed, as the ſo contrary Intereſt between them in point of Religion, and matter of State could admit of. Which we have thought fit to touch upon only here, not to digreſs too far from the particular affairs of *Flanders*.

Then, that we may return to the Narration thereof, the chief buſineſs which did then depend in thoſe Provinces, was the Siege of *Oſtend*. The greater the difficulties appeared of bringing it to an end, the more reſolute was the Archduke to endeavour it by all poſſible wayes; being particularly inſtigated thereunto by the Province of *Flanders*, which ſhewed it ſelf very ready to continue all the largeſt Contributions which to that purpoſe could be thereby ſubminiſtred. The Archduke, when he came from that Siege, had left the care thereof as we told you to the Campmaſter *Rivas*, who failed not to uſe all diligence in daily advancing the Works. The moſt important whereof were two: The one, the great Platform in St. *Alberto's* quarter, which was raiſed as faſt as might be, to annoy inceſſantly the Old Town of *Oſtend* from thence, by many Peeces of Artillery: And the other the great Dike already begun in *Bredene* quarter, with intention of leading it on ſo far, as it might command the great Channel, and ſo hinder the continual and large ſuccours which by means thereof were received into the Town from the Sea. To make this Dike, a great quantity of thoſe Sauceges which we ſpake of before, were made uſe of, and were much greater then the former. To the firſt and largeſt foundation, which was well incorporated with wet ſand and other condenſe matter, others of the like ſort were added, till the Dike was grown to the height it ought to be; and the breadth thereof was very extraordinary great. To boot with the ordinary Plain thereof, upon which two great Canons might ſtand abreſt, there was a great Parapet raiſed in it againſt the Town to ſhelter the Souldier; and which being in divers places furniſhed with Artillery, did

did greatly indammage the Enemy likewiſe on that ſide. This work was made in a ſandy and low ſituation, and whither the Sea at full Tide came; ſo as it cannot be ſaid with how much expence, labour, and loſs of blood this work was advanced.

Whilſt ſuch diligent work was had by Land touching the Siege of *Oſtend*, *Frederick Spinola* did continually ſcoure that Sea-coaſt with a Squadron of Gallies, which he had a little before brought from *Spain*. *Frederick* was come to be trained up in Arms in *Flanders*, in the Duke of *Parma's* time: And though he had not then any particular Implovment, yet was there generally great hopes had of him in all thoſe occurrences, wherein his wit, induſtry, and capacity did plainly appear. He had learnt by experienced men, that by maintaining a good Squadron of Spaniſh Gallies upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* might be very much prejudiced in their uſual Navigations in thoſe Seas and Gulfs. It was conſidered, that thoſe Veſſels which frequented thoſe parts, were either Fiſher-men, or Merchants, that the Gallies by their nimbleneſs might continually infeſt that paſſage; that to boot with the great prejudice which the Enemy might receive thereby by Sea, they might peradventure receive more damage by Land; for the Gallies might at all times run into the neareſt Sea-gulfs, land men, pillage their Villages, and upon good ſucceſs attempt ſome important ſurpriſe, whereby they might get footing in *Zealand*. Which if it ſhould ſo fall out, how much would the affairs of the King and Archdukes be thereby advantaged? It not being to be doubted, but that as the Enemy had done moſt miſchief by Sea, ſo moſt miſchief was to be done to them thereby. And for what concerned the place wherein the Gallies were to keep, the Haven or Channel of *Sluce* was thought the fitteſt; it being neareſt *Zealand*, capable of all manner of Veſſels, munited with good Forts in the mouth thereof, and having ſo important a Town on the back thereof as *Sluce*, whither the Gallies might at all times eaſily come, and keep with all ſafety. *Frederick* having then fully informed himſelf of the Maritime affairs of *Flanders*, and eſpecially concerning the aforeſaid Squadron of Gallies, he reſolved to go himſelf to the Court of *Spain*, to propound the buſineſs to the King, and to get the imployment for himſelf. Marquis *Spinola*, *Fredericks* eldeſt Brother, joyned in opinion with him; deſirous to raiſe his Houſe as much as he could in his Country of *Genua*, and to agrandiſe it by the way of War, eſpecially with the Crown of *Spain*. And though the Marquis being thirty years old, had not till then taken upon him the military profeſſion, yet he had always had a great inclination thereunto, and had parts to make himſelf famous therein, when he ſhould be invited thereunto by any honorable imployment.

Frederick being come to *Madrid*, he ſo negotiated the buſineſs, as the Propoſition of the Gallies was fully approved of both by the King and his Councel, and the Command thereof with all fitting authority was aſſigned to him. Six were thought ſufficient for that time and they were taken from out the Spaniſh Squadron; with intention to increaſe them, if the effects thereof ſhould anſwer their hopes. *Frederick* having brought theſe Gallies to *Flanders*, it is not to be believed how much the Navigation of the Hollanders and Zealanders in thoſe parts was thereby incommodated. For putting forth for the moſt part unexpectedly from the Channel of *Sluce*, particularly in Calms, when Veſſels of ſail uſe not to move; he flew boldly ſometimes upon one, ſometimes upon another; taking ſome, ſinking others, and much indamaging others. It was notwithſtanding found by experience, that the ſix Gallies were not ſufficient to carry men enough to indamage the Enemy by Land alſo, and to endeavour ſome important ſurpriſe. He therefore went again into *Spain*, where being well received, he uſed ſuch prevalent reaſons as prevailed with the King to ſend eight other Gallies to the former ſix; and to give way, that for the ſervice of the whole Squadron, he and the Marquis his brother might raiſe 8000 Foot in the State of *Millan*, and might carry them to *Flanders*. *Frederick* went with theſe Orders to *Genua*, and from thence with his Brother to *Milan*, where Count *Fuentes* was Governour; from whom having received requiſite authority for the raiſing of 8000 men, the Marquis took the ſole care thereof; and with the like diligence *Frederick* returned to

effect

effect the aforesaid business in *Spain*. They did both of them act their parts very well: To which their own monies did contribute very much; for thereby they were a great help unto the King in the monies he was to disburse, and they did likewise procure many of their kindred and friends in *Genua* to doe the like. So as what was to be done by each of them, was with all speed effected. When the Marquis had raised his men, which were all very gallant men, he departed in the beginning of *May*, in that year 1602. towards *Flanders*. The Levy was divided, as we told you, into two Brigades. The Marquis himself was Campmaster of the one, and had for his Serjeant-Major *Pompey Justinian*, an old Flemish Souldier. And *Lucio Dentici* was Campmaster of the other, and *Augustine Arconato* was his Serjeant-Major; both of them having served many years formerly in the same war. The Marquis went by the way of *Savoy*; and being well come to the Province of *Luxenburg*, he presently went to *Gaunt*, where the Archduke then was, that he might receive such Orders from him, as he upon such an occasion should think fitting. But *Frederick* had not the like good success in the conducting of his Gallies: For tarrying longer in *Spain* then he needed to have done, as he went from *Porto Sancta Maria*, two of his Gallies were taken from him in fight by some of the Hollanders ships; and three more in the same manner as he past afterwards through the English Channel, so as he could bring but three to *Slnce*; yet most of the men were saved, which were all of them Spaniards, under the Campmaster *John di Menesses* a Portuguese, who came likewise safe to the same place.

But to return to the Marquis. He came with his men, just at the time when the Archduke stood most in need of such a recruit. Count *Maurice* was already marched into the fields, and with such Forces as the United Provinces till then had never had greater. He had made his Rendezvouz at *Nimmighen*, and his Army consisted of 24000 Foot and 6000 Horse, with all other abundance of Artillery, Ammunition, and Victuals. 'Twas thought that his design was to cross through *Brabant*, and so advance forwards to the relief of *Ostend*, and then to to besiege *Newport* again. All which he might easily have done: For had it not been for the Aid which at that time came from *Italy*, the Archdukes could have made no opposition in the field to so many adverse Forces, with theirs of *Flanders* alone. The Orders which the Marquis received from the Archduke was, That he should presently go with all his men to find out the Admiral of *Aragon*, who with other 6000 Foot and 4000 Horse was marching towards the Enemy, to discover all their design, and then to disturb them therein as much as he could. The Marquis being joyned with the Admiral, the Army was brought to *Telemone*, a good Town, almost in the heart of *Brabant*: where making their rendezvouz, it was resolved that the Army should lie without the Town towards that part where it was thought the Enemy would appear. Nor was it long ere *Maurice* came to St. *Truden*, a Town in the Country of *Liege*, and within three leagues of *Tilemone*. From thence Count *Maurice* came to within one league of the Catholick Camp; but finding the opposition greater then he thought he should have done, he resolved to retreat backward: And after several false appearances of sieges, that he might the better conceal the true one, he at last sat down before *Graves*; which as it hath been formerly said, lies upon the left side of the *Mause*. It is a Town which belongs to *Brabant*; strong both by situation and art; and which commands a Pass of great consequence upon that River. On the opposite side there stood a little Redout, which served for the better guarding of that Pass. *Maurice* divided his Quarters on both sides; and endeavoured particularly to secure them on the outward side, which might be easelieſt assaulted. *Antonio Gonsales*, a Spaniard, was Governour of *Graves*, and he had with him about 1500 Foot of several Nations; good men, but not so well provided as they ought to have been with necessaries for defence. Yet the Governour and Garrison did with equal courage prepare to defend the Town; hoping that the Town might in good time be relieved from the Catholick Camp. *Maurice* turn'd first of all upon the aforesaid little Redout, and playing furiously upon it took it within a few dayes. He then began with great fervencie to begirt the Town on all sides; and advancing with his Trenches on three sides, he accompanied

them

them with three Batteries: nor was it long ere he came to the ditch. But thoſe within ſhewed themſelves no leſs valiant, both in making uſe of Counter-batteries, in defending the ditch, and in endamaging the enemy by their ſallies. It was argued this mean while by the Captains of the Catholick Camp, whether it were better directly to relieve the Town or by aſſieging ſome other place, make *Maurice* raiſe his ſiege. It was thought a hard matter immediately to relieve the Town; for the Catholick Camp-ſtood in need of many things to accoſt the enemy; and they could not ſo ſoon make proviſion thereof. But it was yet thought harder to be able to beſiege any of the Enemies Towns, for they muſt then paſs the *Mauſe*, and provide great ſtore of Victuals and Ammunition for their Army, whereof, as alſo of all other things they knew the Enemy had great abundance. They at laſt reſolved to relieve *Graves*; to which purpoſe the Admiral went preſently to *Ruremonde*, which is a City ſtanding upon the *Mauſe*, not far from *Graves*; and which was therefore better able to furniſh ſuch things as they needed; but yet they could not make ſuch haſt thereof, but that many dayes were ſpent therein. From *Ruremonde*, the Admiral went for *Venelo*, a good Town, ſtanding likewiſe upon the *Mauſe*, that he might enjoy the oppertunity of the River, by means whereof victuals might be the more eaſily brought to the Army. From thence he marched ſtrait upon the Enemy; but as he drew neer their fortifications, he found them ſuch, and ſo far advanced as he was clean out of hope of doing good upon any of them; yet he knew that one of their quarters was neither ſo well fortified, nor ſo well guarded as were the reſt; wherefore he reſolved to try whether he could relieve the Town by that way or no. He therefore ordered *John Tomaſo Spina*, formerly a Neapolitan Camp-maſter, that advancing unexpected by night towards that quarter with a thouſand Italian Foot, he ſhould endeavour to force the Enemies Trenches, and to get with that relief into the Town. And that *Spina* might have a ſafe retreat, in caſe he ſhould not ſucceed therein; the Admiral commanded Camp-maſter *Simon Antunes*, to follow *Spina* at a proportionable diſtance with one other thouſand Spaniſh Foot. To divert the Enemy as much as it was poſſible from the defence of that quarter, he likewiſe ordered that *Marqueſs Spinola*, ſhould move with two thouſand Foot at the ſame time againſt the oppoſite quarter, and ſhould give a counterfeit hot Alarm, to the end that the Enemy might the likelyer give over the defence of the other aforeſaid quarter. All theſe orders were fully obſerved, but without any fruit; for *Spina* found the aforeſaid quarter ſo well defended, as he was forced preſently to retreat; nor did the Marquis his fained aſſault on the other ſide any thing avail; for though the Enemy flocked thither in great numbers, yet the other defence againſt which *Spina* had made the true aſſault was not a whit weakned. After this ill ſucceſs the Admiral diſpaired of any more ſuccoring the Town, wherefore he reſolved to retreat. Yet did not the beſieged forbare defending themſelves for many dayes, making the buſineſs much more bloody to the beſiegers. But having no hopes of relief, they at laſt reſolved to yeild, and upon the beſt conditions they could get, delivered the City up to Count *Maurice*. A little before the ſurrender of *Graves*, upon the retreat of the Catholick Camp, there began a mutiny in it amongſt the Italians, which every day increaſing, quickly became one of the greateſt, and moſt dangerous that had yet happened in *Flanders*. The mutineers endeavaured firſt to poſſeſs themſelves of *Diſte*; and not being able to get in there, went haſtily towards *Hoſtrat*, a ſmall Town in *Brabant*, but provided of a Caſtle, and ſo near *Breda*, as they might receive ſuccour from that Town of the Enemy, if the Arch-duke ſhould uſe violence againſt them, which the Arch-duke was reſolved to do, that he might once more try, whether he could by ſevere means remedy that miſchief, which grew ſtill worſe by being fairly proceeded with: and truly they gave too much occaſion of it at this time; for growing every day more perverſe then other, and being in a ſhort time gotten to be two thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, there could be no miſchief done by excurſions, which they did not, nor any other ſort of hoſtility which they did not threaten. Being therefore declared Traitors and Rebels, the Arch-duke reſolved to proceed by force againſt them: which when they diſcovered, they began to fortifie themſelves ſo in the Town and Caſtle of *Hoſtrat*; and did ſtill receive

such advantages from the Enemies parts thereabouts, as all the endeavours to suppress their audacity by force, proved vain, as shall be afterwards shewed; nor did there any thing else of military action succeed that year.

Anno 1603. The next year, being 1603, they resolved in the Court of *Spain* to reinforce the Army in *Flanders*, as much as they could possibly. It was by this time clearly seen that the marriage between the Arch-duke and Infanta would prove steril. Wherefore it being considered in *Spain*, that the Provinces of *Flanders* would again revert to that Crown; they therefore treated of providing for the necessities of those Provinces with the Kings Name, Authority, and monies, as in case of a Country that were intirely his Count *Frederick* was returned to *Flanders* with three Gallies only, as we told you. He had in this his second voyage to *Spain*, so negotiated in that Court, as the King being willing vigourously to assist the affairs of *Flanders*, was resolved, that the two brothers *Frederick*, and *Ambrosius Spinola*, should levy twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, that these should be attended by a proportionable number of Artillery. And in fine, that there should be an entire Army raised apart, which should be commanded by them alone, and which might be imployed where the most advantagious occasion should require. When *Frederick* was come to *Sluce*, his brother the Marquess came to him: nor was it long ere orders came from *Spain* for them to raise the aforesaid men; and because they were to be composed of Germans, Italians, and other new Flemish, the Marquess went about the end of *March* into *Germany*, being to go afterwards for *Italy*, and the mean while *Frederick* stayed to infest the Enemy upon the Coast of *Flanders* with his Gallies. But a new unfortunate fight soon berett him of his life, and overthrew his whole design: whereby he did notwithstanding the more highten those, wherein his brother still continued; and brought him afterwards to the greatest exaltation, that might be atchieved in the millitary profession. *Frederick* putting forth with eight Gallies well maned, met with two of the Enemies Gallies, and three other men of war. The season was then softned into a calm, and therefore the sail vessels stood immoveable. *Frederick* taking this advantage assaulted the Enemies vessels on divers sides; which did not fail to defend themselves: the Gallies and round vessels giving each other such interchangeable assistance, as the one sort of them could give to the other; and for a while the conflict was very fierce. Many fell of each side; yet the Catholicks were still more advantaged by the calm. when on a sudden the winde rose, which made so much for the contrary vessel of sail, as winding about in several sorts, and pouring down Canon shot upon *Frederick's* Gallies, he himself received a shot from one of them in his side, whereof he suddenly dyed. This happened about the end of *May*; at which time the Marquess, having given requisite orders in *Germany* for the raising of two Regiments of Foot, went from thence to *Italy*, to take two other Brigadoes of Foot there also into pay, and to return afterwards with all these men to *Flanders*: But his brothers death did so diforder the first designes, as for divers difficulties the men could not be raised; though the King continued the same commands of his brother upon the Marquess, who quickly returned to *Flanders*, with all demonstration of honour and esteem to his person, Yet the Gallies were then almost of no longer use; for the Marquess was soon after imployed (as you shall hear) in the enterprise of *Ostend*; but before it was taken *Sluce* was lost, which drew after it the the loss of the Gallies. The Marquess in the interim indeavoured to preserve the men which he brought with him the year before from *Italy*; but because they were much diminished, as was likewise the whole Army; the Arch-duke gave out orders for the raising of new Horse and Foot; resolving to turn the greatest strength thereof that he could against the mutineers. The Duke *d'Aumale* raised one thousand Horse, the greatest part Lotrainers. Three thousand Dutch were raised in *Germany*. The Walloon Brigadoes were fild up: and two other Brigadoes came to *Flanders* from *Italy*, the one of Spaniards, under *Inico di Borgia*, and the other Neopolitans under *Lelio Brancatchio*, Knight of St. *John*, the people that could be soonest raised being assembled together, and the season being already fit for the field, the Arch duke sent Count *Frederick di Berg* against the Mutineers with 7000 Foot, and 3000 Horse.

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The Mutiniers were got into *Hoſtrat* where what by means of their own Fortifications, and what by the aid which they received from the Enemies neighbouring parts, they ſeemed little to value any force that could be brought againſt them. They were above 2000 Foot, and were grown to have 1500 Horſe; all good men, of ſeveral Nations, though the moſt were *Italians* Yet Count *Frederick* began to ſet ſo cloſe to them, as beginning now not to truſt any longer in their own forces alone, they ſought to be openly backt by thoſe which Count *Maurice* had oft-times offered them. It hath been known in other Mutinies many times, how much more prejudicial his own Souldiers have been unto the King, then thoſe of his Enemies: but in this of *Hoſtrat*, the exceſs of diſobedience did degenerate into ſuch a degree of infamy, as the example thereof ought ever to be abhorred. The Mutiniers were not aſhamed, in their Treaty between Count *Maurice* and them, to bargain in this manner with them.

That they ſhould be taken by Count Maurice *into the protection of the United Provinces. That to this purpoſe they ſhould be by him defended againſt the violence of the* Spaniards. *That on the other ſide, they the Mutiniers ſhould fight under him as long as the Army ſhould lie in the field that year. That in caſe they ſhould agree with the Archduke, they ſhould not for four moneths ſpace bear Arms againſt the United Provinces. That if the Town and Caſtle of* Hoſtrat *ſhould not be thought to be ſufficient, ſome good Town ſhould be aſſigned unto them by the United Provinces, and that their ſafety ſhould by all other means be provided for.*

The Agreement being thus made, Count *Maurice* went preſently into *Hoſtrat* with many Forces, to ſecure the Mutiniers. And their affairs grew quickly to ſuch an advantage, as Count *Frederick* being forced firſt to ſtand rather upon his defence then otherwiſe, was at laſt neceſſitated to remove from thereabouts, and to retreat. Nor did *Maurice* loſe this occaſion. *Hoſtrat* is very near *Balduke*; againſt which it was clearly ſeen, that Count *Maurice* had ſundry times plotted his greateſt deſigns. Marching therefore ſpeedily againſt *Balduke*, he incamped about it; and diſpoſing of his quarters in ſundry parts, he gave one of them to the Mutiniers apart. The Archduke was mightily troubled at the news hereof. He feared (as I told you upon another occaſion) that he had not ſufficient Forces both to continue the Siege of *Oſtend*, and ſufficiently to ſuccour *Balduke*: But that which moſt moved him, was; That upon other occaſions, that City not deſirous to admit of any external Garriſon, was reſolute to defend it ſelf with its own peculiar Forces; which were not thought ſufficient for the ſecurity of ſuch a place, of too great a circuit, and which had need of men trained up in Arms, and not in City-affairs. Juſt at this time were come the two Brigadoes of *Borgia* and *Brancatchio*, which were expected from *Italy*. Joyning therefore theſe men to thoſe which were formerly with Count *Frederick*, the Archduke ordered that *Frederick* ſhould with all diligence follow *Maurice*, and ſhould by all means endeavour to hinder him in his intended Siege. *Maurice* could not in ſo ſhort a time poſſeſs himſelf of all ſuch places about it, as the Siege did require. So as it was not hard for *Frederick* to make himſelf maſter of one of them, by which he drew as near as was needfull to *Balduke*, and ſecured ſuch intercourſe as was neceſſary with the City. He immediately endeavoured to put in a ſtrong Garriſon into the City: but the Citizens ſeemed unwilling, as before, to admit of them. *Maurice* knew this; and hoped that ſome diſſention would ariſe thereupon; and from diſſention, ſome tumult in the Town; and that this tumult might produce ſome other diſorder which might make for his advantage. He therefore continued to fortifie himſelf, both without towards the fields, and on the inſide towards the City; raiſing good Forts and Redouts every where, and accompanying them on all ſides as was fitting with Trenches, Ditches, and all other moſt advantagious Fortifications. Count *Frederick* did the like on his part; yet thinking the City to be but in a very weak condition, he advertiſed the Archduke thereof. The preſervation or loſs of ſuch a place was indeed of too great a conſequence; nor was there any way to convince the pertinacie of the Inhabitants, then for the Archduke to come himſelf in perſon to *Balduke*. He therefore went preſently from *Bruſſels*; and taking ſome other Forces with him, came to the ſame place where *Frederick* was, and where he had fortified himſelf. From hence the Archduke,

the better to acquaint himself with the Citizens, went ofttimes into the City, and out again. At last feigning an occasion, that upon necessity a great strength of Walloon Foot were only to pass through the Town, to oppose the Enemy in a certain place; after that he and the Souldiers were come in, he sent for the chief Magistrate, and spake thus unto him.

That for as much as that City had upon all occasions ever shewed it self faithfull to the antient Church, and to her natural Princes, so much the more ought it to be endeavoured to be preserved under the obedience of them both. That the Rebels did daily attempt either by private surprisals, or open hostility to make themselves masters of it. And this out of no other end, but to suppress their Liberty and Religion, and in lieu thereof to introduce Tyranny and Heresie, and to punish such a people which had alwayes so much detested their perfidiousness. That it was clearly seen the Forces of the City were not able of themselves alone to obviate so important a danger. That Cities were oppugned and defended by people that were inured to hardness amongst Arms in the field, and not by such as were bred up in ease and idleness at their own homes. That therefore it was necessary that the City should be perswaded to receive such a Garrison as might be able to defend them. That he himself did very heartily beg thus much of them, which he chiefly did for the good of the Town. Yet because the preservation of such a place did so much import both Him, the Infanta, *and the King of* Spain; *he did declare, that as they should share of the service, so would they at all times answerably acknowledge their obligation to the City for it.*

The Magistrate was much moved at these words; and they were also accompanied with Arms: wherefore the City, either not willing, or not able to gainsay the Archdukes desires, seemed willing to condescend fully to his desires. So he left 3000 Foot therein, part *Walloons*, part *Germans*, and secured it by such men as were requisite; and furnishing it likewise with victuals, ammunition, and with whatsoever was fitting upon that occurrencie, he returned again to *Brussels*, leaving *Frederick* to oppose *Maurice*. Divers actions had this mean while past between the one party and the other; in one of which, which proved very bloody, the Neapolitan Campmaster, the Marquis *di Bella*, whilst he fought valiantly, was slain; and upon another occasion, a certain Canon-shot made from the Catholick Camp, killed Monsieur *de Temple* the Enemies Campmaster Generall, and one highly esteemed of amongst them. The Archduke being gone, *Maurice* was not long in retreating; for he knew he could doe no good upon *Balduke*, after it was so well secured. And because it was now about the end of *October*, and the weather began to grow cold, he therefore brought back his Souldiers to their Winter-quarters, giving *Graves* to the Mutiniers instead of *Hostrat*; and the Catholick Army was likewise quartered in several places.

Now to return to the business of *Ostend*. The Town continued to be succour'd more then ever; so as in respect thereof, as for many other advantages which it enjoyed, the Works proceeded on so slowly without, as the hopes of bringing the Siege to a happy end did daily rather decrease then increase. Yet *Rivas* was very diligent in discharging his duty. The besieged had three little Forts, without the Counterscarf towards the Land, by the name of *Pouldrouns*, as you heard before. *Rivas*, watching his occasion, unexpectedly assaulted them; and was so fortunate therein, as they were all taken at the same time that they were assaulted. Then furnishing them all with Artillery, he turned them upon the Fortifications which sheltred the Town on that side. The Pouldrons leaned towards S. *Albertos* quarters, in which the aforesaid Platform was daily raised higher. The Plain thereabouts was all sandy; so as there was no convenience of raising Trenches of Earth. *Rivas* therefore made one of Gabiouns lined with Earth, and drew it along from the Pouldrouns to where the Platform was made, thrusting out a Flank towards the Town for the better defence thereof. Nor was it long ere the Platform was fully finished, and many great Canons were placed upon the top of it by *Rivas*, who likewise munited it below against the Town, as made most for the security thereof. Some progress was likewise daily made on *Bredene's* side, in the advancing the great Dike. *Bucquoy* had the chief charge thereof, and it was called by his name. And he used all possible diligence to infest the Town, and the entrance of the Channel on that side: But there appeared no less vigi-

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lancie in the beſieged; their courage abounded, according as the Town did abound with all ſorts of proviſions. There was hardly any one day in which they did not ſally out; nor did the beſiegers doe any thing which coſt not much labour and blood. The Platform was made chiefly of Bavins, and other wood; and the great Dike was compoſed of the like materials. Two furious Batteries were therefore level'd from the Town, with artificial Fire-balls againſt theſe two Works, to ſet them on fire, and indammage them by that means. Nor did they fail in their deſign: For by long Battery they at laſt took fire, and were thereby ſo torn rnd ſpoiled, as it coſt much time and the death of many men to remake them. In theſe and other actions which then inſued, *Durango* and *Zavaglios*, two Spaniſh Campmaſters were ſlain, together with divers Captains and Officers, of that and of other Nations. Nor was the Enemies loſs leſs either in number or quality.

Pompeio Tergone; a famous Enginier, was at this time come from *Italy* to *Flanders*, drawn thither by the fame of this ſiege. He had a very ready wit, which made him apt for Inventions in his Calling: but having never till then paſt from the Theory to the Practical part in Military affairs, it was ſoon ſeen, that many of his Imaginations did not upon trial prove ſuch, as in appearance they promiſed to be. He began to build a Caſtle of wood upon Boats faſtned together. The Caſtle was round, high, and large proportionably: On the top thereof it was capable of ſix great Peeces of Artillery on one ſide; and on the other ſide there was place enough for thoſe Souldiers who were to attend them. *Tergone* intended to bring this Machin into the mouth of the Channel, and to firm it there, where ſuccour was brought into *Oſtend*, hoping hereby to keep the Town from relief. But this could not ſo ſoon be done, but that it was preceded by the other work of drawing the great Dike to the ſame Channel, whereupon to raiſe afterwards a Fort, by which that paſſage might be ſo much the more impeded. To accelerate this work likewiſe, *Targone* bethought himſelf of other Engines, by which that ſo great quantity of materials whereof the Dike was made might the more eaſily be brought to imployment. The ſaid materials being put together in manner as they ought to be, he put a certain number of little Barrels under the hollow of the middle thereof, and on the ſides, by which at full ſea the Engines floated, and were afterwards brought by Cranes to joyn with the Dike in that part where the work was continued on. Theſe Engines were called Flotes. But ſuch was the tempeſt of the Enemies Canon-ſhot which inceſſantly fell upon them when they reſted upon the ſand, and then again they were ſo prejudiced by the Sea-ſtorms, as oftimes the work of many dayes was deſtroyed in a few houres. And really it was a pittifull caſe to ſee how much blood was there ſhed, and how little the meaner ſort of people who were imployed therein, did out of a deſire of gain value it.

This was the condition of *Oſtend*, when the Archduke bethought himſelf to give the care of that Siege to Marquis *Spinola*. Great certainly was the honour of ſuch an imployment; and *Spinola* in his coming ſo ſoon thereunto, may almoſt be ſaid to be become a Generall before he was a Souldier. Yet the Archduke hoped his fervencie in the ſervice would ſupply his want of experience: And he had already ſhewed great abilities in thoſe few military affairs which had paſſed through his hands. The Archduke likewiſe hoped that *Spinola* by his credit in matter of monies might much help thoſe expences which ſo difficult a Siege required; when it ſhould be managed by himſelf, and from which, if it ſhould have good ſucceſs, ſuch way ſhould be made for him to greater Honours. When the Archduke made him the offer, the Marquis, before he would accept of it, would firſt conſider what the event thereof might prove. He therefore went to the place it ſelf, and was very diligent in making the buſineſs be well weighed by old Souldiers, upon whoſe opinions he thought he might ſafely build. But they differed very much in their opinions: Some thought the buſineſs ſo difficult as there was no hopes of compaſſing it.

That it was one of the moſt generally received Maxims in the military profeſſion, not to venture upon a ſiege, unleſs there were firſt firm belief of keeping out all ſucco And how was it poſſible to be hoped that this might be done to Oſtend? *That the*

great Channel by which relief was brought was totally open and free. That on the contrary the great Dike which was intended to hinder the ingress thereof, was but slowly proceeded in; and that by reasons of the ruins sometimes made by the Enemy, sometimes by the Sea, it was as fast torn in peeces as built. But say is should be brought to a good end, and that by the raising of a Fort there, as was intended, the mouth of the Channel should be commanded, would the Enemies vessels notwithstanding forbear frequenting that passage? For certainly so many would never be sunk by Canon-shot but that a great many more would succesfully pass by. And as for the Castle which Targone *proposed, what foundation could there be for such a machine? Which being exposed sometimes to be plaid upon from the Town; sometimes to the assaults of the Enemies ships; and sometimes to the fury and tempests of the sea, the expectations of such as were unexperienced would certainly be soon seen to vanish. Then since succour was not to be kept out, the siege was onely to be pursued by maine force. And that this would either never be done, because of the continual retreats which the Enemy would make within their line; or if it should be effected, it would cost so much monies, labour, and blood as the purchase of* Ostend *would be too dearly bought.*

But to this it was answered:

That to keep out succour was not so hard a matter as to be dispaired of. That the Dike went still forward; nor yet so slowly but that it might at last satisfie expectation. That when it should be brought to the Channel, and a great Fort be built there, it was not to be doubted, but that that passage would be thereby much impeded. That truly for the Castle propounded by Targone *the succes thereof was to be thought uncertain; but that if it should succeed, how much more would the Channel be thereby hindred? And say that machin should perish, the Fort would yet remain, by which though succour should not be totally taken away, it would be at least so weakned, as certainly the siege would be thereby much advantaged. That in fine, their greatest hopes were to be therein placed. That the line of* Ostend *was not so large, but that by winning now one fortification, now another, it might be kept from making retreats in perpetuity. That so happy progress was to be expected, from Batteries, Mines, and other continual works of the Spade and Mathook, as the besieged should not at last know whether to retreat. And in this case, how glorious would the victory be? And how great the profit which would be thereby got? Since the Province of Flanders, would be once free of so great a yoak, nor would the expence of monies, time or blood in such a siege be so considerable, but that in all other considerations the atchievement of such a Town, would be of far greater consequence.*

The Marquess strugling between these two contrarieties of opinions, thought at last that there was more hopes then fear in the offer which was made him; and therefore resolved cheerfully to accept it, and thought this a fair field for him to march in, and to advance his fortune still further in, in the wars.

Going then in the beginning of *October* to the siege, he began to take upon him the command thereof, and gave his Brigado to *Pompeo Justiniano*, who was Serjant Major thereof, leaving the other in *Lucio Dentici*, as before. The first thing the Marquess did was to make great store of provision of all such materials as were necessary, as well for the work of the great Dike on *Bredene*'s side, as for the other works which were to be made on the side of St. *Alberto*, on which side the Town was chiefly intended to be straitned and forced; the ground over-against it was all sandy, and full of several Channels and little revolets, besides those two greater Channels which fell into the sea, as you have often heard. The same sea likewise at the flood did so whirle about every place thereabouts, as ground was not any where to be found to make Trenches, which were therefore to be supplyed with the abovesaid materials. These were chiefly brought by the Flotes invented by *Targone*, and though the great Dike did daily advance; yet it was known that such a work would prove too long, and too uncertain. The hope of keeping out succor growing then every day less and less, *Spinola* bent all his endeavours to take the Town by force. We told you before that all vessels were hindred from coming into the lesser Channel, on St. *Alberto*'s side, which fals there into the sea, by a Fort. Yet the Channel it self was of great advantage to the Enemy on that side, for it served for a great ditch to their Counterscarfe, which

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was ſtrong of it ſelf, and yet made ſtronger by many Flanks by which it was defended. Before the Catholicks could come to aſſault the Counterſcarf, they muſt firſt paſs over the Channel; which was ſo hard to doe with ſafety or ſhelter in any place thereof, as it was evidently ſeen that many of them muſt periſh, being ſo expoſed to be injured by the Enemy. The oppugnation was led on, on four ſides from St. *Alberto*'s quarter. The *Germans* wrought nearer the Sea; then followed the *Spaniards*; after them the *Italians*; and on the outmoſt ſide, more towards Land, the *Walloons* and *Burgonians*. Great was the fervencie of all theſe Nations; and ſuch a contention there was amongſt them in ſtriving which of them ſhould moſt advance the works, as the Souldiers emulation ſeemed rather a conteſt between Enemies, then between Rivals. The Channel was narrower, and more ſhallow where the *Burgonians* and *Walloons* wrought. They were therefore the firſt that paſt over it, and afterwards the other Nations did the like. To paſs over it, a great quantity of the aforeſaid materials were thrown into every part thereof where the aforeſaid Nations wrought. Thoſe materials were reduced to Dikes or Banks, upon which the Souldiers advanced towards the Town. But very many of them were ſlain and wounded: For the Defendants, with their hail of Musket-ſhot, and tempeſt of greater Artillery, charged with little bullets and murdering ſhot in great quantity, and ofttime with artificial fire, made the Catholicks work on all thoſe ſides very bloody. The Souldiers, that they might go the beſt ſheltred that they could, invented many Fences: ſome conſiſted of Gabions fill'd with earth, well joyned and faſtned together; others of long Bavins, which ſtood upright, and ſtood ſo thick as they were muket-proof; and others in ſeveral forms made of the aforeſaid materials. *Targone* invented likewiſe a great Cart, from which a Bridge made of Cloth and Cords might unexpectedly be thrown over the Channel, and ſo the Enemies Defences might the eaſelier be aſſaulted. The Cart ſtood upon four very high wheels; and upon the forepart thereof roſe up as it were the Maſt of a ſhip, which ſerved chiefly to let down, and to take up the Bridge. But the whole bulk proved to be of ſo cumberſom a greatneſs, and ſo hard to be managed, that before it was undertaken, it was known it could work no effect. The aforeſaid Fences were wrought where the Artillery from the Town could not reach; and at the flowing of the Sea, they were brought upon the Flotes to the places where they were made uſe of. Great was the mortality likewiſe of thoſe that wrought here; the Enemy making uſually ſuch havock of them with their Muskets, Artillery, and Sallies, as ofttimes hardly one of them could be ſaved. But mony ſtill got new men; and ofttimes the Souldiers themſelves wrought. Nor was *Spinola* wanting in being in all places at all times, and in expoſing himſelf as well as any of the reſt to all labour and danger; encouraging ſome, rewarding others, and behaving himſelf ſo, as his imitating without any manner of reſpect unto himſelf the moſt hazardous works of others, made the reſt the more ready to imitate his.

When each Nation had paſt the Channel, each of them began with like emulation to force the Ravelins and Half moons which ſheltred the Counterſcarf: And the *Walloons* and *Burgonians*, by reaſon of their quarter, were the firſt that did it: But with much effuſion of blood, even of the Nobleſt amongſt them; for amongſt the reſt, *Catris*, a Walloon Campmaſter, was loſt, a valiant and greatly experienced Souldier, and whom *Spinola* highly eſteemed both for his deeds and councel. With the like progreſs, and no leſs loſs of blood did the other Nations advance. So as the Enemies at laſt loſt all the Fortifications which they had without their principal Line; about which a great Ditch ran, but not ſo hard to paſs as was the Channel which fenced the Counterſcarf. The eaſier doing of it, made the Catholicks hope better in the effecting thereof. Wherefore full of freſh courage, they prepared to continue their labours more heartily then ever, that they might the ſooner end the ſiege. But the winter being already come on, did much hinder their Works; and the Sea did then more deſtroy them by her Tempeſts. The Enemy did likewiſe make very fierce oppoſition; they ſet up Batteries within, againſt the Batteries without; to Mines oppoſed Countermines; they repaired themſelves on all ſides, and as faſt as one Rampire was loſt they ſet up another. So as the Catholicks were to advance by inchmeal; and yet they

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did ſo advance, as by the Spring they were got well forward into the Ditch.

Theſe already progreſſions of Marqueſs *Spinola*, together with his ſtill daily proceedings made the united Provinces ſhrewdly afraid that they ſhould at the laſt loſe *Oſtend*. It was therefore conſulted amongſt their chief Commanders, how the Town might be beſt preſerved. Which might be done by two waies; either by ſome important diverſion, or by raiſing the ſiege by main force. The ſecond affair brought with it ſuch difficulties, as the firſt was imbraced. Wherefore they reſolved to beſiege *Sluce*. A Town which likewiſe ſtood upon the Sea, and of ſo great conſequence, as did rather exceed then come ſhort of thoſe of *Oſtend*. Having then made a very plentiful proviſion of veſſels to carry their ſouldiers from *Fluſhing*, to the neighbouring Country where *Sluce* was ſeated, Count *Maurice* about the end of *April* in the new year 1604, moved with fifteen thouſand Foot, and two thouſand five hundred Horſe to compaſs the ſaid deſign. We acquainted you with the diſcription of the ſituation of this place, and of the Territories thereof when it was beſieged, and taken by the Duke of *Parma*; ſo as we ſhall need to touch but briefly upon it here. *Sluce* lies more within land then does *Oſtend*; but ſo neer the Sea, as it enjoyes the conveniences thereof no leſs then doth the other; all the Country thereabouts is ſo full of Channels, Shores, and ſtanding waters, as it is hardly commerceable at any time of the year, unleſs it be by banks or barks. From the leſſer Channels a greater doth proceed, upon the ſhore whereof the Town ſtands, and which falling into the Sea, makes a very fit Harbor for all ſorts of ſhipping. Upon divers ſides of the ſame Channel ſtood ſundry Forts, the better to command it, and one in particular called St. *Anne*, ſtood neerer the Town then the reſt did. *Maurice* being entred into the Channel with his men, he tryed to land them and to take this Fort, by which his landing might be much withſtood: but it was ſo well defended by Camp-Maſter *Juſtinian*, who was ſent hy *Spinola* into thoſe parts, to obſerve the proceedings of the Enemy, leaſt they might tend to the prejudice of the ſiege of *Oſtend*, as *Maurice* could not make himſelf maſter thereof; wherefore he thought to land his men in an other part. *Matheo Serano* was Governor of *Sluce*; a Spaniard, and a ſouldier of much eſteem; but who had but a ſmall Garriſon to guard the Town and Forts; wherefore he acquainted the Arch-duke with the need he ſtood in, both of victuals, men, and amunition. The Arch-duke encouraged him; and ſoon after ſent him three hundred Foot, promiſing that he would ere long provide for the neceſſities of the Town and Forts. A little before this the Admiral of *Aragon* was returned to *Spain*, and *Velaſco* was made General of the horſe in lieu of him; *Velaſco* being formerly General of the Artilery, in which place he was ſucceede by *Buckquoy*, who quitted his Brigado of Walloons. The Arch-duke then ordered *Velaſco* to go to *Dama*; a very ſtrong place between *Sluce* and *Bruges*; and that he ſhould there hinder the Enemy as he ſhould ſee occaſion. *Maurice* this mean while had landed his men in another place, and taking now one ſituation, now another, prepared to beſiege the Town. But all the Country there abouts was like a great Labyrinth of Channels and Banks. One branch ſprung from another, and theſe framed a great number of little Iſlands, which were joyned together by bridges, and there was ſtill every where more mariſh, then dry ground. Theſe ſituations were in one reſpect a great advantage to Count *Maurice*, by affording him oppertunity to Fortifie himſelf; but were very diſadvantagious to him in an other behalf, by reaſon of the vaſt circuit he was forced to take, ere he could finde ground fitting to place his quarters in. Amongſt other Channels, there was one which ran from *Sluce* to *Dama*, which was of great concern to impede *Maurice*. Here particularly did *Velaſco* oppoſe him, and making a bridge over it, began to build a Fort, he had not then men enough with him for his purpoſe. Wherefore being ſet upon by the Enemy, he was forced after a ſharp fight to yeild the Paſs, and was ill routed; above 400 of his men were ſlain and wounded, and above three hundred taken priſoners, the reſt got back to *Dama*, whether *Velaſco* alſo came. The Enemies loſs was but very little; they were very much incouraged by this happy ſucceſs: wherefore they continued to poſſeſs themſelves by degrees of the reſt of the Paſſes which were of greateſt concernment; and *Maurice* was incredibly vigilant in

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joyning one of them to another, and in securing them with Trenches, Redoubts, and Forts. The Governor of *Sluce* had this mean while often renued his request to be recruted with men, and with some good store of ammunition and victuals. One thousand five hundred men were therefore at several times conveyed unto him, and he was put in good hope, that all his other needs should be soon provided for. But before this could be done, Count *Maurice* was so far advanced in his siege, as the Town began to be in manifest danger. He had taken either by assault, or composition almost all those Forts by which the great Channel was commanded; and because he knew that the Town was ill provided, especially of victuals, his design was to take it without assault, onely by keeping out relief. But that they might come by some the best they could, the Arch-duke was come to *Bruges*, which lies almost in the midst between *Sluce* and *Ostend*, but he had not men enough to continue the one siege, and obstruct the other. Yet he did all he could to gather together as many as he was able: and to that purpose went about to accord the Mutineers, that he might make use of them upon this occasion. He was therefore content to assign over unto them the City of *Ruremonde* till such time as they were fully paid, and in the interim made them a monthly assignment of certain monies: and that they might be the more sure of what he promised them, he delivered up unto them as Hostages, the Duke of *Ossuna*, a Grandee of *Spain*, who was come the year before into *Flanders* to militate in the Catholicks Camp; Count *Fontanoye*, one of the chiefest Flemish lords, and *Avalos*, who had formerly quitted his Italian Brigado. Whilst these preparations were a making, *Justinian* endeavoured to convey some victuals and ammunition into *Sluce*; but met with such an obstacle as he could not effect it. And by this and other attempts it was known, that *Maurice* his fortifications were on all sides such, as there was but little hopes of Forcing them.

Marquis *Spinola* had this mean while made such considerable progress about *Ostend*, as the Arch-duke having still a better opinion of him, resolv'd that he should try to relieve *Sluce*. *Spinola* saw that the Catholick Forces were then too weak to effect this; and thought that though they had been stronger, *Maurice* had already fortified himself too advantagiously on all sides. He doubted likewise least by bootlesly endeavoring to relieve *Sluce*, the siege of *Ostend* might be endangered, by too much weakning the forces which wrought upon it: out of these reasons he denied this employment as much as he could; but being compelled by the Arch-duke, he obtained that some of the chief Commanders of the Army might go along with him, that he might be the better ruled by their advice, and that he might in this manner the better justifie the event touching the succour which he already foresaw would not be favourable. Leaving then so many men onely before *Ostend* as might serve to continue the siege, he took away the rest, and with some other men, to which the Mutineers did in a great part joyn: he made up an Army of six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, with ten peeces of Canon, and a large provision of victuals, which was that which *Sluce* wanted most. The want thereof was already so great, as if all the speedier care were not taken, the Town could hold no longer out, and this the Governor had openly made known. *Spinola* therefore after he had assembled his men together about *Bruges* on the beginning of *August*, hastned his march as much as he could, and went towards *Dama*. By the notice he had of the condition of the Enemies fortifications, he hoped to bring in the succour by a little Village called *Terverde*. *Justinian* had likewise tryed to convey some victuals into the Town by that way; but he not being able to overcome the resistance made by the Enemy; they had afterward fortified that place better: So as *Spinola* endeavouring the same again, he could by no means force the Pass: taking a farther compass about, he attempted afterwards to get into the Island of *Cassante*; on which side he imagined that the Enemies Trenches were neither so well fortified, nor so well guarded as in other parts. He met with some obstacle in passing over some Channels; but he got over them, and giving the best fitting orders to march by night, and to come unexpectedly upon the Enemy, it was impossible for him by reason of divers difficulties he met with, to get thither before it was day. The Catholicks did notwithstanding valliantly assault the Enemy; by whom being as

ſtoutly withſtood, the fight continued a great while; but Count *Maurice* coming in himſelf in perſon, and reinforcing the defence anſwerable to the danger, the Catholicks were at laſt forced to retreat There were ſome 400 of them ſlain, and as many hurt; amongſt which the Campmaſter *Borgia* was ſorely wounded in both his arms. In this action the Marquis of *Renty* was particularly ſlain, who was in the prime of his youth; of great expectation, and one of the chiefeſt of the Nobility of that Country. The enemy loſt likewiſe much bloud, and that of the beſt, in this fight. The aſſault proving ineffectual, the Town was ſoon after delivered up upon honourable conditions. Little leſs then 4000 ſouldiers marched out of it, and went to *Dama*, making a moſt compaſſionate ſpectacle: for they were all ſo macerated with hunger, having ſuffered the utmoſt extremities thereof, as they rather ſeemed skellitons then men. And in two ſhort hours march (for it is no more between *Sluce* and *Dama*) threeſcore of them dropped down dead for very weakneſs. *Sluce* being loſt, *Spinola* returned likewiſe to *Dama*; and went from thence to the ſiege of *Oſtend* again. *Sluce* was ſurrendred about the midſt of *October*, when Count *Maurice* entred thereinto: glorying that in three months time, and with the loſs of ſo little bloud, he had made a greater acquiſition then that of *Oſtend*, which would coſt above three years expence of time, and an infinity of Spaniſh gold and bloud, if it could not at leaſt hold out longer. Great ſtore of Artillery of all ſorts was found in the Town, and in the Forts; and all the Gallies which were well furniſhed with all things which were requiſite to the deſigne for which they were intended, fell likewiſe into *Maurice* his hands.

The Archduke appeared much diſpleaſed hereat. And it being to be doubted that the enemy favoured by ſo important an acquiſition, and having all their Forces almoſt ſtill intire, would preſently come with diſplayed Banners to the relief of *Oſtend*; the Archduke therefore gave forth immediately all neceſſary Orders to keep them from ſo doing. Thoſe places towards which it was thought that *Maurice* might lead his Army from *Sluce* to *Oſtend*, were therefore ſpeedily provided for, and well fortified. And the Archduke gave the chief care thereof to *Spinola*; as to him who bore the whole burthen of the ſiege. Amongſt other places, he endeavoured to ſecure the Town of *Dama*, and the Fort *Blanchemburg*; the former being ſeated more inward into the Country, and the other upon the Sea, almoſt in equal diſtance between *Sluce* and *Oſtend*. *Maurice* muſt needs paſs either by the one or the other of theſe, to bring his men to the relief. And becauſe it was feared that he would rather do it by *Blanchemburg* ſide, *Spinola* drew thither as great a force as was neceſſary to withſtand *Maurice*, if he ſhould have the aforeſaid intent. Theſe Orders being given, he returned to the ſiege, reſolving to carry it ſo as it might the ſpeedilyer be ended. And he already thought himſelf almoſt ſure of it: For the loſs of *Sluce* had not only not diſheartned the Catholicks in the ſiege of *Oſtend*, but had rather inflamed them the more, out of a deſire that the loſs of that place might be counterpoiſed by the winning of this.

At the ſame time then that the enemies were hotteſt againſt *Sluce*, the Catholicks were no leſs fervent againſt *Oſtend*. Each of the aforeſaid Nations had proceeded on in their ſeveral quarters, purſuing to lead on their works in manner aforeſaid; but not without continual loſs of bloud; and amongſt the reſt, Camp-maſter *Melzi* was ill hurt in his leg; and Camp-maſter *Juſtinian* received ſuch a wound in his arm, as he was forced to have it cut quite off. Yet the Catholicks at laſt made themſelves maſters of the ditch; nor were they long afterwards in winning the firſt Line; though the enemy made as many retreats as they could in every Bulwark; making of one flank many. and very much retarding the oppugnors proceedings. When they had won the firſt Line, they diſcovered a new Fortification which thoſe within had raiſed with ditches, flanks, and other defences. *Sluce* was juſt then loſt; and it was feared that Count *Maurice* would come to the relief of *Oſtend*. The Catholicks being therefore ſo much the more moved, and *Spinola* being again returned, it is not to be expreſt with what fervor they fell to their works on all ſides. The greateſt progreſs was made towards the old Town of *Oſtend*. And becauſe when they ſhould have

have won that, they might eaſily hinder the entrance into the Channel, by the mouth whereof ſuccour was brought from the Sea; and for that the new Town was much commanded by the old, therefore *Spinola* did more reinforce his Batteries, aſſaults, mines, and all his other moſt efficacious works on that ſide then on any other. Nor was it long ere the Catholicks had almoſt wholly taken it.

They likewiſe advanced after the ſame manner againſt the new Fortification, ſo as now the beſieged had no where whither to retreat: wherefore wanting ground to defend, when they moſt abounded in all things for defence, they were at laſt forced to ſurrender the Town: which was done about the midſt of *September*, upon all the moſt honourable conditions that they could deſire. Count *Maurice* was often minded to attempt the ſuccour by main force; but conſidering that he was to enter into an Enemies Country, amongſt ſtrong and well garded Towns, and that he ſhould meet with men that were very ready to fight, he thought it not fit after his proſperous ſucceſs at *Sluce*, to hazard falling into ſome misfortune, as upon ſuch an occaſion he might peradventure do; and therefore he forbore to do it. It was a remarkable thing to ſee ſo many ſouldiers march out of a Town: For there were above 4000 of them; all ſtrong and healthfull, they having enjoyed great plenty of all things in *Oſtend*, by reaſon of their continual ſuccours. So as beſides great ſtore of Artillery, there was found in the Town ſuch aboundance of Victuals, ammunition, and of whatſoever elſe may be imagined for the defence of a royal Town, as the like was never known to be in any other place.

Thus ended the ſiege of *Oſtend*: very memorable doubtleſs in it ſelf; but much more in conſideration of the ſo great expence of monies and time, which the winning and loſing of it coſt. The ſiege continued above three years; in which time the conſtant opinion was, that there dyed what by the ſword, what by ſickneſs, above a hundred thouſand men, between the one and the other ſide. Whereby it may be conceived what proportionable monies, and other things were therein ſpent. The Town being yielded up, the Archduke and Infanta had the curioſity to go ſee it, and went from *Gaunt* thither; where they found nothing but a miſhapen Chaos of Earth, which hardly retained any ſhew of the firſt *Oſtend*. Ditches fill d up, Curtains beaten down, Bulwarks torn in pieces, Half-Moons, Flanks and Redouts ſo confuſed one with another, as one could not be diſtinguiſhed from another; nor could it be known on which ſide the oppugnation, or on which ſide the defence was. Yet they would know all, and receive the whole relation from *Spinola*'s own mouth. He repreſented at full the laſt poſture of the ſiege; he ſhewed the Spaniards quarters, and that of the Italians, as alſo thoſe of each other Nation. He related how ſtoutly they contended who ſhould outvie one another in pains taking, on which part the greateſt reſiſtance was made within; where the diſpute was moſt difficult without; where they wanted ground to retreat unto; where the Enemy uſed their utmoſt power; and where at laſt the Town was ſurrendred. The Archdukes ſaw the great Platform, the great Dike, and whatſoever elſe of curious might be ſuggeſted by the unuſual face of that ſiege; but not without the Infanta's great compaſſion, and even almoſt tears, by looking upon the horror of thoſe parts where the ſword, fire, ſea and earth may be ſaid to have conſpired together in making ſo long, and ſo miſerable a deſtruction of Chriſtians. They both of them did very much commend *Spinola*, and did alſo thank the reſt of the Commanders who had deſerved well in that enterpriſe. Nor did they leſs gratulate the inferior Officers and Souldiers, who had expoſed themſelves, moſt to thoſe dangers. They left the Seignor *de Griſon*, the Walloon Camp-maſter, Governor of *Oſtend*; and giving ſuch other Orders as were fitting for the keeping of that place, they returned to *Gaunt*, and ſoon after to their uſual abode of *Bruſſels*. *Autumn* this mean while ran on; and that Summers extraordinary toyl and labour, had very much tired the Armies of both ſides: wherefore it was needfull for them to repoſe. They were therefore drawn out of the Field, and put into Garriſon. Soone after that yeere ended, and the other of 1605 began.

Marquis *Spinola* had not as yet been at the Court of *Spain*, and therefore he would no longer delay going thither. He hoped that his taking of *Oſtend* would make Anno 1605

make him be the better received in that Court, and cauſe him return the better ſatisfied to *Flanders*. The Archdukes were not willing to let him go; but afterwards ſent all ſuch praiſes with him, as might beſt further his going, and return. He went away about the latter end of the year, and was very honourably received both by the King and the whole Court; wherein he treated long of the affairs of *Flanders*, ſhewing in particular, that they muſt uſe all means to carry the War into the Enemies Country, by paſſing the *Rhine*, and by diſplaying the Kings Banners in thoſe parts; ſo as the Rebels might receive their greater puniſhment nearer home. He lively repreſented the unruly Mutinies, and that there was no way to prevent them, but by paying the Souldier well; and he was ſo well liſtened unto in all other things, as the King thought it fitting to return him with all poſſible ſpeed back to *Flanders*. At his departure, he made him, and declared him to be, Camp-maſter-General, and Governor of all his Forces in thoſe Provinces; giving him very great authority, not only in the deſtributing of monies, but alſo in the exerciſe of his Command. He was honoured with the Golden Eleece, and ſo fully ſatisfied with all other manner of demonſtrations, as he returned very well pleaſed to *Flanders*. Arriving at *Bruſſels* with very good Bils of Exchange, he forthwith cauſed the mutiniers to be ſatisfied; and ſtrict orders were given for the raiſing of new men in *Germany*, and ſome others in the neighbouring Countries: beſides, a Brigado of Neopolitans was expected from *Italy*, and one of *Lombards*, and another which came by Sea from *Spain*.

This great preparation of Arms made by the Catholicks, being diſcovered, the Enemy were no leſs vigilant to come with good Forces likewiſe aſſoon as poſſibly they could into the field. They were the firſt that marched; and with ſuch a deſigne, as none more bold, nor of greater concernment could be imagined, if they had been therein anſwered by Fortune. Count *Maurice* having aſſembled together in the beginning of *May*, 15000 foot, and 2500 horſe, and imbarking the greateſt part of them, Count *Erneſtus* of *Naſſaw* entred into the *Scheld* with them, and Count *Maurice* met him with the reſt by land, near the great Fort of *Lillo*, two leagues peneath *Antwerp*. The United Provinces poſſeſt that Fort on the right hand ſhore, and another juſt over againſt it on the contrary ſhore. The deſigne was to cut thoſe Dikes on both the ſides by which the Sea is chiefly kept out at high Tide: So as the lower ſcituations being thereby overflown, the Enemy might the better fortifie the higher parts, and by this means begirt *Antwerp*, and ſo come by ſo important a City. They could not move ſo unexpectedly, but that the Archduke and *Spinola* had got notice of it long before. Neceſſary orders were therefore taken for the preſervation of thoſe Dikes, by certain Forts which ſtood on divers ſides where there was moſt need. To this purpoſe *Spinola* diſpatched away the Spaniſh Camp-maſter *Inico di Borgia*, and *Alonſo di Luna*, with their Brigadoes: and *Signor Balanſon* with his Brigado of Burgonians, immediately thither. The greateſt danger lay on the left ſide of the River, and here likewiſe was the greateſt defence made. *Maurice* knew very well what difficulties his deſigne would meet withall by this oppoſition: yet he would put it to the tryal. Wherefore aſſaulting the Dike which was neareſt *Callo*, his men endeavoured by all means to poſſeſs themſelves of it: But *Borgia*, who had the defence of it, did ſo repulſe the Enemy, as many of them were ſlain, many wounded, and many drowned in the River.

Count *Maurice* falling off this enterpriſe, reſolved to retreat, and came again to *Lillo* with all his Naval Preparation, and from thence went to *Zealand*, intending to advance into thoſe parts which were neareſt the Province of *Flanders*, and to endeavour ſome new acquiſition near *Sluce*. The Archduke ſuſpected this very much, and feared leſt *Maurice* would fall upon the Town of *Huiſt*, or upon the Fort *Saſſe*: wherefore *Spinola* went preſently to thoſe parts; throwing a bridg of boats over the *Scheld*, that he might the ſooner get over, he paſt with many Foot and Horſe into the Countrey of *Waſſe*, in the midſt whereof *Huiſt* ſtands, and here he prepared to oppoſe the enemy as he ſhould ſee occaſion. Count *Maurice* being entred into the Gulf which is neareſt the Fort *Saſſe*, and landing his men, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the Seats thereabouts, and began to

to fortifie himſelf in a certain part: ſhewing clearly that he intended to begirt that Fort. But it was ſo well provided to make defence, by *Spinola*, as there was no fear of loſing it; Nor was he long in appearing thereabouts himſelf. *Spinola* had with him thirteen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, with great proviſion of all other things. He fortified himſelf alſo; and the Armies were ſo neer one another, as daily skirmiſher paſt between them. At this time came the three Brigadoes which were expected from *Italy*: But the other which came by Sea from *Spain*, had not the like Fortune. *Pietro di Sermiente* who was Camp-maſter thereof, conducted it in eight ſhips; and meeting with many great ſhips of *Holland* in the Engliſh Channel, which lay waiting for him, he was aſſaulted by them; and after a fierce fight, moſt of the Spaniſh ſhips, with the men that were in them were taken by the Enemy. The Camp-maſter ſaved himſelf with the reſt of the ſhips and ſouldiers, and got to *Dunkirk*. At the ſame time the Germans, and thoſe of the neigbouring Nations were likewiſe raiſed. Wherefore the Arch-duke reſolved *Spinola* ſhould no longer delay to put the deſign in execution, which was agreed upon in *Spain*; which was to paſs the *Rhine*, to advance into *Frieſland*, and to make ſome great diverſion againſt the Enemy on thoſe parts.

Count *Frederick de Berg* ſtayed therefore only with ſuch Forces, as might ſuffice to oppoſe *Maurice*, and *Spinola* went from the Province of *Flanders*, and coming to *Bruſſels*, paſt with all ſpeed to make his randezvouz at *Maſtrick*. Prince *Avelino* conducted over the Neopolitans, and returned preſently for *Italy*. *Franciſca Colonna*, Prince of *Paleſtrina* was then in *Flanders*, being a little before come thither from *Rome*; and there was likewiſe *Andrea Matteo Aquaviva*, Prince of *Caſerta*, who came thither likewiſe about the ſame time. One of the two Neapolitan Brigadoes was given to *Colonna*; and *Aleſſandro di Monti* was Camp-maſter of the other. Count *Guido* St. *Georgio* commanded the Lombard Brigado; and *Chriſtophero de Conti d' Emden* was the principal of the German Colonels. Before *Spinola* came to *Maſtrick* he had diſpatched away Count *Buckquoy*, General of the Artillery, to begin a Fort upon the right ſide of the *Rhine*, which was the moſt ſuſpected. The place he choſe was neer *Caſeſuert*, a little Town belonging to the Arch-biſhopriek of *Cullen*. Here *Buckquoy* began to build the Fort; whither it was not long ere *Spinola* came, who haſtning the work, cauſed it ſoon to be erected, with a Line of five Flanks; and raiſed another leſſer one on the other ſide towards *Cullen*. The Arch-duke and *Spinola* kept their intentions of paſſing with their Armies over the *Rhine* very ſecret; and therefore the Arch-duke ſeeming to his own Captains, as if he had ſome other deſign, had ofttimes had it argued in Councel, whether it were better to endeavour the recovery of *Sluce* or *Graves*, or to beſiege *Berghenapzome*, or rather *Breda*, never touching upon the true deſign. Upon the variety of theſe Propoſals, there was variety of opinions; and the Arch-duke had induſtriouſly wrought it ſo, as that the Enemy might be advertiſed of theſe conſultations, to make them the leſs ſuſpitious that they intended any thing beyond the *Rhine*: nor did his thoughts abuſe him, for the Enemy being thus deluded, and out of other reſpects, not beleeving that the Catholicks would put on ſo bold a reſolution, they were not time enough to relieve the Towns which *Spinola* begirt, and took in thoſe parts, (as ſhall be related) this ſo ſpeedy march of *Spinola*'s towards the *Rhine*, made the Enemy beleeve he would beſiege *Reinberg*, and the ſame opinion was conceived in the Catholick Camp, which did not yet know the true deſign. Of all others Count *Maurice* beleeved the like; who therefore had made Count *Erneſtus* march away with good Forces; to the end that the fortifications of that place might be by him ſo ſtrengthned both without and within, as there might be no fear of loſing it.

This mean while the two aforeſaid Forts were finiſhed by *Spinola*, by which that paſſage of the *Rhine* was ſecured. He then no longer deferred the making known whither the Catholick Camp was bent: but calling a Councel of War, he ſaid;

That the King and Arch-duke had reſolved to carry the war to the Rebels own homes, and more inward if they could. That ſo ſtrong an Army was prepared to this purpoſe.

purpose. That to this purpose monies were prepared to maintain the Army; And that to the same end he had already secured the passage over the Rhine. *That the determination was to enter the Enemies Country towards* Friesland; *and particularly to make use of all their power to take the Town of* Linghen *in those parts. That his Highnes's pleasure was, that this design should by all means be kept secret, that so it might be the easilyer effected; and that there was almost no doubt to be made of it. That they knew the Town was at this time but ill provided; the Enemy never having dreamed, that it could at such a distance, and so at unawares be assaulted by the Catholick Forces. That it was true it was a great way off; and that they were to pass through a great part of the Neutrals Countries, where it might be feared they might suffer for want of victuals. But that there was already great provision made thereof; and that they were to march through that Country with such discipline, as the souldiers being no ways troublesome, and having sufficient monies for plenty of victuals, they need fear no want. That for what remained, the taking of such a Town would be of very great importance. That Count* Maurice *had still fortified it better; that it lay in the Havens of* Friesland, *almost upon the Confines of* Germany: *and that if once they should get footing there, wherefore might they not hope that this happy success might be insued by many more happy.*

The Councel of War did much approve of this advice; and it was likewise very chearfully received by all the Souldiery. The Army was compounded of the usual Nations; and consisted of 16000 Foot, and 3000 Horse. They were particularly to pass over a great part of the neutral Countrey of *Cleves*, and *Westphalia*. And to the end that all things might be the fairlyer carryed on, both in them, and in all other places of the like nature; *Spinola* had with him the Count *di Lora*, one of the chiefest and best esteemed Lords of all *Flanders*, who was to negotiate with the Magistrates of each Town, and to give them all due satisfaction. To secure the passage of the *Rhine*, and the Army also on their back; Count *Bucquoy* had the charge of the new Forts, having 6000 Foot and 500 horse with him. From whence *Spinola* marched away with the rest, and began to enter into the Countrey of *Cleves*, and after into *Westphalia*. He marched still orderly, and with so exquisite and severe discipline, as victuals were brought unto the Camp in great aboundance from all parts. Coming out of those Countries, he entred into the Province of *Overisel*, belonging to the United States, and very near *Friesland*. The first considerable Town he met with there, in that passage was *Oldensel*; not above one short days journey from *Linghen*. The Councel were of opinion that the taking of this Town would facilitate the taking of the other. *Oldensel* was weak of it self, and the enemy not expecting to have it assaulted, had neglected to fortifie it. *Spinola* incamping before the Town, opened trenches on three sides; and in each of them prepared a battery; and all this was done with such speed, as the defendants failing in their courage, or rather in their forces, the Batteries were not wel begun, when they treated of surrender, and went out of the Town. *Spinola* had in this interim sent away Count *Theodore Trivulsio*, with almost all the Horse, who was Lieutenant General of them, that he might possess himself of all the chiefest situations about *Linghen*. And coming himself after with the rest of the Army, incamped before the Town, and according to his custome, gave out quarters to each Nation. *Linghen* lies almost at an equal distance between the western *Friesland* belonging to *Flanders*, and the eastern one appertaining to *Germany*: It hath a good Country about it. And (as we have already told you) the United States had formerly given that Town, with the Territories thereof to Count *Maurice*, in acknowledgement of the service he had done them. He had therefore fortified the Town very Royally, adding a great Platform to the Line thereof, and muniting it with six Bulwarks; each of which had a large and deep Ditch about it. But the Town being set upon so unexpectedly, it wanted many other things appertaining to the defence thereof. When the Catholicks therefore incamped before it, they met with almost no resistance in their beginning their Trenches, and in their leading of them on. There were hardly 600 foot in Garison there and they had hardly ten pieces of Canon. In so much as making but few sallies, and doing but little harm with their Canon, at three days end the Catholicks came to the Ditch; and placed their Artillery to play upon the Town on sundry sides. The greatest difficulty

culty lay in getting over the Ditch. It was broadeſt, and deepeſt where the Spaniards wrought: wherefore they thought to drain the water from it, and to lay it dry. But there was no lower parts about it. The place eaſieſt to paſs over fell to the Italians and Walloons; and theſe two Nations ſtriving which of them ſhould be foremoſt, ſtrove likewiſe who ſhould expoſe themſelves to greateſt danger; in ſo much as many of each Nation were ſlain and wounded, yet they did ſo advance with Earth, Bavins, and other materials, as they both of them paſſed over the Ditch almoſt at the ſame time. They then fell to mining that they might the ſooner come to aſſaults. But they within were not in a condition to expect them. Wherefore hanging out ſignes of ſurrender, they were ſuffered to march out honourably, and *Spinola* entred the Town, not having ſpent above eight days in the taking of it. He preſently applyed himſelf to fortifie it better then it yet was: adding a half-Moon betwixt one Bulwark and another, and by raiſing a *Strada Coperta* well flank'd without the Ditch.

This mean while Count *Maurice* was likewiſe upon his march; and parting from the Province of *Flanders*, had alſo paſſed the *Rhine* to oppoſe *Spinola*: and ſtaying in *Deventer*, the chief Town of *Overiſel*, he bethought how he might preſerve *Linghen*. But being prevented by the ſpeedy ſiege, and then by the ſurrender, he had not time to make ſuch preparations as were fitting for that purpoſe. He therefore turned with 7000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe towards *Cowerden*, to ſecure a great Fort which was there, in caſe that *Spinola* ſhould aſſault it. But the new Fortifications about *Linghen* being finiſhed, and leaving that Town well provided for, as alſo the other of *Ouldenſel*, *Spinola* would tarry no longer in thoſe parts. Great complaints were made in *Germany* againſt the Forts of *Caſeſwert*, a place ſituated in the Territories of *Cullen*, which is a City belonging to the Empire. Wherefore the Archduke not willing that the neighbouring Countries ſhould be again irritated, as they had been a few years before; ordered *Spinola* that he ſhould ſlight thoſe firſt Forts, and ſhould erect two others, upon the *Rhine*, at *Rorort*, a Town in the County of *Mures*, which County did belong to *Flanders*. *Spinola* went therefore from *Linghen* thitherward, and with all diligence began to raiſe the new Forts upon the banks of *Rhine* And the ſeaſon being yet very good for lying in the field, he reſolved that Count *Bucquoy* ſhould go take *Vachendonch*. This Town ſtands very low, and is held for one of the ſtrongeſt both for nature and induſtry, that is in the Province of *Ghelderland*, as you may have heard before.

Bucquoy began his works upon a little riſe, and fortified certain paſſes, where ſuccour was moſt to be ſuſpected: though it were credibly believed, that *Maurice* would not attempt it, to ſhun putting himſelf betwixt the men which *Spinola* kept with him at *Rorort*, and thoſe that *Bucquoy* carried along with him to beſiege *Vachendonch*. Theſe conſiſted almoſt wholly of the Brigadoes belonging to *Juſtinian*, *Branchatchio*, and St. *George*. Theſe Italian Camp-maſters, and their Souldiers vying who ſhould be forwardeſt therein, more then if they had been to contend with other Nations, they quickly advanced their Trenches. One Camp-maſter ſucceeded the other, after every days work, which continued alſo the inſuing night, that they might advance the ſpeedyer, and with the more ſafety. There were 1300 foot in the Town, nor wanted they ſufficient Artillery by which at a further diſtance, and by their ſallies nearer hand, they endeavoured to hinder the aſſailants Works. On the ſide where theſe wrought, there ran a little Rivolet, which did almoſt joyn with the Town-Ditch on that ſide. When the Catholicks came to this Rivolet, they were withſtood in paſſing over it; but repulſing the Enemy, they came to the Ditch; where meeting with freſh obſtacles, they again overcame them. Being entred into the Ditch, they were very diligent to win it; filling it with earth, and other materials, and mainly endeavouring to get to the Line. It was now about the end of *October*, and it was apprehended leſt the Autumnal rains might hinder the works more, then the low and miery ſituation of the Town it ſelf did retard them. Wherefore they continued their works with ſuch eagerneſs, as at laſt the Ditch was totally won at the price of death and wounds. They then fell to Mines, and from Mines to Aſſaults; in ſo much as the Catholicks lodged in the Platform of the Wall, being brought

brought to this bad condition, the defendants did no longer delay to treat of surrender, which being agreed upon, they quitted the Town upon good conditions.

Whilst *Buckquoy* besieged *Vachendoncke*, there happened a very considerable party between *Spinola*'s Camp, and that of Count *Maurice*. *Spinola* kept about *Rorort* by reason of the new Forts which he caused to be erected upon the *Rhine*, and *Maurice* was not far of, upon the same side of the River; each Camp observed the others proceedings, either to get advantage, or not to be indammaged thereby. *Maurice* knew that the Catholicks Cavalry was quartered far enough from the rest of the Camp, and that they were sufficiently at odds within themselves. Wherefore he hoped that by assaulting them suddenly, he might greatly disorder them, and peradventure totally defeate them. They were quartered in the village *Mulem*, and in the Castle *Bruck*; the one of which was seated upon the left hand, and the other upon the right, of the little River *Roer*: The said quarter was kept by *Trivulsio*, Lieutenant General of the Horse, who had given very accurate orders every where, where it was behoofeful, that he might not be set upon at unawares. But these orders were very ill observed, and *Maurice* being advertised of the Souldiers carelessness, he went with three thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and some peeces of Artillery; and marching by night, came upon break of day to the quarter. He forthwith made his brother *Henry* advance, who was General of the Horse, a young man about some twenty years of age, but sprightly and bold beyond his age; and who after Count *Maurice* his death, succeeded him both in the same command in war, in the like reputation of name, and did afterwards prove so gallant a Commander. *Henrie*'s unexpected assault put the first Guards to flight, and likewise disorder'd *Francisco Arirazaval*, a Spaniard, who was quartered with a Troop of Horse in certain houses near the Castle *Bruck*. There *Henry* would have passed over the River, and have assaulted the chief quarter of *Mulem*. But in this interim *Trivulsio* and many of his men were got on horse-back, and encountring *Henry* did so stoutly oppose him, as he could not pass over the River.

Velasco General of the Catholicks Horse, was then with *Spinola*, to solicite likewise the raising of the Forts, and casually both of them came to visit the Horse quarter, when by the way they met a messenger whom *Trivulsio* had sent to pray aid. *Spinola* returned presently to the Forts to bring on succour, and *Velasco* advanced in all haste towards the Quarter; and meeting with *Frabritio Santomango* a Neopolitan Captain of Horse, who was going with three other Horse Companies to *Rorort* to guard the Forts, he made him turn back with him to *Mulem*. *Velasco* came in just when *Trivulsio* over-powred by the Enemy, could no longer withstand them. But this aid did so enharten the Catholicks, as a fierce fight ensued thereupon; wherein *Velasco* in particular, wan great praise; commanding, executing, and in all things else making his courage and his long military experience appear. *Spinola* came in this mean while with six hundred Spanish Foot, which suddenly followed him, and two thousand more were to come after. He made use of a Stratagem often practised by Commanders, which was to send forward some Drums on Horse-back, which might beat a march, to make the Enemy believe that new and greater succour was with like haste coming to the Catholicks; nor did the invention prove vain: for *Maurice* judging (as it was likely) that *Spinola* was either coming with new men from the Catholick Camp of *Rorort*, which was not far distant, or that he sent some fresh aid; would no longer forbare retreating. And yet *Spinola* came time enough to prejudice the Enemy in their retreat; for after his coming many of them were slain as they departed: But this was not done without a great loss to the Catholick party. *Trivulsio* being slain with a Canon shot, whilst he, having fought even to the last, and still with the same courage saw the Enemy almost wholly retired. On the Catholicks side *Santomango* was likewise slain, and *Nicola Doria* another Captain of Horse, was ill hurt, and taken prisoner. Above three hundred other Catholicks were slain or hurt, and above five hundred in like manner of the contrary party. The fight being over, and the quarter being well secured, *Spinola* and *Velasco* returned to *Rorort*. In the Territory of *Moeurs*, which joyns upon

upon the other Bank of the *Rhine*, there was a Garriſon of the Enemies in the Caſtle of *Cracove*, which did much annoy the Country thereabouts. *Vachendoncke*, lately taken by *Bucquoy* was not far from thence: *Spinola* therefore thought that by all means that Garriſon muſt be driven from thence: and ſending *Bucquoy* with the ſame men, to ſee it done, the Caſtle was ſoon invironed on all ſides. Thoſe within expected a formal battery; and the weakneſs of the place being ſuch, as it would be in vain to make any reſiſtance, *Bucquoy* would have the Garriſon yeild upon diſcretion; yet ſuffered them afterward to come forth with their lives ſaved. It was now about the end of *November*, and by reaſon of the rain there was no longer keeping in the field; wherefore *Spinola* having made the Forts ſufficiently defenceable, and leaving men enough to guard them, reſolved to put his Army in Gariſon; and *Maurice* did the like.

Spinola being come to *Bruſſels*, he diſcourſed a long time with the Arch duke, touching what they ſhould undertake in the field the next year. The reſolution was, That by an Army apart, they ſhould continue what they had already begun beyond the *Rhine*, and uſe all means to paſs over the *Yſel*; and prejudice the Rebels as much as they could on that ſide. And that at the ſame time they ſhould endeavour to paſs over the *Wahal* with another Army, and to get footing in ſome conſiderable place in the Iſland of *Betway*, that the Catholicks Armies might advance ſo much the further into that part of *Holland*. This was a high deſigne, and the difficulties that were therein to be met withall were foreſeen: for it was not to be doubted but that the United Provinces would endeavour with like Forces to hinder thoſe paſſages, and would uſe all other needful oppoſition. *Spinola* thought it therefore fit to go himſelf again to the Court of *Spain*, to the end, that by his more efficatious ſhewing of how great a concerne the aforeſaid undertakings were, the King with the Authority of his Councel might approve thereof; and ſo deal with his Forces, as that they might prove fully effected. The Arch-duke was of the ſame opinion, and *Spinola* departed in the very latter end of that year.

Now came in the next year of 1606. memorable for that it was the laſt for that time, in which after ſo long and bitter war, the *Flanders* Forces went into the field. For in the enſuing year the Treaty of Truce began, which was afterwards concluded for twelve yeare, as we ſhall by and by tell you. *Spinola* being arrived at *Madrid*, it was not hard for him to perſwade the King to the ſame things which the Arch-duke had formerly approved of: the greateſt difficulty lay in finding out ſufficient monies for ſuch enterpriſes; for, to boot, with the uſual contributions of the obedient Provinces of *Flanders*, it was caſt up that three hundred thouſand Crowns a moneth would be requiſite to come from *Spain*. An exceſſeſſive expence in it ſelf, and much more in reſpect of the ſo many other great expences, which the vaſtneſs of the Spaniſh Empire did neceſſarily require in ſo many other parts: yet ſuch diligence was uſed, as there was courſe taken for it; and ſome part thereof was disburſt in *Flanders* before hand, to raiſe new men, and in providing divers other things which were neceſſary for going into the field. Theſe negotiations kept *Spinola* longer in *Spain* then the affairs of *Flanders* would allow of. At his departure, the King to witneſs his confidence in him, and eſteem of him, made him one of his chief Councel of State. He at laſt began his journey backward by the way of *Italy*; and parting from *Genua*, was ſtayed in his journey by a Feaver, which kept him from coming to *Bruſſels* till the firſt of *June*. Nothing of conſiderable had this mean while been done in *Flanders*: only Monſieur *de Teraglia*, a Frenchman had put himſelf into the Kings ſervice, he being very well verſed in matter of Artillery and Petars, which are made uſe of in ſurpriſals. Whereof he made uſe of divers on both ſides the *Rhine*; but ſince none of them wrought any conſiderable effect, we will forbare to mention them.

Anno 1606.

Spinola being arrived, and the Army being increaſed by new Germans and Walloons, and by 2000 Spaniards, who were come from *Italy* under the Camp-maſter *Jovanni Bravoi*; the Archduke would no longer forbear putting the aforeſaid deſignes in excution. And thus it was carried. *Spinola* made his Rendezvouz about the Forts upon the *Rhine*, and having muſtered there 12000 Foot and

2000 Horſe, he reſolved to advance into that other part where *Oldenſell* and *Lingben* were taken the year before. The reſolution was, as we told you, to paſſe over the River *Yſel*, and to get into *Vela*, which is an open Country, and near *Utricht*, a City of great circuit, but badly fortified; in ſo much as they might hope to take ſo principal a Town, and having well fortified it, to trouble *Holland*, near which that City ſtands on that ſide. Count *Bucquoy* prepared at the ſame time to paſs over *Wahal*, intending to bring the Catholick Forces into the Iſland of *Betua*, and there to get footing, and take ſome place of importance. *Nimingben* would have been the moſt conſiderable of all others; a great City, ſcituated upon the left ſide of the ſame River, and which bore great conſequences with it. We have ſo often, upon ſo many other occurrences, ſpoken of this City, and of the ſame Rivers of *Wahal* and *Yſel*, as it will be ſuperfluous to make the ſame relations again here.

Bucquoy had with him 10000 Foot, and 1200 Horſe, with plenty of all neceſſary proviſions; and in *Spinola's* Camp there were above 3000 Carriages with great ſtore of Victuals and Ammunition; with Mils, Ovens, and all other accommodations neceſſary. This extraordinary great preparation on the Catholicks behalf, made the United Provinces firſt very ſuſpitious, and then very fearfull. They had not then Forces enough to oppoſe the Catholicks in the open Field; they therefore reſolved to ſupply that want, by fortifying thoſe Riverbanks, where moſt fear was to be had that the Catholicks would endeavour to paſs over; by better fortifying thoſe Towns which they thought they would aſſail. And truly they made wonderfull Fortifications upon this occaſion. They made a great many Redouts upon the banks of all that ſhore of the *Wahal*, which runs along the Iſland of *Betua*, where it might be feared the Catholicks might attempt to poſſeſs it on that ſide. A *Corps de Gard* was aſſigned, with Sentinels to every Redout; and according to occaſion one Redout was to aſſiſt another. At the ſame time divers men of War, and other Boats were to ſcoure up and down upon the River, to be another ſort of impediment; and ſtrict Orders were given to all the Towns thereabouts, that with great vigilancy they ſhould be prepared to ſend forth men, to make the like oppoſition. The other yet greater tract of ground which ran along the ſhore of *Yſel*, was likewiſe equally defended. So as having made theſe proviſions, the Enemy ſeemed little to dread what the Catholicks could do. And yet Count *Maurice* aſſembled ſo great a body of an Army together, as being added to thoſe ſo advantagious Fortifications where moſt need required, might cauſe the greater hopes of rendring all contrary deſignes vain.

Spinola parted from the Rendezvouz about the beginning of *July*, and marched towards *Yſel*. The ſeaſon was very rainy before he could paſs the *Rhine*. The Climate of *Flanders* doth naturally abound in moyſture and rain. And the Spring, and Summer, and Autumn, are uſually there ſo confounded together, as one ſeaſon can hardly be diſcerned from another; but extraordinary ſtore of rain fell particularly that Summer, and all the while the Enemy kept in the Field during that year. *Spinola* marched through low grounds, where the water which was already fallen, and which ſtill continuing to fall, had made the ways through which he marched, extraordinarily durty, and ſlippery. It is not to be ſaid how much the Souldiers ſuffered thereby; how much the Artillery was incommodiated; and particularly how great the diſorder was in conducting ſuch an unuſual number of Carriages. *Spinola*, and the reſt of the Commanders, and the whole Army, were greatly afflicted in ſeeing the ſeaſon prove ſo perverſe; and they were more grieved when they heard that the Rivers were ſo ſwoln, as they were not to be forded over in any part. *Spinola* knew likewiſe what great Fortifications the Enemy had made on the contrary ſhore, and whatſoever elſe they had done to impede the paſſage. Yet he ſtill drew towards *Yſel*; and afterwards marched towards thoſe parts where *Zutfen* and *Deventer* ſtand. Between theſe two Towns, on the other ſide the River did Count *Maurice* keep with his Army, that he might turn where occaſion ſhould moſt require. *Spinola* did ſtudiouſly endeavour to make him ſtill keep there, till ſuch time as Count *de Sora* might come to a certain place a good way from thence, which was a little below

below the Town *Suole*, where he intended that *Sora* ſhould by all means attempt to paſs over the River: and in the mean while *Spinola* thought it might be advantagious for him to take *Loehem*, a little Town, not very ſtrong, but oportune for the condition of the ſcituations where he at that time kept. He therefore ſent the Camp-maſter *Borgio*, who was a little before choſen Governour of *Antwerp* Citadel, to begirt it with 3000 Foot, and 500 Horſe. He met with but ſhort reſiſtance: For the Catholicks being come in two days to the Ditch, and having began a Battery on the third day, thoſe within ſurrendred the Town. *Spinola* hoped ſtill that the River of *Yſel* would fall, and that Count *Sora* might get over it, at the aforeſaid place. But he being come thither, and having made ſome tryal, found both the water ſo high, and the oppoſition made by the Enemy ſo great, as he failed in his deſigne.

Whilſt Marquis *Spinola* laboured thus on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, *Bucquoy* had alſo gathered his Army together on this ſide, in *Brabant*; and paſſing the *Manſe* over againſt *Moch*, kept there. *Moch* is an open Village not above four leagues from the *Wahal*. *Bucquoy*'s intention was to attempt a paſſage in a certain place which lay juſt in the midſt between *Schincks* Sconce and *Nimingben*; he had cauſed a great many of Barks proportionable to the deſigne, to be carryed upon Carts, to put them into the River; and to put thereinto men ſufficient to make way through the contrary ſhore. Amongſt other Commanders, Camp-maſter *Juſtinian* was with *Bucquoy*, who imployed him in attempting the ſaid Paſſe. *Juſtinian* going therefore with 4000 Foot, two pieces of Arrillery, and neceſſary Barks for the tranſporting of them, prepared to put the deſigne in execution. But he found the Enemy no leſs ready to oppoſe him on that ſide the *Wahal*, then they had been on the other ſide of *Yſel*. The River was much greater, and much more rapid then uſual. Wherefore the Marriners could not govern their Barks as they would have done; nor were their Artillery of any advantage to them; for the contrary ſhore was better furniſhed therewithall: and therefore all attempts proving vain, *Juſtinian* retyred to joyn with the reſt that were with *Bucquoy*. *Spinola* having notice hereof, knew there was no more hopes of paſſing over either in the one, or in the other place; he reſolved then not to part from thoſe places where he was, without making himſelf Maſter of ſome place of importance.

The chiefeſt Towns the Enemy had thereabouts were *Zutfen* and *Deventer*, both of them ſeated upon the *Yſel*, but ſo munited both by the River on one ſide, and by their Fortifications on the other ſide, as they required longer time, and greater Forces then *Spinola* then had to offer at the winning them. Beſides, *Maurice* kept with his Army almoſt in the midſt between them. Nor was it to be doubted but that he might be at liberty to ſuccour which of the Towns he would. The Town of *Groll* is not far from thereabouts; and though it were not to be compared with the other two, it was notwithſtanding to be eſteemed a place of great conſequence, both in it ſelf, and becauſe by the ſcituation thereof the other two Towns of *Oldenſel*, and *Lingben*, which were won the preceding year, might be the better ſheltered. *Spinola* therefore reſolved to apply himſelf to this ſiege. And the deſigne being approved of in the Councel of War, he marched towards it on the beginning of *Auguſt*. *Groll* lies in a plain; and on the one ſide thereof runs *Berchel*, a little River, but ſufficient to ſerve for a good defence to the Town on that ſide; on the other ſide the Line was well Flanked, and beyond the chiefeſt Ditch ſtood other Flanks, with Ditches likewiſe. *Spinola* diſtributed his quarters out on three ſides, with his uſual diviſion of Nations; to boot with the Iriſh, who in Queen *Elizabeths* time were naturally inclined to fight under the Catholicks Colours in *Flanders*, many Engliſh and Scots did the like now. Which was permitted by the new King who ſucceeded her, to witneſs the good intelligence which he held with the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-dukes. The ſiege being begun, and the Catholicks ſtriving to end it as ſoon as they could, they came with their Trenches in three dayes to the Ditch which invironed the Half-moons without. Then the ſeveral Nations ſtrove a main who ſhould firſt paſs over it: in which ſome bridges of cloath extended upon rafters and little casks did great good; a device invented by the Enguneer *Targone*. The firſt

Ditch being paſt over, ſome conteſt was had, and not without the loſs of much blood, before they could get the Half-moons: but the Aſſailants making themſelves maſters of them alſo, betook themſelves to ſtorm the chief Line; nor were their Batteries this mean while Idle; aſſiſted by which, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the greateſt Ditch, and came to the aforeſaid Line. Thoſe within laboured as much as they could to make good their defences: but all of them being at laſt beaten down by the batteries from without, they knew it would be but vain to make any further reſiſtance, and therefore reſolved to deliver up the Town, and thus in nine dayes ſpace *Spinola* took it.

Having gotten this place much ſooner then he expected, and thinking that he had yet time enough, to attempt ſome other Town of better conſequence, he bethought himſelf of *Reinberg*; which had been ſeveral times taken and retaken by the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes, and by the United Provinces. But being laſt taken by Count *Maurice*, he had fortified it much better then formerly it was; particularly the year before, and this very year, fearing leaſt one of *Spinola*'s chief ends about the *Rhine*, might be to beſiege that Town. This was very much approved of in the Councel of war, and it was hoped that it might be ſoon effected. *Spinola*'s Army was ſo diminiſhed by reaſon of the unuſual troubles which it had undergone, as his Forces alone were not ſufficient to undertake ſuch an enterpriſe: wherefore he writ to *Bucquoy* to come with all ſpeed to him. *Bucquoy* drew firſt near *Reinberg* on that ſide which lies towards *Brabant*; and *Spinola* ſoon after came on the other ſide which looks towards *Frieſland*. When *Maurice* had diſcovered the deſign, he ſuddenly diſpatched away his brother *Henry* with two thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe into the Town, and began to make fitting proviſions to come to the full relief thereof himſelf. This mean while all the Catholick Forces came on both ſides the *Rhine*; inſomuch, as about the end of *Auguſt Spinola* incamped himſelf formally before the Town on both ſides. *Reinberg* is ſeated on the left hand of the *Rhine*, which is thought to be one of the moſt advantagious ſituations which is to be had about that River. To her former ancient and but ill flancked Line, was added a ſecond, which had a great number of Ravelins, Half-moons, and other greater, and leſſer Flanks, which were all accompanied with a Ditch and *Strada Coperta*. Nor did the outward Rampires end here, but a third Line was almoſt finiſhed, with new works, flanckt, and of a large circuit, to the end that embracing ſo much compaſs abroad, the inward fortifications might be the better ſheltered, and defended. Not far from the ſhore where the Town is ſituated, an Iſland of ſmall circuit riſeth in the River: in it there was a Fort with four flancks, to which other fortifications were added, which took up almoſt the whole Iſland. And a Fort was likewiſe placed on the other ſide of the ſhore, but with greater Flancks, with Trenches, and other defences near it. The ſiege began hotteſt on this ſide, for they deſired firſt to bereave the Enemy of the Fort on the aforeſaid ſhore, and then of the other in the Iſland. Here then they began firſt to fight. The Catholicks were firſt to win the great Trench: but they met with great reſiſtance; and the beſieged ſallyed ſo fiercely out upon them both with Foot and Horſe, as they could not take that fence from the Enemy ſo ſoon as they thought to have done: yet they did ſo vigorouſly reinforce their aſſaults as they won the Trench, and made uſe of it afterwards to go the better ſheltered to the taking of the Fort. Where the buſineſs was more hotly diſputed, and the Camp-maſters *Autunes*, a Spaniard, and St. *Georgio* an Italian behaved themſelves therein very gallantly. But after ſome dayes ſtout reſiſtance, thoſe within the Fort were at laſt forced to quit it, and went into the other Fort in the Iſland, which was commanded by the other, which gave great advantage to the Catholick for the eaſier coming by this alſo; and which hapned after divers bickerings, which coſt much blood on both ſides. The Forts being taken, *Velaſco*, the General of the Horſe, ſtayed on that ſide the River, and was very careful in fortifying a quarter; for Count *Maurice* was on that ſide, between *Weeſel* and *Res*, intending to come himſelf unto the ſuccour very ſpeedily, *Spinola* would go to the other ſhore, that he might be an eye witneſs of the works which were to be made on that ſide. He from the beginning had made the bridge of boats, firſt built at

Rorort,

Rorort, to fall down near *Reinberg*, to the end that his Army might have such communication as was needful from the one and the other side. *Maurice* had likewise throwne another bridge over the *Rhine*, a little beneath, that he might the more easily pass to relieve the Town; to which purpose he assembled men together, and made all other necessary provisions. The chief bulk of the business being then brought to that part whither *Spinola* was gone, the Catholiks began to advance with their Trenches. There was above 4000 Foot, and 300 Horse in the Town, many pieces of Artillery, and great provision of all things that were necessary for the defence thereof. There was particularly much French Nobility, who were come to exercise their Arms under Count *Maurice*. The besieged therefore sallied almost every day out of the Town; and ofttimes acting the part rather of besiegers then besieged, they fell furiously upon the Trenches, hindred the works, and endeavoured by all means to retard the Catholicks proceeding. They made one very fierce sallie in particular against the Italians Trenches: But the Camp-masters, *Justinian* and *Brancherone* did so valiantly defend them, as the Enemy was forced to give back, and to retreat. A like action, and with a like success happened where *Bucquoy* made his men work, who were almost all of them Germans and Walloons. Nor were the sallies less frequent against the Spaniards quarters, nor less stoutly withstood. *Spinola* had a great care at the same time over all the works, visiting the quarters, encouraging the souldiers, and studying to hasten the inward works, and to secure the fields without; in which the Cavalier *Meltzi*, who succeeded *Trivulsio* in the Lieutenancy of the Horse, did worthily behave himself; and wherein amongst other Captains, our brother Cavalier *Bentivoglio*, was much imployed with his Company of Lances, most commonly augmented with other Troops of Curassiers and Harquebusiers. The Catholicks did every day thus advance; and the Enemies defences were continually played upon by them, with above 30 pieces of Canon; and the foremost which were furthest outward and were the least exact, could already no longer resist their assaults. Wherefore the Catholicks having won them, laboured to fall into the Ditches of the second. Here the contest was longer and fiercer: For it was not to be doubted but that if the enemy were driven from thence, the siege might be accounted at an end: But if the oppugnation were great, the resistance was no less vigorous: the besieged using likewise counterbatteries, countermines, and artificial fires, and with all gallantry opposing nearer at hand, Pikes to Pikes, Swords to Swords, and all closser defence, to the more close opposition of the Adversaries. Many therefore were slain on both sides; and very many were wounded; nor were the chief Commanders less adventurous then those of the meaner sort. On the Catholicks part *Spinola* did worthily behave himself; as did also *Velasco*, and *Bucquoy*: the Camp-masters of each several Nation doing what could be desired at their hands. Nor ought the Duke of *Ossuna* to be forgotten; who though he were one of the chief Subjects of *Spain*, did notwithstanding, without any respect to his person, expose himself to the most usual dangers with the common souldiers. The Princes of *Caserta* and *Palestrina* laboured with like fervency. And the Marquis *Sigesmond d'Este*, and Marquis *Ferrante Bentivoglio*, our Nephew, being come a little before into *Flanders*; neither of them did ever stir from *Spinola*, but imbraced all occasions wherein they might signalize themselves amidst dangers and labours. The defendants shewed equal courage; and those most who were greatest either for office or bloud. They did notwithstanding conceive that they must shortly be forced to yield, unless Count *Maurice* should come all the sooner with the expected succour; of which he gave assured hope, and prepared for it. But the Catholicks were already well fortified every where. And *Maurice* thought that to go about to force their Trenches, would be too hard a business: having them for his example who upon other occasions of sieges had so oft in vain endeavoured to force his. He had with him 12000 Foot, and little less then 3000 Horse. Seeming as if he would attempt the relief, he at last resolved to pass over to the other side of the *Rhine*, and deviding the foot into divers squadrons, securing them on both sides with wings of Horse, he marched towards *Alpen*, a Town belonging to the Country of *Meurs*, and not above three hours march from *Reinberg*.

He

He from thence put 2000 Foot into *Meurs*, a Town not much further from *Reinberg*; and it was thought that he would leave ſome other men in *Alpen*, and make no further attempt at that time; but that returning again more unexpectedly, he would give a very hot falſe alarm againſt *Velaſco*'s quarter, and make true aſſaults elſewhere, making the Gariſon ſally out furiouſly at the ſame time. *Spinola* was advertiſed by his ſpies, that *Maurice* was removed, and drawn nigher. Wherefore he cauſed *Velaſco* to joyn with him, together with all his men, ſave onely ſuch who were of neceſſity to guard the quarter; and ſending in like manner for *Bucquoy*, he prepared to give battle. But *Maurice* did advance no further, and *Spinola* ſtill better ſecuring his quarters, it was not perceived that *Maurice* would make any further attempt to entroduce ſuccour. As much as the beſiegers were inhearted, as much diſhartned were the beſieged. The former continued to make great ruins with their Batteries, and advancing every day further in filling up the Ditches, and then in undermining the Flanks, they brought the beſieged to bethink themſelves rather of ſurrendring, then of defending themſelves. Yet divers parties paſſed before they treated of ſurrender; in one of which Signior *di Torres*, a Walloon Camp-maſter, an ancient and highly eſteemed ſouldier, was ſlain. All poſſible military worth being thus expreſt, the beſieged condeſcended at laſt to treat of delivering up the Town; and having obtained the moſt honorable conditions from *Spinola* which they could deſire, they in the beginning of *October* delivered the Town up into his hands. Above three thouſand Foot, and one hundred and fifty Horſe marched out of the Town in good order; beſides thoſe who were wounded which were above ſeven hundred, five hundred of which dyed. On the Catholick ſides more men were ſlain, and hurt, and the ſiege laſted but little longer then a moneth.

Spinola had not well ended this ſiege, when as the ſouldiers retreated, a new mutiny began to be diſcovered; which was endeavoured to be remedyed firſt by fair means, and then by foul; but all proved to no purpoſe. Their number increaſed in a ſhort time to two thouſand, what Foot, what Horſe, and fomented, as uſually, by the Enemy, they went to the parts about *Breda*, and did there ſecure themſelves; to boot, with the diminution of the Army by reaſon of theſe men, many more were loſt in the late enterpriſes; ſo as the Catholick Army was very much leſſened. Wherefore *Maurice* made uſe of this occaſion: He having brought his Army ſuddenly together, he turned towards *Frieſland*, thinking to recover ſome of the Towns that were loſt: and with firm belief that he might do it, before the Catholick Army could bring ſuccour. His firſt aſſault was againſt *Lochem*, a Town not able to make any defence, and therefore he took it in three dayes ſpace. From thence he threw himſelf upon *Groll*, and beſieged the Town. *Spinola* was very much troubled at this unexpected reſolution of *Maurice*: he conſidered the danger that *Groll* might run; (as for *Lochem* the matter was not much) but he could not endure, that a place of ſuch conſequence as was *Groll*, and which he had won but a little before, ſhould fall again ſo quickly into the Enemies hands. He therefore inclined to relieve it; but propounding it to the Councel of war, they were moſt of them againſt it.

The ſeaſon was now too far advanc'd to tranſport the Army again beyond the Rhine. *And if they had ſuffered ſo much in thoſe low ſituations but a little before, whilſt it was yet Summer; how much greater would their ſufferings be now about the end of Autumne? Then how many hardſhips had they undergone in the laſt ſiege? That therefore the Army required ſom reſt after ſo ſore labour. That it was to be conſidered how much it was leſſened; a part thereof being mutinied, the reſt but little ſatisfied; and there being two great a ſcarcity of monies to content them. Wherefore what certainty could there be of bringing them ſo ſoon into the field again? That they were alſo to paſs through Countries of the Enemy, or at leaſt ſuch as were ſuſpected. That they ſhould finde the Enemy very ſtrong; and already fortified about the Town: ſo as it would be little leſs then raſhneſs to aſſault them. And if the Catholick Army ſhould chance to be endangered, what other Forces had they to relieve them? And conſequently into what danger would the affairs of the King and Arch-dukes fall.*

Theſe were very efficatious reaſons; but it was no leſs efficatiouſly urged on the contrary.

That

That upon this occaſion the loſs of Groll *was not onely to be conſidered; but the manifeſt danger of loſing* Oldenſel, *and* Linghen *alſo. And how could it be doubted but that* Groll *being cut off from them, and the other remaining open and without ſuch an aid; both of the other Towns muſt be inevitably loſt? In which caſe, the King nor Archdukes having no Towns at all beyond the* Rhine, *what would it avail them to have* Reinberg *on this ſide, which was taken chiefly for the ſecuring of that paſſage? Were theſe to be the advantages; theſe the glories of two fields, which had coſt ſo much Treaſure, blood, and trouble? That then ſince the queſtion was now, whether whatſoever they had beyond the* Rhine *was either to be loſt, or to be preſerved, it muſt conſequently follow that they muſt endeavour by all means to overcome thoſe difficulties which preſented themſelves to the contrary: That Armies were made uſe of in ſeverer ſeaſons, and upon leſſer neceſſity. That if the Army might receive ſome relief, it might be believed they would willingly undergo this new trouble. That whether the Country were foe, or Neutral, they would march in ſuch order, as by means of their Forces in the former, and their good Reglement in the other, the ſouldiery ſhould be ſenſible of no ſufferings. That ſuccour was therefore by all means to be carried with all poſſible ſpeed. That it was not poſſible the Enemy ſhould ſo ſoon have fortified themſelves on all ſides. Wherefore being reſolutely aſſaulted in ſome of their weaker quarters, it might very poſſibly be, they would not wait the encounter. That uncertainty alwaies attended Armies: And that if in ſo many, not altogether ſo uneceſſary occurrances, Commanders did adventure themſelves, much more ought they to do ſo in theſe, where manifeſt neceſſity did not admit of any more circumſpect reſolutions.*

In wiſe debates it is ſeen, that a few weighty reaſons, prevail over the numbers of a great many to the contrary. *Spinola* was of this opinion: the particular conſideration was of too great force with him, that if *Groll* ſhould be loſt, *Oldenſel* and *Linghen* would be loſt likewiſe almoſt unavoidably. Wherefore he reſolved to attempt the relief

This reſolution being taken, and the Arch-duke approving thereof, he came to *Reinberg*, and paſſing over the *Rhine*, began to march towards the Enemies Camp. He could not muſter above eight thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe; all of them notwithſtanding people long experienced in Arms, and who came readily to their colours, to be made uſe of upon this occaſion. Count *Henry de Berg* was at the defence of *Groll*, but with a far leſs Garriſon then the Town required. He therefore made known the apparent danger of loſing it, if it were not all the ſooner relieved: nor did *Spinola* fail to march as faſt as he could; inſomuch as about the midſt of *November* he drew near the Enemy. *Maurice* by reaſon of the ſo ſhort time, had not yet ſufficiently fortified his quarters; nor did he believe that *Spinola* would have put on ſo bold a reſolution, being to meet with ſo many difficulties therein. when the Catholicks camp was come to the Enemies Trenches, and when *Spinola* ſpyed out their weakeſt ſituation, he turned thitherward. The deſign was to fall on at the ſame time, both thoſe who brought the ſuccour from abroad, and thoſe that expected it from within. *Spinola* thus ordered his Army; he made a flying Squadron, which according to his cuſtom he placed in the Front, with two peeces of Artillery; and in it were twelve hundred choiſe ſouldiers, picked out of all the Nations; and this he aſſigned to Camp-maſter *Antunes*, who was one of the valliánteſt and oldeſt ſouldiers of all *Flanders*. A little behinde this followed two other Battalions of Foot, with two peeces of Artillery likewiſe in the Fronts of each of them; the one Spaniards under Camp-maſter *Meneſſes*; the other Italians, under the two Camp-maſters, *Juſtinian*, and *Branchatchio*. Theſe two Battalions ſtood on equal breſt, but at a befitting diſtance one from another. After theſe came another greater Battalion of Foot; and becauſe it was the laſt, it had two peeces of Artillery on the Rear thereof; and it was led on by Count *d' Emden*, a German Camp-maſter; and by Monſieur *d'Aſhhurt*, a Walloon Camp-maſter. The Horſe were placed on both the Flanks, divided into divers Squadrons: two whereof which were the greateſt, and which were called the reſerve, as being reſerved for the greateſt need, were commanded by Cavalier *Bentivoglio*, and *Luca Cairo*, both of them Italians, and who were the ancienteſt Captains. On the

the Front of the Cavalry, and in the Van ſtood *Velaſco* their General, on the right hand; and *Melzi* Lieutenant General on the left. And becauſe the Enemy were much ſuperior in Horſe, their wings were ſheltered with long and redoubled Files of Carts, which were likewiſe furniſhed with ſome Files of Musketteers, and with a peece of Artillery on each ſide. *Spinola* choſe no particular place for himſelf, that he might be at liberty to turn whither he liſted. This was the order of the Catholick Camp, and in this manner they ſtill drew nearer the Town; and though they had all a great deſire to fight, yet *Spinola* to confirm it the more in them, by ſhewing his own forwardneſs, added ſuch incitements, as upon ſuch an occaſion was moſt requiſite; he told them,

That the preſervation of Groll *was not onely in diſpute now, but even the like of all that they had purchaſed at the price of ſo much blood and labour on the other ſide the* Rhine. *That therefore they muſt either dye or relieve it. But that he believed, though the Enemy were more in numbers then they, yet they would not come to the tryal of a battel. That it was not numbers, but valour that got the victory. And had they not newly tryed even in thoſe very parts, that Count* Maurice *would ſtill keep ſheltered between Ditches and Rivers, not ever coming forth to open battel? And more of late at* Reinberg, *when, did he ſhew any true good will thereunto? Let them then according to their cuſtom, play their parts valiantly. That he would not fail on his behalf; nor would he forget to let the King and Arch-dukes know their ſeveral good ſervices, and endeavour their reward.*

But theſe exhortations needed not: For Count *Maurice*, were it either by expreſs orders from the Confederate Provinces; or for ſome particular ſenſe of his own; or that in reaſon of war, (he being ſo great a Commander) it ought indeed to have been done; he would not lead forth his Army into the field, nor put himſelf upon the trial of a Battel. And not being ſufficiently fortified, to attend the Catholick Camp within his Trenches, he reſolved to retreat; and firſt ſtaying in a certain place where he was ſafe on all ſides, he afterward withdrew from the Town, and led his Army into other parts. And *Spinola* after he had furniſhed the Town with what was neceſſary for the defence thereof, did the like. And ſending his ſouldiers to their Garriſons, he himſelf paſt back again over the *Rhine*, and came to the Arch-duke at *Bruſſels*: *Spinola*'s deſigns had then been really very great, as may be gathered by what we have ſaid. And though by reaſon of the unexpected difficulties which aroſe, the ſucceſs did not correſpond to expectation; yet theſe two affairs of *Reinberg* and *Groll* proved ſuch, as doubtleſsly the one may be numbred amongſt the nobleſt Sieges, and the other amongſt the moſt famous Reliefs, that the War of *Flanders* had till then produced.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK VIII.

The Contents.

The opinion of the Popes of Rome *in advantage to the affairs of* Flanders. *A ſuſpenſion of Armes inſues in thoſe Provinces. They then fall to a ſetled Treaty, that they might come either to a ſettlement of a perpetual Peace, or of ſome long Truce. The reaſons why the King of* Spain *and the Arch-Dukes do incline to bring the Affairs to ſome accommodation. Great conſultations hereupon had in the Confederate Provinces. The Emperors, King of* France, *and King of* Englands *ſenſe therein. Count* Maurice *his declared oppoſition: yet the Treaty proceeds; and Deputies on both ſides meet. The Buſineſſes are propounded. Great difficulties in thoſe of the* Indies, *and afterwards in other things. Whereupon all Treaty of Peace ſoon ends. They therefore enter upon the ſecond Conſideration;* Viz. *Of a long Truce. The Ambaſſadors of* France *and* England *labour hard therein. Count* Maurice *does what he can again to interrupt it. Yet the Treaty is held on foot by the ſaid Ambaſſadors. And the Ambaſſadors of* France *doe particularly ſtickle very fervently therein. Divers difficulties ariſe on the Spaniſh ſide: And great diligence is had to overcome*

them. Which at last is done; and a Truce for twelve years is concluded.

Anno 1607.

IN this condition were the Affairs of *Flanders* when the year 1607 began; the forty ſixth year wherein thoſe miſerable Provinces had been ſo long and ſo ſorely aggrieved with the troubles of war, was now on foot. Nor for as many Treaties of agreement as had been begun, was it ever poſſible to bring any of them to a good reſult. The hotteſt negotiation was that of *Cullen*, wherein *Gregory* the thirteenth had imployed an extraordinary *Nuntio*, (as was then ſhown) that thoſe Provinces might take into conſideration the prejudice which the Church had ſuffered in *Flanders* by occaſion of the Wars: And on the contrary, what benefit ſhe might reap by the introducing of ſome ſort of accommodation. His ſucceſſors did ſtill retain the ſame ſenſe. And more modernly *Clement* the eighth, in his having endeavoured and procured a peace between the two Kings, did amongſt his other ends ayme at making ſo good a corriſpondency between them, as that *France* might for the time to come afford all favorable aſſiſtance to the new Principallity of *Flanders*; and might reduce the affairs of thoſe Provinces to ſome peaceful end. *Leo* the eleventh, who ſucceeded *Clement* in the Pontifical See, did abound yet more in the ſame ſenſe, as he who being imployed as *Clements* Legat in *France*, had been the chief inſtrument of making that peace. But being ſuddenly ſnatched away by death, he could not witneſs it by his endeavours. After him *Paul* the fifth was Pope; a Prince very zealous in exerciſing the Pontificial office; endowed with great worth and goodneſs; and who being make Cardinal by *Clement*, had drunk in the ſame ſenſe of labouring peace in Chriſtendom: and of ſtill preſerving that between the two Crowns, particularly in reſpect of the ſervice that *Flanders* might receive thereby. *Paul* ſat at the helm of the Univerſal Goverment of the Church this very year of 1607, which was the ſecond year of his Popedome. Cardinal *Maffeo Barberino* was then Nuntio in *France*, who was a little before promoted to the Cardinals Cap, together with *Jovanni Garzia Millino*, Nuntio of *Spain*, with divers others of great merit; amongſt which the ſame Cardinal *Barbarino*, by the eminency of his deſerts came afterwards to the Supreme dignity of the Church, and continues ſtill happily therein. Theſe two Cardinals did in the name of Pope *Paul* the fift, do all the beſt offices they could ſtill better to eſtabliſh the aforeſaid Peace between the two Kings. But great were the difficulties which were met withal on the behalf of *France*, in order to the Affairs of *Flanders*, by reaſon of the near confederacy which was between the United Provinces and that Crown. Yet Cardinal *Barberino* took often occaſion to put the King in minde, how much it became him to ſee the pride of the Flemiſh Rebels abaſed. He told him how that they had alwaies conſpired together with the Hugonots of *France*; and the *French* Hugonots no leſs fervently with them; that each of theſe had at all times, with mutual intelligence favoured the others rebellion. That in point of Religion, Calveniſm raigned equally in them both; a Sect which was no leſs an Enemy to temporal Monarchy, then to the ſupreme premecy of the Church: and that it had already been ſeen, and was ſtill ſeen to what end the Politick Government of the Hugonots did tend: and particularly by their ſo many Town of ſafety; wherein doubtleſsly their onely ayme was to make a ſeparation of themſelves from the State, and to bring the Government of *Holland* into *France*. Theſe reaſons, together with divers other which the ſame matter did adminiſter, prevailed much with the King. But becauſe the Cardinal knew very well how deſirous the Pope was to faſten the two Crowns cloſe together by all poſſible means, he bethought himſelf of uniting them together by marriage. They had both of them ſeveral ſons and daughters; and though they were very young, yet by the example of ſo many remote eſpouſals, which had at all times inſued between great Princes, in order to the Publick good, he thought the negotiation hereof ought very ſuddenly to be commenced. The Pope approved of his purpoſe, and gave order to the Cardinal that he ſhould as dexterouſly as he could, ſet on foot the Treaty there in *France*. Monſieur *de*

Villeroy

Villeroy was then chief Secretary of State in the Court of *France*, a State Minister very much verſed in the mannagement of the weightieſt affairs of that Crown; wherefore by reaſon of his place, and the particular eſteem that he was in with the King of all the other State Officers, the Cardinal did moſt uſually negotiate with him. He therefore made the firſt overture to him, and thought he found ſuch a diſpoſition in him thereunto, as he began afterwards to move it to the King, who ſeemed to approve of it from the very firſt. The Pope was hereat very well pleaſed, and ſo much the more, for that the like introduction being by his order made by the Cardinal *Milino* in *Spain*; upon the ſame motives which Cardinal *Barbarino* had made uſe of in *France*; he found alike inclination there alſo, applying himſelf eſpecially to the Duke of *Lerma*, who was in chiefeſt favour and authority with the King of *Spain*. And though by reaſon of the tender years of the Princely progeny, and for divers other reaſons, the buſineſs paſt no further at that time; yet the ſame Pope having at other times ſet the negotiation more maturely on foot, it was at laſt to the great honor of the Holy See, and to the great glory of his endeavours, perfected and conſummated, in two mutual marriages between thoſe two Crowns. But amongſt *Barbarino*'s main motives, and *Paulus quintus* his chief ends this was one, that by the near alliance of the two Crowns, for both their general welfares, a third marriage might be made, by joyning a ſecond ſon of *Spain* to a daughter of *France*, and by placing this young couple near the Infanta *Iſabella*, who might ſucceed in the Principallity of thoſe Provinces, now that there was no hopes of ſucceſſion between her and the Arch-duke; and this would at the ſame time have redownded to the advantage of the affairs of *Flanders*: and without doubt it might be thought, that no tye would have proved more tenacious then this, to unite both the Crowns together by interchangeable advantages, and to make *Flanders* injoy the benefit which by the precedent marriage between the Arch-duke and the Infanta *Iſabella* was hoped for, as well in matter of Religion, as in point of State, and which for want of ſucceſſion did not afterwards inſue. A thought which the Pope himſelf alwaies had, and which often was made known to us in the time of our Nuntiature in *Flanders*: to the which he was chiefly moved by the example of what had been done in the caſe of the ſame two Princes, by *Philip* the ſecond a King of great piety and prudence, and by the ſame conſiderations which were then diſcerned in *Clement* the eighth, who was ſo worthy and ſo zealous a Pope. Theſe interceſſions which were ſo efficatious made in the name of Pope *Paul* to the two Kings ſtill to eſtabliſh more good intelligence between them, made much then for the ſervice of the affairs of *Flanders*.

There was a Treaty begun that Winter touching ſome ſuſpention of Arms, that they might afterwards come, if it were poſſible, to ſome former negotiation, either of a perpetual Peace, or of a long Truce. The Authority which the King of *France* had with the United Provinces, could not be greater then then it was; and it was plainly ſeen, that no overture made by the Spaniards would have been liſtned unto by thoſe Provinces, and would much leſs have had any good end without his appearing, and particular favour therein. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, but that the aforeſaid interceſſions would greatly help to diſpoſe that King to favour ſo much the more the negotiation which was already begun, and which afterwards by his authority chiefly was concluded, and ended in a Truce of twelve years (as ſhall hereafter be related) though through the wonted jealouſies of Princes, he ſeemed at firſt rather averſe then willing thereunto. At this very time were we deſtined to be Nuntio in *Flanders*, and came to *Bruſſels*, juſt when the ſuſpention of Arms was, which afterwards paſt into a greater Treaty. Before the ſuſpention was had which was about the beginning of *May* no military action was done that deſerves any relation. We will therefore fall to give you an account of all the aforeſaid negotiation; and becauſe when the Truce was eſtabliſhed, we did then compoſe a full hiſtorical Narration thereof apart, which was afterwards printed, together with ſome other of our writings concerning the Affairs of *Flanders*; and that even ſince then we had a thought of compoſing this intire preſent Hiſtory of the War which happened in thoſe Provinces, till by the Truce, Arms were laid down: we will therefore here

inſert the ſame Relation, though it were formerly printed; it being a member which ought alſo to be joyned to this body in this place: and which will now fully compleat it.

The Command of the Catholick Army being paſt into Marquis *Spinola's* hands, great were thoſe deſignes (as you have heard) which he brought with him from *Spain* to *Flanders*, to make the chief ſeat of the War on the other ſide the *Rhine*, and to ſtraiten the enemy the moſt they could in thoſe parts. To this purpoſe were the extraordinary Forces in the two laſt fields raiſed. But though great advantages were gotten thereby, yet fell they far ſhort of the conceived hopes. It was ſeen that *Spain* could not continue to maintain ſo exceſſive an expence. That for want of money, a new Mutiny had again happened. That another might inſue; and that one of theſe diſorders did much confound, and diſtort the whole body of the Army. *Spinola* was ſo troubled with theſe and ſome other reflections of importance, as he at laſt fell upon thoſe very conſiderations, which already divers of the graveſt, and beſt experienced State-Miniſters both of *Spain* and *Flanders* had faln upon, touching the difficulties and dangers which the Warre of *Flanders*, and the going about to weaken or ſubdue the Enemy by force of Arms brought with it. They diſcourſed thus amogſt themſelves.

That all the good they had reaped by forty years War was, their having made the Enemy the more ſtrong; more reſolute to defend their uſurpt liberty; more firm in the union which they had eſtabliſhed amongſt themſelves; and better united to the forein Princes who ſided with them: That Nature's ſelf might be ſaid to have fought always for them, by their Bulwarks of Sea and Rivers, and their ſtrong ſcituations in all other parts; and that where nature was wanting, there induſtry, together with their ſo many well munited places did make amends: That their power by land was very great in all things elſe; and their power at ſea ſo great, as that the Crown of Spain *had been much indamaged thereby, even in the* Eaſt-Indies; *and was in danger of being a greater ſufferer by them in the* Weſt-Indies *alſo: What amaſs of ſtrength (on the other ſide) and money muſt it coſt the King to maintain the War of* Flanders? *That doubtleſly his Empire was very large, but much diſunited;* Flanders, *the moſt diſunited member of the whole body of his Dominions both by ſea and land. That the ſea was blocked up by the Enemies ſhips: That their paſſage by land did depend upon many Princes, which alwaies cauſed great difficulties in their ſending of aid, and deſtroyed their men more by their marches then by their bickerings. Then, how many corruptions and diſorders had been rooted in their Army? and how could they be remedied during the War, they being the effects which ſo long a War had inevitably produced? That inſtead of obedience, ſtrife reigned amongſt the Nations. That there were now more wives then ſouldiers; more mutinies then years; that their own Forces were almoſt as dangerous to them as thoſe of their Enemies: And mutinies growing ſo familiar, now of one, now of another Nation; and ofttimes of many Nations at once, what a ſad day would that be when the whole Army ſhould mutiny together? a day which would bring the Kings affairs in* Flanders *to their utmoſt danger, as alſo the Cauſe of the Catholick Religion; for the defence whereof the War at firſt was chiefly made, and hath been ſo long maintained by the Spaniſh ſide. If then by ſo many reaſons and ſo long experience, War againſt the Enemy were to be eſteemed ſo fruitleſs, is it not better (ſaid they) to come to ſome fair agreement with them? is it not better to order our Army anew? and in the mean time to get ſtrength, and laying down Arms, except what with time would make moſt to the Spaniſh advantage? Arms being laid down, the King of* France *already grown old, might in this interim die, and with him that aſſiſtance might chance to ceaſe, which was ſubminiſtred to the Enemy by a Prince of ſuch power and repute: That after his death the affairs of* France *might peradventure change face, their King being ſo young: the like might be expected in the affairs of* England, *their King being a new King, and a Scotchman, but ill looked on by that Kingdom; the Enemy having likewiſe received conſiderable ſuccours from* Scotland: *And in caſe any of theſe things ſhould happen, how much would the affairs of* Spain *be bettered? But above all, it was to be hoped that even peace it ſelf might turn to a ſecret war againſt the Enemy: That the fear of the Spaniſh forces was the bond which faſtened their union cloſeſt; ſo as this fear ceaſing*

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through the enjoyment of quiet, ſome domeſtick evil might ariſe amongſt them which might break the union; and ſome opportunity in favour of the King and Arch-dukes, of regaining ſome of the Rebelious Provinces by underhand-dealing, and of ſubjugating the others afterwards by force.

These reaſons were doubtleſly very weighty, and of great conſideration, and had been oft-times argued in *Spain*; whereupon the King had at laſt reſolved that if he could not effect his ends by arms, all poſſible means ſhould be uſed to come by ſome convenient Treaty of agreement with the Enemy in *Flanders*: and the affairs of *Flanders* may be ſaid totally to depend upon the King: For the marriage between the Arch-duke and the Kings ſiſter proving barren, and the Provinces of *Flanders* being conſequently to return unto the King again, he had therefore chiefly maintained the War with his Forces, and conſequently all Treaties of agreement were chiefly to depend upon his Authority. The Arch-duke inclined alſo very much to bring things to ſome accommodation; he being a Prince naturally given to love his quiet, and full of years and experience, might comprehend better then any other the dangerous conſequences which the War of *Flanders* brought with it: but it was very hard to find out a way how to treat of accommodation. A while ſince the enemy ſeemed to be quite averſe unto any ſuch Treaty; and ſtill ſwelling with proſperity and ſucceſs, they reſolved never to liſten to any whatſoever Treaty, till ſuch time as the King and Archdukes ſhould firſt publickly declare that they treated with them as with Free Provinces and States, unto the which the King nor Arch-dukes made no claim nor pretence whatſoever: wherein the Arch-duke found great repugnancy in himſelf, and foreſaw the like in the King.

'He thought that to declare thoſe now to be a free people, againſt whom they 'had fought as againſt rebels, would be to confeſs that their former war had been 'unjuſt; and that to ſeem now ſo willing to put an end unto it, would be likewiſe 'a declaring that they were no longer able to maintain it; what honour ſhould 'they loſe herein? how could they with credit treat of peace or truce with their 'own rebels; and how dangerous a preſident would it be, to make liberty the re-'ward of rebellion? for ſuch an example in favour of thoſe Provinces which had 'rebelled, would be an invitation to ſuch as yet kept their obedience to doe the 'like.

This preparation of the affairs of *Flanders* was in the beginning of the year 1607. Father *John Neyen*, a Franciſcan Fryer, was then at *Bruſſels*, he was born at *Antwerp*, and after having taken upon him that religious habit, he had ſtaid awhile in *Spain*, to paſs the courſe of his ſtudies there, and by that reaſon was well acquainted with the affairs of that Court. He returned from thence to *Flanders*, and being become Commiſſary General of his Order in thoſe parts, he kept very much at *Bruſſels*: He was very religious, of an eloquent tongue, very well fitted to the nature of his Countey, and therefore as well acceptable in private diſcourſe as in the Pulpit; and much verſed in the negotiations of the age. The Commiſſary had ſome acquaintance in *Holland*; and by chance a *Holland* Merchant who was a friend of his was then in *Bruſſels*; This Merchant was very inward with divers of the chiefeſt that ſate at the Helm in the United Provinces. The Arch-duke being at privat councel with *Spinola* and ſome others of the Kings Officers in *Flanders*, 'twas thought expedient that the Commiſſary ſhould diſpoſe the Merchant to go to the *Hague* in *Holland* to endeavour ſome new overture of Treaty. The Merchant went; but he found no ear would be given thereunto, till the aboveſaid Declaration of their being Free-States were granted, and that this ſhould precede all other things. The Arch-duke was ſencible of the aforeſaid repugnancies in condeſcending thereunto: yet all the former conſiderations being again weighed, it was at laſt judged, that it was beſt to yield to the preſent neceſſity, and that all means ſhould be uſed to procure a ceſſation of Arms, and to enter into a Treaty of accommodation.

'If the Treaty ſhould have good ſucceſs, the ſucceſs would ſufficiently applaud 'the Treaty; if it ſhould not ſucceed well, but that they muſt be forced to con-'tinue the war, the making of ſuch a verbal Declaration would not import 'much; 'twas added, That to declare that they treated with the United Provinces,

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'as with Free States unto which the King and Arch-dukes laid no pretenſion, was 'alwayes to be underſtood by way of ſuppoſition, to wit, as if they were free, 'not ſignifying a true and legitimate liberty; which they by their rebellion could 'never juſtly come by, nor juſtly enjoy: which being ſo manifeſt, neither did 'the King nor the Arch-dukes loſe any right which they formerly had to the 'United Provinces, though they ſhould make a Declaration thus limited.

Sudden advertiſment was ſent to *Spain* of what had been diſcovered by the Merchants means; and all things were again repreſented unto the King, which were thought likelyeſt to induce him to give way, that ſome Treaty of agreement might be had with the United Provinces, in ſuch manner as hath been ſaid. The reaſons which prevailed in *Flanders*, did ſo likewiſe in *Spain*, in perſwading the King to give way to the Treaty which was deſired. Whereupon the Arch-duke reſolved to ſend the Commiſſary General in perſon, into *Holland*, to endeavour once more ſome fairer way of commencing a Treaty, and to yield at laſt, if there were no remedy, to what the United Provinces pretended unto. The Commiſſary took his journey about the end of *February*; and being come to the *Hague*, he ſoon perceived there was no hopes of ever being heard in any thing whatſoever, unleſs the aboveſaid Declaration ſhould precede: whereupon being admitted into the Councel of the States Generall, which is the ſupreme magiſtracy by which the whole body of thoſe Provinces is repreſented: he opened himſelf thus unto them.

'That the Arch-duke *Albertus*, and the Arch-dutcheſs the Infanta his wife, 'had alwayes deſired to ſee the Low-Countries once free from civil wars; that ſo 'many and ſo bitter calamities of war, might be turned to the enjoyment of a 'happy peace. That peace was the end of war; which not being to be had but 'by the way of Treaty, they did conſent on their ſide that the Declaration of Li-'berty which they knew the United Provinces do pretend unto ſhould precede; 'that it became all good Princes to endeavour all means whereby to cauſe quiet 'unto their people, and that to juſtifie this their ſo juſt and religious end to the 'world, they had willingly deſcended now to an overture of Treaty; and to ſecond 'the ſucceſs thereof, would be as willing to do any thing that might tend to the 'good of the weal-publick.

This Propoſition being well diſcuſt in the Councel of the States General, they thought that whatſoever could be deſired, made then for the advantage of the Low-Countries; whereupon they reſolved to accept of the offer: and before the Commiſſary departed, a ſuſpenſion of Arms for eight months was agreed upon, which was to begin the next *May*; and it was likewiſe concluded that the Treaty ſhould begin the next *September*. The Commiſſary went from *Holland* with this anſwer. Not long after the Arch-dukes declared by a particular Edict or Proclamation, that they came to ſuſpenſion of Arms with the United Provinces, as with Free Provinces and States, unto which they did not lay any pretence; the States-General did alſo the like on their ſide: the Commiſſary did likewiſe promiſe that the King of *Spain* ſhould by the Arch-dukes procurement ratifie the ſame within three months: and he did likewiſe deſire in the names of the Arch-dukes, that the States would inhabit all hoſtility by ſea, promiſing that the Arch-dukes would oblige themſelves that the King of *Spain* ſhould do the ſame: to the which the States after ſome difficulties condeſcended: all this was afterwards publiſhed by the United Provinces to their people with great demonſtrations of joy; and they gave an account thereof to their Confederate Princes; but more particularly to the King of *France* and King of *England*; from both of which, Ambaſſadors were forthwith ſent to congratulate with them.

The affairs of *Flanders* were at this paſs when I came to *Bruſſels*, which was on Saint *Laurence* his eve, 1607. It cannot be expreſt how all men on all ſides did rejoyce, in expectation of what the event would prove. Soon after my coming to *Bruſſels* the Kings ratification came; to procure the which, as alſo to give a more particular account of what had paſt, the Arch-duke had diſpatched away Commiſſary *Neyen*. The ratification came in general terms; and ſo pen'd, as it was to be doubted the United Provinces would not allow of it: yet *Lewis Verreychen*, chief Secretary of State to the Arch-dukes was ſuddenly ſent with it into *Holland*.

Holland. The United Provinces shewed strange arrogancy in these negotiations, and particularly a great suspition of being over-reached by the Spaniards: whence it was to be beleeved that they would interpret all that should come from that side in the worst sense.

You have heard what the number and Government of the United Provinces are, and how they are seated. How *Holland* and *Zealand* are seated in the bosome of the Sea, and the other five lie more inwards into the land; these therefore did more willingly give way unto the Treaty at the first, and did afterwards appear more inclined to continue it. The principal and Fundamental Law of their union is, That in resolutions appertaining to the common interest, the Votes of all of them must equally agree; so as their businesses proceed but slowly; they being to be treated of apart in every several Province, and alike uniform consent to be gathered from them all by long and tedious perswasions, as their liberty is in all of them alike; The Kings ratification being then sundry times consulted on, and with great jealousies, these difficulties were objected by the United Provinces. That the ratification came in general terms; that it did not contain the essential clause touching their liberty; but that the King still styled the Arch-dukes Princes of the Low-Countries; that the King writ himself, I the King, as he used to do to his own Vassals; that it was written in ordinary Paper, and not in Parchment, as is usually done in things of great importance: and finally, that it was sealed with a little seal, and not with a great one; as ought to have been. *Verreychin* being afterwards sent for in, these difficulties were propounded unto him and exaggerated rather in an insolent then free manner: and it was at last concluded, that the United Provinces would by no means accept of the ratification in manner as it was by him presented.

The common peoples madness is alwaies very great, but more when they are smiled upon by Fortune. They are full of arrogancy, and rashness, in time of Prosperity; and as base and abject in adversity: So as a multitude must either not be treated with at all, or these alternate defects must be patiently born withal. *Verreychin* used therefore such dissimulation as was requisite; and endeavoured to remove their suspitions. He assured them that such a ratification would not have been sent from *Spain*, did not the King intend to make it good; that his intentions were excellent, and that he did vie therein with the Arch-Dukes; he prayed them to allow time for another to come; that he did again promise in the the name of the Arch-Dukes to cause another ratification bee sent in same form as was by them desired. The resolution put on in *Holland* was; that the Arch-Dukes should procure a new ratification to be sent from *Spain* within six weeks, which should contain word for word the same Declaration of Freedom, Which the Arch-dukes had made in their instrument; that it should be written in Latine, French, or Dutch, and should be subscribed by the King, with his own name; and to the end that no more errors might be run into, the form thereof was given to *Verreychin* in all the three Languages.

Father *Neyen* was this mean while returned from the Court; he acquainted them how hard it was to procure the King to send the former ratification, though in general terms; yet he affirmed that he did verily hope that a second would come in particular terms. The Spaniards knowing what necessity there was to commence a Treaty thus with the United Provinces; since no other way would be admitted of. The Arch-Dukes did again signifie this necessity; so as not long after the second ratification came from *Spain*, but it was so penned, as it was feared the United Provinces would raise new scruples in admitting it; it contained the pretended declaration of liberty; and all the other clauses that were desired. But in the conclusion this was added by the King; that if the matters of Religion should not be agreed upon as well as the other points, his ratification should signifie nothing; and affairs should still continue in their former posture. It was also written in Spanish, subscribed as usually, I the King; and in all things else according to the former manner. Yet it was believed that these last rubs would easily be removed, by the example of the Kings having done the same in the two Peaces which were lately concluded with the King of *France*, and King of *England*. The other difficulty touching the new added

clause,

clauſe, was thought the greater. And that word Religion ſeemed to be immaturely put in; ſince it might raiſe jealouſies in the United Provinces; as if it were already determined in *Spain* to make propoſitions againſt the liberty of their Government, and againſt that declaration which the King at the ſame time made in form aforeſaid. The Commiſſary and *Verreychin* were ſent both together with this ſecond ratification into *Holland*; who in the preſenting thereof, made large profeſſions to the States general again, of the great good inclinations of the King and Arch-dukes towards the common good, and how deſirous they were particularly of the Low-Countries welfare.

The States took time to give their anſwer; and after much conſultation, their anſwer according to their wonted arrogance, was thus: That the Kings ratification was not anſwerable to the form which they deſired; and that amongſt other things the new added clauſe could not be allowed of: ſince the King knew very well, as did alſo the Arch-Dukes, that the United Provinces were free Provinces, and would alwaies be ſo, though no agreement were made. That notwithanding the States would acquaint every Province with the ratification, and would within ſix weeks make their reſolution known: But with this proteſtation, that they intended not that by vertue of ſuch a ratification any thing ſhould be propounded which might tend to the prejudice of the freedom of their Government, in caſe the Treaty went on.

This anſwer being given, the Commiſſary and *Verreychin* returned to *Bruſſels*. Whilſt affairs were thus negotiated in *Flanders*, divers intereſts, paſſions, and ends were upon this occaſion diſcovered to be not onely in the neighbouring Princes, but almoſt in all the Princes of *Europe*. In *Germany*, the Emperor *Radulphus* the ſecond, pretended that no Treaty of agreement could be made in *Flanders* without his participation and conſent; taking for granted, that the Low-Countries did depend upon the Empire; and therefore no ſeparation could be made therein without his Authority: Wherefore he had written ſome Letters to this purpoſe to the Catholick King, the Arch-duke, and the United Provinces.

The King and Arch-duke anſwered him in general terms; as did alſo the United Provinces; ſave onely that they added a long juſtification of their cauſe, and of their war againſt the Spaniard till the preſent. Neither was there any more news heard of the Emperor in the whole progreſs of the Treaty. But *Henry* the fourth of *France*, was not ſo negligent in the conſideration of theſe paſſages. He had ſent Ambaſſadors upon this occaſion at the firſt into *Holland*; the trueſt and moſt intrinſecal end whereof was, that he might have a ſhare in what was to be done, and ſpecially to cauſe jealouſie in the Spaniards, and by this means to induce them to make uſe of him, and to make him Arbitrator in the differences.

The King of *France* was then in his chiefeſt greatneſs and proſperity: and enjoying his Kingdom in perfect peace and honour; after having arrived thereat through many difficulties, all which he had overcome with incredible conſtancy and valour. He conſidered the Affairs in *Flanders*, after ſeveral manners; on one ſide he could have wiſhed that the war might continue, and that thereby the affairs of *Spain* might ſtill be impaired, even till at laſt they might loſe whole *Flanders*. On the other ſide he ſaw himſelf well ſtricken in years; his children very young; and that in caſe he ſhould fail, freſh troubles might in a ſhort time ariſe in his Kingdom, which might chiefly be fomented by the Spaniſh Forces of *Flanders*; that the diſorders of thoſe Forces were not ſo many, but that if the war ſhould continue, very neceſſity would force them to finde out a remedy; nor the danger of their loſſes ſuch as might not be evaded by the power of ſo great a Monarch; which made him deſire to ſee *Flanders* without war, and the Spaniards without Forces ſo near at hand. Neither did he like that the United Provinces who were already become ſo formidable at Sea, might by their growing too great be as dreadful at Land. For the Hereticks of his Kingdom could from no part elſe be better fomented to rebel. The King amidſt theſe various conſiderations had his eye fixt upon theſe paſſages of *Flanders*, and becauſe his authority was very great in the United Provinces, he beleeved they would never come to any accommodation with the Spaniards without his conſent.

At

At the firſt he ſeemed to be averſe to the affairs in hand; though to ſay truth, he did not well know what he had beſt to do: but he did this of purpoſe to enforce the Spaniards to put the Negotiations into his hands. Great dexterity and cunning was requiſite to the leading on of theſe deſigns. He therefore choſe for this ſo important affair the Preſident *Jannine*, a man of great experience and abilities, and one who was then chiefly eſt employed by him in State affairs. He ſent Mr. *de Roſſe* along with *Jannine* (who was then extraordinary Ambaſſador into *Flanders*) to continue afterwards his ordinary Ambaſſador in the United Provinces. Having both of them exerciſed their Offices in the entrance into the affairs ſpoken of, they ſtayed in *Holland*, *Jannine* did diligently obſerve the whole carriages, and wrought himſelf every day more and more into the affairs, which ſtill increaſed the jealouſie of the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes: who then began to ſee clearly, that it behoved them to have recourſe to the King of *France* his mediation; who already had complained to the Commiſſary General in his return to *Flanders*, that the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-dukes had proceeded ſo far without his knowledge in the aforeſaid buſineſs. Almoſt the like paſſions and artifices appeared in *James* the firſt King of *England*, who was newly come to that Crown. The ſame reaſons appeared in him for deſiring the continuance of the war in *Flanders*, as did in the King of *France*: for the King of *England* being ſtrong at Sea, and confiding in the ſtrength of all his Kingdoms ſituation, as alſo in the conformity of his ends with thoſe of the United Provinces in favouring hereſie, he could not much fear their Forces; though they ſhould grow greater. He was the more ſecure likewiſe by having *Fluſhing* and the *Ramechins* in *Zealand*; and the *Brill* in *Holland*, Sea Towns of great importance in his hands; as pawned for monies lent by Queen *Elizabeth* to the United Provinces, and for that their chiefeſt ſtrength conſiſted in Engliſh and Scottiſh ſouldiers, who were in their Army. He foreſaw he ſhould have greater cauſe to be jealous of the Spaniards, if being free from the war of *Flanders*, they might endeavour to moleſt him in any part of his Dominions: eſpecially in *Ireland*, an Iſland which is almoſt wholly Catholick, well-affected to them, and much diſ-affected to *England*.

Out of theſe reaſons it was believed, that the King of *England* deſired the war in *Flanders* might continue. But being a great lover of Quiet, and much given to Hunting, and to his Book, and wholly fixt in warring by writings with the Church, it was therefore judged he would not at laſt, ſhew himſelf totally averſe to ſee the affairs of *Flanders* in ſome ſort pacified. To boot, that not being able for ſcarcity of Monies to give any conſiderable ſuccour to the United Provinces, his power would be but ſmall in perſwading or counſelling the continuance of war, ſince he could not much aſſiſt it by his Forces. Yet it very much imported thoſe Provinces to preſerve his friendſhip, were it onely that they might raiſe ſouldiers out of his Kingdom. Wherefore they entertained his Ambaſſadors which were ſent into *Holland* at the beginning of this Negotiation with very much reſpect, and treated with them with all confidency.

The King of *Englands* end in ſending of them was almoſt the ſame as was that of the King of *France*: To wit, that he likewiſe would have a ſhare in the buſineſs which was in hand, and to enforce the Spaniards to make uſe of him likewiſe therein. The King of *Denmark* ſent likewiſe Ambaſſadors to *Holland*; as alſo the Prince Elector Palatin, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, and other German Heretick Princes; who all of them ſeemed to ſhew their good affections towards the united Provinces in ſo important an occaſion. Theſe buſineſſes which were thus begun grew very hot in *Holland*: every thing was in motion, and great was the expectation what the united Provinces would reſolve, as well touching the ſecond ratification come from *Spain*, as alſo whether they would continue or break the Treaty. But of all others Count *Maurice* of *Naſſaws* thoughts were moſt buſied at this time. His father the Prince of *Orange* being dead, he being yet but a youth of ſixteen years of age, had got into all his fathers Military and Civil employments, with the great good will and approbation of the united Provinces. And encreaſing no leſs in valour, then in years, after ſo many enterpriſes and proſperous ſucceſſes, his authority grew

daily greater amongſt them. He had won it by arms, and he thought he could beſt preſerve it by arms. And by means of the publick trouble of war, he hoped ſome favourable conjuncture might the eaſilier be opened unto him, of making himſelf one day Prince of thoſe Provinces.

It is not to be doubted, but that his ambition carried him thus high; for his Father was very near attaining thereunto; and his own deſerts being added to his Fathers, his hopes ought rather to be augmented then diminiſhed. To boot with the Supreme Government of the Army, he had ſucceeded his Father in the Civil Adminiſtration of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utricht*, & *Overiſel*. His brother Count *Henry*, General of the Horſe of the united Provinces, and the Counts *William* and *Ernestus*, the one of them Governour of *Frieſland* and *Groninghen*, and the other Governor of *Ghelderland*, were all of them of his Houſe, and depended on him almoſt in all things, ſo as the whole Government of the united Provinces, as well Military as Civil, may be ſaid to be in his hands: and his domeſtick power was the greater by his great friendſhip and alliance with Forraign Princes. The Negotiation in hand made nothing at all for his preſent condition, nor for that which peradventure he had an intention to raiſe up unto himſelf. And ſay he had a minde to have hindred it at the beginning; what colour, or what pretence had he ſo to do? Since the united Provinces in the Propoſal made by the Arch-dukes for a Treaty, had gotten all that they deſired; when the firſt ratification which came therefore from *Spain*, proved vain, *Maurice* began to hope well in the begun breach of the Negotiation; & by occaſion thereof augmented the common jealouſies. He inlarged himſelf very much and with great fervency in calling to minde their late good ſucceſſes; ſo many miſchiefs, cruelties, and horrible inhumanities committed as he affirmed, by the Spaniards, together with many other things, to make all manner of Treaties with them ſuſpitious, and to encreaſe the hatred which thoſe of the united Provinces alwaies bore to that Nation. And though the ſecond ratification was come in very ample manner, yet did not he go leſs in continuing to do the ſame, hoping to make this ſecond appear likewiſe faulty in many things. The time drew near of giving their reſolution therein, concerning which they had had many meetings; at laſt, one day when the Councel of the States General was fuller then uſual by reaſon of the importancy of the buſineſs, 'tis ſaid Count *Maurice* ſpoke thus:

'How much (moſt worthy Deputies) I have alwayes deſired the proſperity of 'our Republick, all my precedent actions which have made me appear no leſs my 'Fathers competitor then his ſon, in her ſervice, may ſufficiently manifeſt. I 'have not laboured leſs then did my father, in all wayes procuring the common 'good; and if he loſt his life in the publique cauſe, I have expoſed my ſelf to no 'leſs dangers in the defence thereof; and certainly it would have redounded 'much more to my honour and glory to have died amidſt Arms, then it did to 'him to periſh by the hand of that baſe and deteſtable Paricide, who ſo unwor-'thily ſlew him. None therefore ſhould more rejoyce then I, to hear our Pro-'vinces declared to be Free-States, even by our Enemies themſelves, did I not 'think that all theſe proceedings were but couzenages, whereby more eaſily to 'draw our Liberties again into their ſubjection. I apprehended this even from the 'beginning of theſe practiſes; ſo that, as I have hitherto ever abhorred them, ſo 'do I now abhor them more then ever, and think it now more neceſſary then e-'ver to break them wholly off, and to throw back this ſecond ratification with the 'ſame reſoluteneſs as we did the former. How many tricks, and how many 'cheats the Spaniards have alwayes uſed in their like Treaties, is too well known 'to us all. But what need we look after paſt-times? hath not the like been 'ſeen, and is it not now ſeen in theſe preſent negotiations? The firſt ratification 'came in general terms, nor did it contain any thing of ratification but the bare 'name. The ſecond is come ſince, which is likewiſe ſo defective, as in my opini-'on it ought in no way to be excepted. Do you perceive how the King would 'have it ſent in the Spaniſh tongue? a tongue unknown to us, the true meaning 'and efficacy whereof we do not underſtand. Do you obſerve how he uſes the 'ſame ſubſcription as he uſeth to his Vaſſals? Not having changed any of the o-'ther things excepted againſt. And the addition of the laſt clauſe, doth it not e-

'vidently,

'vidently enough ſhew his pretenſions that it ſhall wholly depend upon his will 'whether we ſhall be free or no? As if from the time that the Duke *d' Alva*, '(that Fury and Firebrand of all the troubles of *Flanders*) and after him the o. 'ther Governours had bereft their Countrie of its priviledges, brought forein 'colonies thereinto, put the whole Country to fire and ſword, and given ſen- 'tence themſelves againſt our Liberties, and we had not known how to defend it 'by our unconquered Forces? We then are free, whether the King declare us 'to be ſo or no. And our pretence to this Declaration is, becauſe it is due to us 'from all the world, and due to us by him abſolutely, without any conditional 'limitation of inſuing agreement, as he pretends in the additional clauſe; ſo as it 'is now too well ſeen that the Spaniards treat with their wonted frauds; and that 'they would pretend they can never loſe by any whatſoever accord that ſhould 'inſue; the right which they preſume to have over our Provinces; that they 'may afterwards expect new opportunities to oppreſs them again; it may then 'be granted, that it is not any publique reſpect, but their own particular neceſſity 'which induceth them now to come to agreement with us. The neceſſity I ſay 'of their diſorders, which doubtleſly are ſo many and ſo great, as we may expect 'their utter loſing of *Flanders*. What darkneſs, what obſcurity is it then that 'doth poſſeſs our ſenſes? or what hoodwinkt and untimely wiſdom is it which 'teacheth us to intermit and ſlacken the courſe of our Victories, whence they are 'neareſt and moſt certain? their Army is in very great confuſion, without any 'diſcipline, without any obedience; corrupted by perpetual mutinies: And if 'the War continue, we ſhall doubtleſly ſee the whole body of the ſoldiery muti- 'ny, and then their whole Countrey will riſe. How great a part thereof does 'there already abound in our ſenſe? We on the other ſide have a flouriſhing 'Army, well diſciplin'd, well paid, and well provided of all things. We have the 'aſſiſtance of *France*, of *England*, and of the greateſt part of *Germany*. We 'maintain a Cauſe, then vvhich none can be more juſt; nor can there be more 'conſtancy deſired in our peoples wills to defend it: To theſe our advantages by 'land, our other progreſſes at ſea do fully correſpond. What greater blovv 'could the Spaniards receive from us, then that which we have given them in the '*Eaſt-Indies*? What will the other prove vvhich vve are preparing for them like- 'vviſe in the Weſt? To this end, to boot vvith the publicke forces, particular 'Companies of the richeſt Merchants of all our Provinces are appointed: ſo as 'when we ſhall get footing there, to what ſtraits and hazards ſhall we reduce 'the Spaniſh Fleet? On the contrary ſide, how much both publick and private 'advantages, how much honour and glory ſhall our Common-wealth receive 'thereby? Our having gon round the Sea where ever the Sun ſhines, with ſo many 'and ſo illuſtrious Navigations, and having made our name ſo famous by ſo many 'and ſo glorious Victories, will be the moſt memorable things ſpoken of by our 'poſterity in after Ages. The fear of loſing the *Indies* is that which chiefly cauſes 'the Spaniards to come to ſome accommodation with us. Who will then per- 'ſwade us to let ſlip theſe ſo propitious opportunities which now offer themſelves 'unto us, and ſee them turned peradventure hereafter to their advantage? True 'Victory lies in the making good uſe thereof; Which not being done, the too 'late remedy of repentance ſerves but in little ſtead. We ought by all means 'poſſible endeavour not to fall into ſuch errors; and not ſuffer our ſelves to 'be deceived by the falſe names of repoſe and Peace, and other ſpecious alluring 'pretences. Theſe are the means wherewith thoſe lull people aſleep, whom they 'intend afterwards to oppreſs. No Lethargy is more mortal then a Peace, which 'is to prove worſe then war it ſelf. Our people this mean while will grow unſi- 'newed by idleneſs. We ſhall loſe thoſe friends which our wars have purchaſt to 'our cauſe. But the worſt of all evils will lie in the ſecret venome of diſcord, 'which the enemy will in this interim endeavour to introduce amongſt us; and 'this ſort of plague will ſooner be radicated amongſt us then driven out. Thus 'by means of reſt more fatal far then arms, our Common-wealth would fall into 'the geateſt misfortunes, and the Spaniards by their machinations quietly enjoy 'what hitherto they have not been able to do with their Armies in the fields. But 'I never was an Orator; and as a Souldier methinks I have ſpoken more then

'I need upon ſuch an occaſion. Nor can I deny but that my particular paſſions 'ſway me in what concerns the common good, which is now in hand; which may 'notwithſtanding all of them be reduced to the implacable hatred I bear thoſe 'who are our implacable enemies; and hope to make their power more formida-'ble to others by the ruin of our Republick.

The Authority of ſo great a man aſſiſted by ſo many and ſo forcible reaſons, prevailed very much with the hearers. *John Barnevelt*, Advocate General of the Province of *Holland*, and one of her Deputies in this preſent Councel, was one of thoſe who did moſt favor the things which were now in Treaty. His Authority was very great not onely in *Holland*, but even throughout the whole Union; in the ſervice whereof he had ever had the chiefeſt employments, and had therein continually faithfully diſcharged his truſt. So as his credit was ſuch at this time with the Union, and his eſtimation ſo great, as he drew commonly moſt men to adhere to him in all his opinions. He deſired to ſee Count *Maurice* his power leſſened, to the end that the common liberty might be the more ſecure both at home and abroad: though this his emulation coſt him afterwards his life: For not many years after *Maurice* his faction prevailed ſo far, as for divers faults laid to his charge, (were they true or falſe) he was publickly beheaded in *Holland*. When *Maurice* had ended his diſcourſe, *Barnevelt*, ſtill reſolved to defend the contrary opinion, ſpoke thus.

Of ſo many egregious acts (moſt worthy Deputies) which the Prince of Orange, *of ever happy memory, did and which have been ſince continued by the Illuſtrious Count* Maurice, *the worthy ſon of ſo gallant a father, in ſervice of our Common-wealth, this is one of the fruits we reap, that every one may freely ſpeak his minde in this Councel, for what concerns the common good; and if it were ever requiſite ſo to do, the nature of the buſineſs in hand doth now require it. He hath certainly ſhewed great gravity and wiſdom in what he hath ſaid: But ſince the more weighty the affairs are, ſo much more neceſſary it is to have them maturely debated, I hope it will not be diſpleaſing, if I alledge all thoſe reaſons to the contrary as may be conſidered in ſo important an affair. We ſhall differ in our opinions, but not in our ends; which is the like in us all, to endeavour all the advantage and ſtability which we can to this our Common-wealth. The Illuſtrious Count did, If I be not deceived, urge two points chiefly: the one that the Spaniards do not proceed with ſincerity in theſe their negotiations; and the other, that it is meer neceſſity which makes them now ſeek to come to ſome agreement with us, that they may hereafter finde ſome more favourable opportunity to oppreſs us. As for the firſt, I hope that none will deny, but for what concerns the affairs now in hand, we have hitherto obtained all that we have demanded of the Arch-dukes. 'Tis true that afterward, the King of* Spains *firſt ratification was faulty, and as ſuch a one, was juſtly by us refuſed: but to ſpeak truly, I do not think this ſecond ſuch a one as ought to be rejected: the defects whereof being well conſidered, do more transgreſs againſt the circumſtances, then the eſſence of the ratification which we demand. The eſſence lies in this; that the King ſhould acknowledge our Provinces to be free, and that he ſhould declare he had no pretence or claim thereunto; this, this ſecond ratification doth fully contain, as doth alſo the firſt Declaration made by the Arch-dukes. And in fine, it is the very ſame which we did deſire, except it be in the diverſity of Language, and in ſome other petty things of ſmall importance, and in the laſt clauſe added by the King. Faults which in my opinion cannot be held any waies eſſential. Firſt, how can it be doubted but that the true ſenſe and meaning of the Spaniſh tongue muſt be underſtood by us? Here, where the frequent commerce of ſo many of our Cities with all the Principal Cities of Europe, makes all Languages common and known? To boot, that the Arch-dukes Deputies affirm, and give it under their hands that it is in the ſame language, with the ſame ſubſcription, and alike in all other things to the ratifications of peace between the Crown of* Spain, *and thoſe of* France, *and* England. *Ought we to pretend to more then what was then done to two ſo great Kings? The greater difficulty would lye in the additional clauſe, if it were not evidently known that it were to be underſtood, though it were not expreſt; ſince how can it be denied, but that if no agreement ſhould be made, both parties would continue in their former rights? To wit, the Spaniards in what is grounded upon violence; and we in what is grounded*

upon

upon ſo known Juſtice. But ſay the Spaniards after ſome agreement made, ſhould pretend a Title of right over us, tell me I pray you, wherein could our affairs be therein prejudiced? Should they peradventure, be Judges in ſuch a cauſe? In ſuch a caſe recourſe muſt be had to the Tribunal of the whole World; and each party to the favour of their friends; or rather to the Tribunal of arms where Armies pronounce ſentence, and for the moſt part the juſtice of the cauſe gives the victory. It imports but little then whether their ends be ſincere or fradulent in caſe of agreement; for then they cannot oppreſs us by their forces. We muſt above all things endeavour to ſecure our ſelves from this danger, which neceſſarily conſiſts in one of two remedies; either in continuing the War out of hope that their neceſſity will daily grow greater; or elſe in ending it by ſome accommodation after which our affairs might be better ſecured. And from hence I come to the ſecond point. I deny not but that their preſent diſorders and neceſſities are great; but I cannot think them paſt remedy ſo far, but that if the war in ure the Spaniards may finde ſufficient Forces to do it. I for my own part finde the Monarchy of Spain *to be the ſame thing that it hath alwaies been, during the whole courſe of this war; nay rather increaſed in this interim by the addition of the Kingdom of* Portugal, *and of the Eaſt-*Indies, *which depend thereupon. I finde it to be very ſtrong both at land and ſea. Where hath the formidableneſs of their forces been better ſeen then here in* Flanders? *What other power hath at any time maintained ſo long, ſo far diſtant, ſo hard, and ſo expenſive a war? And ſhall we believe that the Spaniards cannot ſtill maintain it? And that they are not likely to finde a remedy for their diſorders in theſe parts; and for any hazard they may run in the Eaſt-*Indies? *The very neceſſity of making war, will doubtleſsly furniſh them with means enough to continue it. So then we are again engaged in war; in a new and more obſtinate war then the former: and what ſecurity can we have that fortune will alwaies favour us? We have likewiſe our neceſſities; and if they be at preſent great amongſt the Spaniaads, remember I pray you that they have been greater amongſt us; and that all humane things being ſubject to alteration, and the events of war uſually very uncertain: the time may prove propitious again to them, and averſe to us. Do not we know how much our war depends upon the aids from* France *and* England? *May not the King of* France *die? Is he not already very old? May not the Kingdom afterwards alter? And ſhall we not then be deprived of all ſuccour from thence? Do not we likewiſe know upon what fickle terms the affairs of* England *ſtand? The King being a Scotch-man, a ſtranger in that Kingdom, and there being many other occaſions which may cauſe ſome fear of alteration on his ſide? How much would the affairs of* Spain *be bettered by any of theſe accidents? How much worſe would ours be? We ought then to be taught by all reaſon, and by all the rules of good Government, not to let ſlip this happy conjuncture of coming to ſome good agreement with the Spaniards. Fortune is flitting, inconſtant, diſdainful and exceeding apt to be provoked: 'Tis now the time to know how to lay hold of her: So as my opinion is, that by all means we ought to accept of this ratification come from* Spain, *and proceed on to ſome Treaty of agreement: I confeſs it is not alwaies in the power of man to enjoy the happineſs of peace; but I verily believe it is now in our power to ſhun the dangers of war; which in my opinion ought by all means to be indeavoured: and certainly we may hope for great advantages from the Spaniards by this accommodation which they do ſo much deſire to make with theſe our Provinces in this their preſent neceſſity: As all Pilots prefix the haven for their end; all Travellers their Country, and all motion reſt; ſo all war hath peace for its end, wherein conſiſts mans chiefeſt happineſs; and ſhall the War of* Flanders *be the only thing which ſhall never have an end? And ſhall all our moſt advantagious ſucceſſes, depend alwaies upon the ſo uncertain event of war? We ſhall be free from the uncertainties, and from ſo many dangers which troubles brings with them, by reducing our ſelves at laſt to a quiet condition: We ſhall then much better re-order the Government of every of our particular Provinces, and of the intire body of the union, when we ſhall be in a quiet condition: This our Common-wealth will then break forth from out the duskiſhneſs and horror of arms: which how wounderful a ſight will it be, and what unaccuſtomed praiſes will it produce in the Theatre of the Univerſe? When it ſhall be ſeen how our Provinces do unite themſelves in one body; with what ſort of Lawes and Magiſtracy they conſpire together; how unwounded the Liberties of*

each

each of them remain, and how uninjured it paſſeth through every one of them, as through ſo many veins to the intire body of their general Union. We ſhall have Ambaſſadors ſent to congratulate with us from all parts; who will return rather envying then rejoycing at this our ſo great felicity. We ſhall pay the debts we have contracted abroad: We ſhall eaſe our ſelves of thoſe we have here amongſt our ſelves; and we ſhall enrich our treaſury, by taking off ſo many and ſo grievous expences: our people ſhall then know that they are truly free, when they ſhall enjoy liberty without any conteſtation: and being once got into ſuch a condition, what need we fear to be at any time reduced under the yoak of that proud, cruel, and tyrannical Spaniſh Government.

Barnevelt was liſtned unto with much attention: and the reaſons alledged by him, appeared to be ſo weighty and wiſely grounded, as after ſome other conſultations, it was at laſt reſolved on by the States General, that they would accept of the ratification; yet there was much ado before *Zealand* could be brought to joyn in this Vote, ſo abſolute Authority had Count *Maurice* in that Province; whereof he was not onely Governour, but had a great eſtate there, and enjoyed ſuch prerogatives, as he appeared rather to be Prince then Governor of that Country. The Arch-dukes were then acquainted with this the States Generals reſolution, and 'twas almoſt in the ſame words which were uſed in the anſwer which was firſt given to the Commiſſary and *Verreychin* when they brought the ratification into *Holland*. And becauſe the term for ſuſpenſion of Arms was already expired, it was by both ſides prorogued, and continued to be ſo from time to time in new terms, till the end of the Treaty, which was after concluded. I thought good to inſert this in this place, to ſhun the tedious repetition of the ſame things ſundry times. Now all the eyes of *Flanders* were fixt upon what Deputies the Arch-dukes would choſe to ſend, according to the firſt agreement, into *Holland*. The greateſt weight of the Spaniſh affairs which were agitated in *Flanders* lay upon the Marqueſs *Spinola*, Camp-maſter-general of the Army, and upon *Manchichidor* the Spaniſh Secretary of War; and as for the Arch-dukes buſineſs, *John Richardotto*, Preſident of the Privy Councel, and *Verreychin* ſo often named before, were chiefly truſted therewith. Theſe four were choſen for Deputies, and Father *Nyen* was added for a fift, as one who had hitherto had a great hand in the buſineſs. Marqueſs *Spinola* was already got into great Authority by reaſon of his ſo many Imployments and Truſts. He was Camp-maſter-general and Governor of the Army; Adminiſtrator, or Pay-maſter-general of the Kings monies: of the Councel of State in *Spain*; and through his hands all the Kings affairs in *Flanders*, as hath been ſaid, did chiefly paſs: and the Arch-duke likewiſe ſeemed to put much confidence in him. Indeed a States man of ſingular judgment and valour, of incredible vigilancy and induſtry in the managing of whatſoever buſineſs either Military or Civil; and indowed with ſo many other gallant parts, as he had reaſon to be eſteemed one of the greateſt States-men that the Crown of *Spain* hath had theſe many years. The Secretary *Manchichidor* was likewiſe highly eſteemed of, for his long experience in the affairs of *Flanders*: for he had been Secretary of war, even from the time that the Arch-duke whilſt he was yet Cardinal, was come to the Government of thoſe Provinces. In the affairs which belonged properly to the Arch-dukes; the Preſident *Ricardetto* was no leſs eſteemed of; he had for a long time been the man chiefly imployed in affairs of greateſt importance by the Duke of *Parma*, and other Governors: and the Arch-Duke being made Prince of the Low-Countries, choſe him particularly to employ in making the laſt Peace with *France*, and the like with the King of *England*; ſo as almoſt all the important buſineſs of the Country paſſed through his hands. *Verreychin* was likewiſe preſent at the making of the two above named Peaces, and had long before exerciſed the place of firſt Secretary of State, and was alwaies held a man of great wiſdom and integrity. Enough hath already been ſaid of the Commiſſary-general and of his endowments. But when the Spaniards who were in *Flanders*, underſtood who the Deputies were, and that they were to go to the Enemies own homes to treat of agreement with them, it is not to be believed how much they ſtormed and how much they complained of the Arch-Dukes in particular.

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'Are the affairs of *Spain* (ſaid they) come to ſo low an ebb, that our King 'muſt abaſe himſelf thus? hath ſo much time, bloud, and treaſure been ſpent a-'gainſt the traiterous rebels to bring things to this end? That the affairs of *Spain* 'were now in as glorious a condition as ever, but that there wanted fitting in-'ſtruments in *Flanders* to manage them: That the Arch-duke had alwayes 'ſhewed himſelf to be better at peace then at war; and that now that he ſaw 'himſelf not likely to have any children, his only deſire was to ſpend the re-'mainder of his days in peace and quietneſs: That it was impoſſible ſo great a 'Monarchy ſhould be without a war; nay it was to be deſired that it ſhould al-'wayes have an Army in the fields for its ſervice. And what other more fitting 'Theatre could there be found for the ſeat of its Arms then *Flanders*? a place 'ſo opulent, and of ſuch extent, and placed in the midſt of *Spains* chiefeſt ene-'mies and maligners? That if the war could not be alwayes ſo plentifully main-'tained, their Forces might be leſſened, and conſequently their expences: 'That thus the vigour of ſo great a Monarchy might be preſerved even to 'eternity.

The Spaniards broke forth into theſe complaints, and ſent them from *Flanders* into *Spain*; but to no purpoſe: for it was then ſeen, as alſo during the whole Treaty, that the King and the Arch-duke did always jump in their opinions: and as for the Deputies going into *Holland*; without all doubt it might ſeem in all appearance no wayes to agree with the Kings and Arch-dukes dignity: but the form of the Government of the United Provinces conſidered, no other manner of negotiation could well be had; for their Deputies were ſo many, that Commiſſions ſo bounded, and ſo many ſendings to and fro, as they were inforced to make Orders: to receive new Orders, and new Conſents from every Province; which if it had been to be done out of their own Country, the Treaty would never have had an end: and though afterwards, as you ſhall hear, it was concluded in *Antwerp*; 'twas becauſe all things were already digeſted, ſo as they went thither as it may be ſaid, to a buſineſs already concluded. The Deputies departed about the end of *January* 1608. and being come into the United Provinces, they were received by the Governors of their Frontier Towns with all honour, and bravely lodged in all places They came to the *Hague* the firſt of *February*, and were met half a league without the Town, by Count *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*, accompanied by the other Counts of his Houſe, and all the chief men of thoſe parts.

The Second BOOK of the TREATY of the TRUCE of *FLANDERS*.

HOLLAND is the greateſt, richeſt, and beſt peopled Province of all the United ſeaven: Nay, it ſo far exceeds all the reſt, as it furniſheth half the monies which are iſſued out by the whole ſeaven Provinces. It is made by the Sea, and ſundry Rivers a Peninſula, it is incompaſſed on many ſides by the Sea, cut through in many parts by Rivers: many Channels cut by hand, joyn with theſe Rivers, and there be many lakes within it: ſo as it may be doubted whether it conſiſt more of land or water. Beſides, it doth ſo abound with ſhipping of all ſorts, as it may likewiſe be queſtioned, whether the number of moveable habitations on water, or of houſes fixt on the land be the greater. This Province is full of Cities, and of a great many leſſer Towns. *Amſterdam* is its chiefeſt City, and here is the greateſt Traffick, not only of *Holland* it ſelf, but almoſt of the whole North: of all its Towns *Hague* is the principal, an open Village;

lage; but ſo large, ſo well peopled, and ſo delitious as it may compare with many Cities. Here did the Counts of *Holland* formerly build a Palace for themſelves to live in, which the Vnited Provinces do now make uſe of for the meeting of their Councels which depend upon the Vnion. Here likewiſe the Councel of the States General do meet almoſt every day; wherein things of greateſt importance are agitated and reſoved by the Deputies of the whole ſeaven Provinces. The chief affairs of the whole Vnion are then handled in the *Hague*; and here ſtaid the Catholick Deputies to give a beginning to the Treaty: Before they arrived, the Vnited Provinces had likewiſe choſen their Deputies; one was choſen for every Province, and two of the beſt of bloud amongſt them, in the common name of them all. And theſe were Count *William* of *Naſſaw*, full Couſin German to Count *Maurice*, and Min here *Bredrode*: for *Holland*, *Barnevelt* was named, and by him the buſineſs on the behalf of the Vnited Provinces was chiefly to be agitated. At their firſt meeting, nothing was done but the producing of the credential Letters on all ſides, they then began to diſcuſs affairs with an intention to come to a perpetual peace if it were poſſible. The Vnited Provinces offered one Article in the firſt place, wherein they pretended, that the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes, ſhould acknowledge them to be abſolutely Free States, and ſhould at large renounce all right or claim which might be pretended unto by them or any of their ſucceſſors, to, or over thoſe Provinces, with an obligation not to make uſe of their Arms or Titles, or whatſoever other appearance. This laſt addition appeared too arrogant to the Catholick Deputies, who complained very much thereof to the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England*, with whom from the beginning they had had communication in what concerned the Treaty: alleadging.

'That it was an uſual thing amongſt Princes, ſtill to retain the Title of States 'or Kingdoms, though they were loſt, or but pretended to, whereof there was 'examples in the greateſt Kings of Chriſtendom. That the Catholick King ſti-'led himſelf King of *Hieruſalem*, and Duke of *Burgony*; the King of *France*, 'King of *Navar*; and that the King of *England* did ſtill keep the Title of King of '*France*: That the Vnited Provinces would be they alone who would introduce 'new Laws in the world, and not content to paſs from rebellion into liberty, 'would pretend, as it were by uſurpation to ſuch and ſo raſh advantages: in fine, 'that this was a cauſe common to all Princes, and wherein they were all by this 'one act injured.

The anſwer which the Catholick Deputies gave hereunto was, that they had 'no Authority to admit of the Article in manner as was deſired: That they 'would acquaint the Arch-dukes therewith, and expect their Anſwer; but the 'Ambaſſadors thought theſe their complaints to be artificials, they imagined 'that the Catholick Deputies meant to indear the ſaid renuntiation as much as 'they might; that they might the eaſilyer induce the Vnited Provinces to give way on their parts in other things, in which opinion they were confirmed by the Anſwer which came from *Bruſſels*, which was, that the Arch-dukes would conſent to the Article in the ſame manner as it was propounded, if the Vnited Provinces by acknowledgement of ſo great a benefit, would in lieu thereof abſtain from their ſayling into the *Indies*. The Vnited Provinces ſeemed to be as much moved by this anſwer; and their Deputies made equal complaints thereof to the Ambaſſadors of their Confederate Kings and Princes.

'What do the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes grant (ſaid they) more then 'what the Vnited Provinces do already poſſeſs? that what ſhould be granted by 'the King and Arch-dukes was nothing but wind, and a bare Title; whereas if 'the Vnited Provinces ſhould give over their ſailing to the *Indies*, they ſhould 'deprive themſelves of the principal and moſt important part of their Traffick. 'That they had begun and would continue that their Navigation, which by the 'Laws of Nature, and right of Nations is allowed to all men. That ſome other 'thing might be thought upon which in this point might give reciprocal ſatiſ-'faction to both ſides: But that they ſhould exclude themſelves from ſailing in-'to the *Indies*, was neither to be thought on nor hoped for: and why ought not 'the ſpoiles of that new world be common to all? That it was of that im-

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'mence vaſtneſs, as more thereof was undiſcovered then diſcovered as yet: and 'that the right of the occupiers in thoſe parts, differed only in the better knowing 'how to manage what they poſſeſs.

Both parties argued this point touching the Eaſt-*Indies* with great ſtifneſs and pertenacity; nor would the Catholick Deputies ever diſcede from their firſt anſwer. At laſt the Deputies of the United Provinces made three Propoſitions: The firſt, that according to the nature of all peaces, Commerce might be free both by ſea and land to both parties. The ſecond, that for the ſpace of ſeaven years, the United Provinces might continue their Navigation to the *Indies*; and that one year before the expiration of thoſe ſeaven years, ſome new compoſition might be made. The third, that upon the inſuance of peace, and due obſervation of all things on this ſide the line, the Vnited Provinces might at their own peril continue their Navigation on the other ſide. The Catholick Deputies were not pleaſed either with the firſt or the third Propoſitions. Not with the firſt, becauſe it left the Vnited Provinces abſolutely free to Traffick in the *Indies*: Not with the third, becauſe they ſaw a peace mixt with hoſtility was not likely to laſt. They did not appear to be totally averſe from the ſecond, ſo as they would now agree, that when thoſe ſeaven years ſhould be ended, the United provinces ſhould for ever forbear from their Navigation to the *Indies*. To this their Deputies would by no means conſent; this point of the *Indies* was much ſtood upon, and the difficulties thereof inlarged by the particular Company of Merchants in the Vnited Provinces which traffick into thoſe parts. The Company was chiefly compoſed of the Merchants of *Amſterdam*, and of *Midleburgh*: and one was ſent in the name of that Company to the *Hague*, to ſhew how great the gain was which they made by their trafficking in the Eaſt-*Indies*, and how much the continuation thereof did import in other reſpects.

'They alleadged that they had already introduced Commerce in ſundry parts 'of thoſe Countries; that many were the frienſhips and confederations which 'they had eſtabliſhed there; and that thoſe ſeas were already frequented by a-'bove 150 of their Veſſels, and by above 8000 of their Mariners and Souldiers; 'that great was the gain of particular men, and the advantage no leſs which the 'publick received thereby: that to keep ſo many of the baſer ſort of people im-'ployed who would be alwayes troubleſome, when at quiet, what was it but to 'purge their Publick of ſo much ill bloud, ready to grow corrupt? That the 'Navigation of the United Provinces into the *Indies* had already made *Liſbon* 'groan; that the Merchant Towns of the Portugueſes in thoſe parts went to 'wrack; and that their ſhips were ſeen to go and come much poſſeſt with fear 'and apprehenſion; and were inforced to be at much greater expence then for-'merly; for they had wont not to be greatly vigilant in that their Voyage, not 'meeting with any conteſtation, ſave from the ſeas and wind.

Theſe and many other conſiderations were repreſented by the Company, to keep the Vnited Provinces from conſenting to the Spaniards demands touching the Indies: So as both parties adhering to their opinions, nothing was done therein. The Catholick Deputies reſolved therefore to ſend Father *Neyen* into *Spain* to acquaint the King with what paſt; and particularly to receive Orders for what they ſhould do concerning the Indies; having firſt declared to the other Deputies that they had no Commiſſion to conclude any thing in that buſineſs. They told them alſo, how that the Commiſſary ſhould be back within two months; whereupon he ſuddenly took his journey for *Spain*; and I to ſhun the tedious prolixity of the leſs important affairs, will here mention only things of greater moment, wherein their differences conſiſted. The King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes, to ſhew their ingenuity, and the more to honeſt all concluſion of agreement, deſired that the exerciſe of Religion might be left free throughout all the United Provinces: towards which I had not been wanting; but particularly before the Deputies went for *Holland*, had preſt the Arch-dukes much therein: and certainly the United Provinces ſhould by all rules of good Government, of their own accord have endeavoured to give the Catholicks, who were in no ſmall numbers amongſt them, ſatisfaction: but the hatred to the Catholick Religion prevailing on the one ſide with the leading Hereticks, and the ſuſpition that this

was the more to oblige the Catholicks which were amongſt them, to the Spaniards on the other ſide, it was to be believed they would not conſent to any thing in favour of the Catholicks. The ſecond chief point was that which concerned Commerce; The United Provinces would have had it abſolutely free; and the King and Arch-dukes would have the Indies excepted, and deſired that many inſufferable Taxes might be taken off, to which the Merchandizes were ſubject in *Zealand*, which were neceſſarily to paſs from thence to *Antwerp*, and which every day much leſſened the Traffick of that City. The other chiefeſt affairs conſiſted in the exchange which was to be made of divers Towns and other places, which the one ſide were Maſters of, in the others Country; in the adjuſting of confines; in contributions which were paid in ſeveral parts by thoſe whoſe habitations confin'd on both ſides, to free themſelves from Military incurſions: in the reſtitution of goods confiſcated in the time of War, and in other the like things of Juſtice. They treated ſometimes of one of theſe, ſometimes of another, but very leaſurely; for great difficulties were met withall in all of them, without coming to any reſolution. The point of exchange of places was in particular much argued. The United Provinces were poſſeſſed of *Sluce* in the Province of *Flanders*, together with the Iſland *Caſſant*, which is but of ſmall circuit, but commodious for the unlading of Goods; having in it ſome Forts.

They likewiſe were Maſters of *Breda*, *Bergen-ap-zome*, and St. *Getringberg*, all of them ſtrongly ſcituated both by Nature and Art in *Brabant*; together with ſome leſſer places, fortified likewiſe.

On the contrary the Arch-dukes had *Linghen*, *Groll*, and *Oldenſel* beyond the *Rhine* toward *Frieſland*; *Linghen* is a very ſtrong Hold, and the other two, places of good conſideration. The Arch-dukes would have deſired to have changed theſe three places, with thoſe which the United Provinces had in *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

And becauſe that which was poſſeſt by the United Provinces, was much the greater and better part, it was thought that the Arch-duke to make the change more qual, would willingly have quitted unto them all the reſt which they were Maſters of in *Ghelderland*, or at leaſt the greateſt part thereof. Long diſpute was had upon this Article, but to no purpoſe; for it was not poſſible ever to agree upon it. And with the ſame difficulties and prolixity they proceeded likewiſe in the other affairs. This mean while the time was expired wherein the Commiſſary was to return from *Spain*; who did not only not appear, but not any news was heard of him; whereupon the United Provinces grew very jealous, and their Deputies began publickly to complain thereof. The King of *France* was all this while very attentive upon the proceedings in *Holland*; and to make the Spaniards the more jealous, he was eaſily perſwaded upon this occaſion to make a new League with the United Provinces. The Contents whereof was, That in caſe the peace now in Treaty ſhould ſucceed, the King of *France* ſhould be bound to aſſiſt the Vnited Provinces with ten thouſand paid Souldiers, to make the Spaniards the better keep it; and that they on the other ſide ſhould give the King of *France* five thouſand paid foot in caſe the Spaniards ſhould make war upon him. The Spaniſh and Flemiſh Ambaſſadors which were at *Paris*, quarrelled with the King hereupon; but he juſtified it with divers pretences, and ſhewed how that the King of *Spain* and Arch-dukes ſhould rather be beholding to him therein, as a buſineſs which might the eaſilyer facilitate the peace of *Flanders* which was in Treaty. Theſe artifices were not unknovvn in *Spain*, and it was every day better ſeen, that no agreement would ever be made with the Vnited Provinces, without the King of *France* his interpoſition and authority. To the end then that he might obtain his mediation upon this occaſion, the King of *Spain* reſolved though upon other pretences, to ſend *Don Piedro de Tolledo*, one of the chief Lords of *Spain*; into *France*,

And this was thought then the fitter to be done, becauſe the King of *France* at the ſame time had ſent for Preſident *Jannines* to *Paris*; with whom adviſing upon the affairs of *Holland*, and the King reſolving upon the forementioned things which might make him deſire to ſee the affairs of *Flanders* ſetled; he ſent him ſuddenly

ſuddenly to the *Hague*. But *Jannines* grew quickly to diſpair of ſeeing any Peace concluded. He found the buſineſs more perplext with difficulties then before, and the mindes of both Parties more exaſperated. The United Provinces could not tollerate the Spaniards ſlowneſs; for the Commiſſary did not appear at all, nor was there any news heard of what he had done in *Spain*. Whereupon their Deputies reſolved to know directly the King of *Spains* final intention touching the *Indies*, which when they ſhould not know, preſently to break off the Treaty; and this they preſt upon the Catholick Deputies with much inconſtancy, who made them this Anſwer:

'That the King deſired a happy end of the begun Treaty, and that he would 'at laſt condiſcend to that renunciation which they deſired, and in manner as 'was by them propounded: But that on the other ſide, he expected that in re-'quital of ſo important an Affair, they ſhould forbare going to the *Indies*; and 'that moreover they ſhould permit liberty of conſcience to the Catholicks with-'in their Provinces. That the Commiſſary was already diſpatched from the 'Court with this anſwer; and that they had already received orders to acquaint 'them the United Provinces therewithal.

This Anſwer quite overthrew all hopes of Peace. The United Provinces had put on an unalterable Reſolution neither to abandon the *Indies*, nor yet to admit the Catholick Religion amongſt them. Whereupon having heard this, they in Writing did preſently declare the Treaty broken, and preſented the writing to the Catholick Deputies. The Treaty of Peace being thus faln to the ground, it remained to ſee whether they might the eaſilyer compaſs a long Truce. The King of *England* had all this while ſeemed rather averſe then otherwiſe to the Negotiation in *Holland*, and having the ſame ends which the Kings of *France* had, to raiſe jealouſie in the Spaniard, as hath been ſaid, he alſo made uſe of the ſame means. In imitation of the King of *France*, and almoſt after the ſame manner, he had at this time made alſo a new League with the united Provinces; and though his Authority was nothing near ſo great with them, yet was it ſuch, as it might much impede the proceedings of the new Treaty for a long Truce: and he had already complained to the Spaniſh and Flemiſh Ambaſſadors who were reſident in *England*, that the King of *Spain* had ſent Don *Piedro de Tolledo* to *Paris*, putting thereby ſo great an eſteem upon the King of *France*, and that he had made no manner of addreſs at all to him. For theſe reſpects the King of *Spain* reſolved to ſend likewiſe Don *Fernando Girone* who was then in *Flanders*, and who was one of the chiefeſt Commanders in his Army to the King of *England*; who ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied therewith; and made large promiſes to intercede for the continuing of the negotiation in *Holland*, being thereunto perſwaded by his natural addiction to peace, as alſo for the aforeſaid Reaſons. Before the Catholick Deputies departed from *Holland*, the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England* began to ſet again on foot this new Treaty of a long Truce: inſomuch as the Ambaſſadors meeting one day, *Jannines* in the name of both the Kings made this inſuing Propoſition in the Councel of the States General:

'That both their Kings had alwaies conſidered the affairs of the United Pro-'vinces, as their own particular concernment, having maintained them all this 'while as ſuch by their Councels and defended them by their Forces; but that the 'end of War muſt be Peace; That to this purpoſe the United Provinces had been 'aſſiſted by both of them; and that both of them were therefore much troubled 'to ſee the Treaty of Peace which was begun, thus broken: and that they thinking 'it howſoever much better for the United Provinces to enjoy a commodious and 'honorable quiet, then to return to the former difficulties and dangers of war; 'were pleaſed to propound unto them by their Ambaſſadors joyntly, a long 'Truce inſtead of Peace. That notwithſtanding in this Truce, in the firſt place, 'and before all other things, it ſhould be declared both by the King of *Spain* and 'by the Arch-dukes, that it was made with the united Provinces as with free Pro-'vinces and States unto which they made no pretence at all; and that they ſhould 'be left Free in point of their Navigation to the *Indies*. That both their Kings 'did believe that the United Provinces might be content with a Truce which was 'to bring with it ſuch important advantages for them; and not onely theſe but

'peradventure ſome others alſo. That greater difficulties were to be feared on the 'other part; but in caſe the war were to continue by reaſon of the Spaniards 'fault, the Forces of the United Provinces would be thereby the more juſtified, 'and both their Kings ſtill the more obliged to mantain their Cauſe.

The States General took time to advice upon the whole with their Provinces. The Ambaſſadors with like conformity applyed themſelves to the Catholick Deputies, who having loſt all hopes of Peace, did very much deſire to come to ſome other accommodation, or compoſition: ſo they willingly liſtned to this new propoſal of a long Truce; though they thought many difficulties would be met withal in *Spain* touching the form thereof: They promiſed the Ambaſſadors notwithſtanding to uſe all the diligence they could to overcome them: and having received aſſurances from the Ambaſſadors that they would do all good offices for the continuation of the Treaty, and eſpecially from *Jannines*, on whoſe means and authority they did chiefly relye, they at laſt went from the *Hague*, after having been eight months entertained there, and went to *Bruſſels*. The Negotiation of the Truce lying then chiefly on *Jannines* hand, he did all he could to perſwade the United Provinces to allow of it, in the ſame manner as had been propounded by him and the Engliſh Ambaſſadors. Thoſe Provinces ſeemed well inclined in general toward the Truce, though they wanted not ſome amongſt them who would have had the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes make the ſame renunciation in the Treaty of Truce as they pretended unto in that of Peace; but the wiſer and more moderate men amongſt them conſidered that this would be too unjuſt a pretention, due regard being had to the difference between a Truce and a Peace. This difficulty proceeded chiefly from *Zealand*, and was Fauter'd by Count *Maurice* by reaſon of his aboveſaid power in that Province, and the almoſt abſolute dependency which *Maldereo* the particular Deputy of *Zealand* had upon him. *Maldereo* had been a menual ſervant of the late Prince of *Orange*, and to ſay truth, the Intereſt of *Zealand* did accord with Count *Maurice* his particular ends; for the Traffick and wealth of that Province was greatly increaſed by the war; the choice Marriners who had ſerved and did as yet ſerve in the voyages to the *Indies*, were likewiſe Zealanders; and next unto *Holland*, certainly this was the chiefeſt and moſt conſiderable of all the United Provinces.

The ſame difficulties, out of the ſame reaſons were inſiſted upon by the City of *Amſterdam* in *Holland*; but it was thought, that at laſt the reſt of that Province would prevail over the particular oppoſition of that City, in a favourable acceptation of the Truce; which *Zealand* did ſtill pertenaciouſly reſiſt: And *Maldereo* very zealous in the cauſe, endeavoured to make thoſe words ſuſpected, wherein the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes were to denounce the United Provinces to be Free-States, in form aboveſaid. Whereupon one day that this Clauſe was treated on, he with great fervency broke forth into theſe words:

'Are we Free-men, or ſtill Subjects? If we be Free-men, why ought we not 'to be publickly acknowledged for ſuch? Shall it depend upon the Spaniards 'to allow us what ſort of liberty they pleaſe, now that they cannot impoſe that 'ſlavery upon us which they would? To wit, a liberty more ſervile then our for-'mer ſervitude; ſince it muſt depend upon the interpretation of their own 'words? Do not we know what interpretation they have already given to thoſe 'words? Do not we know that they take them in ſuch a ſenſe as doth not take 'from them any pretended right to our Provinces? At this rate we ſhall get no-'thing more by this long Truce, then what was had in the bare ſuſpenſion of 'Arms: And yet this Truce ſhall rather look like a Peace; and it may ſo fall out, 'as by often prolongation, it may at laſt be inſenſibly turned into the nature of 'a Peace. Then, as in the Treaty of Peace we did pretend in the firſt place, 'That that abſolute abnegation ſhould be made by the King of *Spain*, and the 'Arch-dukes which is now Treated of; ſo ought we ſtill to pretend unto it, and 'in that form which may clearlyeſt declare our Provinces to be Free and So-'veraign. Shall not he ackowledge them, when all the world Treats with them 'as ſuch? To what corner of the Earth, or of the Sea is it that the Fame of their

'Liberty

'Liberty together with the Fame of their Forces is not flown? Let the Spaniards 'then do the like, or let all Treaties be broken. That neceſſity which enforceth 'them to come to agreement with us, will likewiſe compel them to do it in this 'manner. So ſince we would make no greater advantage of this their neceſſity, 'with our ſwords in our hands, as we ought, and peradventure might have done 'we ſhall at leaſt come by it by this conteſtation of Treaty, in ſuch manner 'as the victory of words can moſt promiſe.

Theſe reaſons againſt the above named clauſe, and many others againſt the Truce in general, were exagerated by *Maldereo*, or rather through his mouth by Count *Maurice*, who laboured by all other means, and uſed all his induſtry that this Treaty of Truce might prove vain, as the other of peace had done; the ſame things were ſcattered abroad by his followers, giving out many printed papers to this purpoſe, not owned by any: they ſeemed to diſtruſt the forraign Ambaſſadors, and it was whiſpered that though the two Kings adviſed to Truce yet for their own ſelf-intereſt they would not totally forbare aſſiſting the United Provinces, though contrary to their Councel, they ſhould reaſſume their Arms; that howſoever it was requiſit to return to Arms, ſince it was undoubtedly to be believed, that the preſent neceſſities being over, the Spaniards would no longer obſerve the Truce. That in the mean while, the people of the United Provinces, cheated by the abuſive names of Peace and Quiet, would loſe their former vigour and conſtancy? That they would hardly be brought to contribute thoſe monies afterwards, for the war, which at firſt they did ſo willingly part withal: And that all theſe would be ſeeds to produce pernicious diſcords amongſt their Provinces. Laſtly, they concluded, That though the Spaniards ſhould obſerve the Truce, it would be requiſite howſoever to keep their Frontiers ſtill well look'd unto; The which being ſo many, and the jealouſies on all ſides being now likely to prove ſo great, the expence in time of Truce would be well nigh as much as in the time of war. How much better would it then be to continue the war, and not to loſe the preſent occaſions which did all of them ſo ſmile upon them, and frown upon the Spaniards? Affairs leaning already towards diſcord, and the Zealander Deputies threatned openly a ſeparation from the reſt of the Provinces, if contrary to the form of common Government, the reſt would reſolve upon Truce without the particular conſent of *Zealand*. *Jannines* loitred now no more, but judging this a fitting occaſion to ſhew his experience, and force of his advices, one day when their conteſtations grew higheſt, 'tis ſaid he ſpoke to the Deputies of the United Provinces in this manner.

'Neither did my King ever think (worthy Deputies) that ſo long conteſta-'tions could have had place here amongſt you in ſo great an Union; nor did I 'ever beleeve that ſuch diſtruſt were to be found here, as ſome of you ſeem to 'have of my behaviour. I will ſpeak of mine own, leaving the Engliſh Ambaſſa-'dors either to juſtifie themſelvs, or make their juſt complaints. For what concerns 'my endeavours, I will onely ſay, Execution is the onely ſhare I have therein. 'So as to miſtruſt them, will be much more to offend my King then me. And 'to ſay truth, what greater injury can he receive then this? He having alwaies 'ſhewed himſelf ſo partial to your Commonwealth, as he hath almoſt never 'made any difference between the intereſts of his own Kingdom, & of your Com-'mon-wealth. When he was hardly yet come unto the Crown, and had hard-'ly, after ſo many Domeſtick and Forraign oppoſitions, ſetled his own affairs, 'the firſt thing he did was to aſſiſt your Provinces. From that time to this he 'hath not been wanting in aiding you with Monies, Men, and Counſel; and to 'make your Cauſe appear the juſter in all other reſpects, by his owning it. 'Doubtleſly he pretended to aſſiſt a juſt Cauſe: but the juſteſt actions do not al-'waies prove the moſt uſeful. Nay theſe of yours might have been thought the 'more dangerous, by how much their power is the greater, who take themſelves 'to be offended. The liberty of your Provinces may be ſaid to have ſayled into 'the Haven, chiefly by the ſayles of his favour. And becauſe we cannot now 'eſtabliſh it upon the Anchor of Peace, my King endeavours at leaſt to faſten it 'upon the Anchor of Truce, which may prove as advantagious to you. Let us 'then conſider whether ſuch an Agreement may be truly advantagious to your

'Affairs: Which when it ſhall be known, as I hope it will, ſiniſter diſcourſes 'will then ſoon ceaſe; which if they do not, it will appear at leaſt, That they 'proceede from particular paſſions, vailed over with the ſemblance of Publick 'good. The buſineſs is then touching the making of a long Truce; and whe-'ther the chiefeſt endeavour ought to be, That your Provinces ſhould be therein 'clearly acknowledged to be Free. We Ambaſſadors think the clauſe by us pro-'pounded ſufficient to that purpoſe: That the King of *Spain* and Arch-dukes 'ſhould declare that they made Truce with your Provinces as with Free Provinces 'and States, unto which they make no pretence at all. But there are ſome amongſt 'you who differ from us in opinion, thinking it to be too generical and dubious; 'and who would have the King of *Spain* and Arch-dukes make the ſame abſolute 'renunciation now, as was pretended unto when there was a Treaty of Peace. 'I cannot notwithſtanding part from my firſt opinion; for it appears to me that 'to boot, with the difference that there is between a Peace and a Truce, this 'Declaration may be thought to make more for your liberty then the other. Tell 'me I pray you! Have not you alwaies declared, That you have taken up Arms 'againſt your Prince, infored thereto by neceſſity? And that the war on your 'ſide could not be more juſt, becauſe it could not be more neceſſary? And by 'the ſame reaſon have you not ſet your Provinces at Liberty by your own Autho-'rity? Then if you pretend upon ſo good grounds to be free, what need you 'now that the King of *Spain* and the Arch-Dukes ſhould make theſe renoun-'cings? Do not you ſee, that ſuch like renouncings of right would preſuppoſe 'it to be more manifeſt on their behalf? And that in ſuch a caſe much more 'ſhould be confeſt by you, then granted by them? Do not you know that they can 'grant nothing to the prejudice of their ſucceſſors? Kingdoms cannot otherwiſe 'make any contract, nor Kings make any alienable part therein? And ſince they 'give the laws to others, they muſt likewiſe in this behalf receive it from their 'Crowns. How much better is it then that your Provinces be declared by the 'King and the Arch-dukes to be free by a general clauſe, and that the agreement 'which is now ſpoken of, may follow with this preſuppoſition of your Liberty, 'without making it doubtful by any other kinde of clauſes, inſtead of making 'it more clear? This form is not onely ſufficient, but beſt. And if it be not ſuf-'ficient with the contrary party; think you that if the Spaniards would not ob-'ſerve the Truce for ſome other end of theirs, they would ask your opinion firſt 'before they would break it? And that they would firſt argue whether they have 'any right over you, or no? This is the cuſtom of private ſuites, not of pub-'lick Cauſes; The controverſies whereof are at laſt reduced to Field Forces, 'where hee that overcomes hath the right, and no account of the victory is 'given.

'So as you need not care what interpretation the contrary party will give to 'thoſe words wherewith they do acknowledge you to be free. That which im-'ports you, is, That your people hold themſelves to be confeſt to be free by 'thoſe words, & not to be made ſo. And that the Princes your friends underſtand 'them in the ſame ſenſe. So as if it be needful to fall to arms again, your peo-'ple may be more ready then ever to reaſſume them, and that your Friends may 'ſhew themſelves more diſpoſed then ever to favour your cauſe. But it is too 'well known how much more eaſie it is to uſe conſtancy in troubles, then mode-'ration in proſperity. Tell me I beſeech you, thoſe who are the moſt zealous a-'mongſt you, when did they ever think that the King of *Spain* and the Arch-'dukes were to condiſcend to Treaties ſo advantagious for your Provinces? And 'will you loſe this ſo happy occaſion? Shall vain ſhadows prevail more with you 'then eſſential reaſons? Shall ſeditious Papers which are every where ſcattered 'abroad, be of more validity amongſt you then the ſincere and wiſe Counſels of 'two Kings who are ſo affectionate unto your Cauſe. Now is the time then to re-'ſolve upon, and to embrace this agreement which is now offered. Do you ſee 'how the Swiſſers have fared? Take them for your example. And by the ſimi-'litude of their affairs and yours, hope for the like ſucceſs. The Swiſſers took 'up arms at firſt againſt their Princes, not being able longer to undergo the grie-'vances of their Government: nor were they above two or three Cantons at

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'the beginning, and thoſe the weakeſt amongſt them; but their People gaſping' for Liberty, and defending it with equal vigor both of body and minde, they 'made invincible oppoſitions to their Enemies Forces; till being unconquerable 'by the Forces of the other Cantons, and the ſtrength of their own *Alpeſter* 'ſituation, their Enemies deſpaired of ever ſubjugating them. At laſt they cea-'ſed fighting, and from tottering agreements they came to a firm and continual 'peace. And who will now diſpute the Swiſſers Liberty? Why may not your 'Provinces hope for the like ſucceſs? The ſeverity of the Spaniſh Goverment 'made *Holland* and *Zealand* take up arms at firſt; their People valiantly with-'ſtood their Enemies: The Sea, Rivers, and the ſtrength of their Natural ſitu-'ation fought for them; your other Provinces came in afterwards unto them; 'and all made ſuch reſiſtance to the contrary Forces, as there is not any example 'to be had of ſo long a war. The ſucceſſes have been various; but at laſt they 'have proved ſo propitious to you, as a Treaty of accommodation was ſought 'for by your Enemies; and now we are upon the point of a long Truce: which 'if it ſucceed, will doubtleſly prove very advantageous for your affairs, and will 'eaſily be hereafter renewed upon the ſame advantages, or turned into a perpe-'tual peace, which may prove yet better for you. That which I have hitherto 'ſaid, ſeems to me to be ſufficiently clear.

'In fine, there will be no doubt of your liberty by this Clauſe, which is pro-'pounded: Nor is it leſs to be doubted that a Truce will be more advantageous 'for you, then unneceſſitated to ſubject your ſelves to the uncertain events of a 'new war. Fortune is generally ſeen to have too great a ſway in war; and that 'mocking at humane arrogancy, ſhe too often makes the more powerful give 'way unto the weaker; and loſſes inſue where victories were expected. To wit-'neſs which, and paſs by ſo many other examples; What more memorable preſi-'dent can you have thereof, then what ſo lately befell here before your own eyes 'in the Arch-dukes own perſon at *Newport*? Where inſtead of being Victor, as 'it was aſſuredly hoped, he was overcom, wounded, and very near being taken 'priſoner.

'By means of this Truce you will eſcape ſo many and ſo dangerous uncertain-'ties of war; you will in the interim eſtabliſh your Government the better; you 'will eaſe your people of their diſburſements; you will continue your former 'Traffick into the *Indies*; and you ſhall finally ſee an end of thoſe hateful titles 'of Perfidiouſneſs and Rebellion, which hath hitherto been given by a great ma-'ny in the world to your motions and proceedings in arms. And who can doubt 'but that your Provinces will hereafter willingly concur in ſuch expences as ſhall 'be needful, ſince they will be ſo eaſie in compariſon of what they have been? 'And ſo much the more willingly, by how much men do more naturally deſire 'to enjoy quiet, then to live in troubles: and by how much liberty is the ſweeter, 'after having made tryal of ſervitude.

'And ſurely it is to be believed that thoſe to whom the Government of your 'people ſhall be committed, will uſe the ſame care and vigilancy in the admini-'ſtration of publick affairs in time of Truce, as they have prudently done hither-'to in the time of war: their chiefeſt care will be ſtill more to eſtabliſh the pre-'ſent concord, which is the ſoul which gives life unto the body, and the heart 'which maintains it: and hence proceeds that miraculous temper which of ma-'ny makes but one, and of but one many; but yet ſuch as whether they be ſeve-'red or conjoyned do alwaies conſpire to the ſame end. Thus your affairs being 'well ordered within your ſelves, you ſhall have little need to fear forraign dan-'gers: and thus your Truce being at laſt turned into peace (as 'tis to be hoped it 'will be) my King ſhall ſee the ſame ſucceſs in your affairs as he hath ſeen in his 'own, and whereby his Kingdom is now made happy: to wit, after war peace, 'after troubles reſt, and after the ſacking and burning of Towns, and all the o-'ther miſeries of Arms, the commodity, ſecurity, and felicity of quiet and 'peace.

The Majeſty and preſence of the King of *France* himſelf, ſeemed to break forth in the Preſident *Jannines* countenance and words. He afterwards gave what he had ſpoken more fully in writing, to the end that the People might come

to

to the better knowledge thereof, and that they might the eaſilyer effect the agreement which was in Treaty.

The like offices were done by the Ambaſſadors of *England*, and to overcome fully the pertenacy of the Zealanders, it was reſolved that Deputies ſhould be ſent into *Zealand* in the name of the ſix other Provinces, to induce that Province to conformity with the reſt: which after much difficulty was at laſt effected, and all of them concurring now in the ſame reſolution; the Ambaſſadors began again to labour to overcome the difficulties in diſpute. Continual correſpondency was had by Letters between *Jannines* and *Richardotto*; ſo as the Negotiation of what was needful paſt between them; but the King of *Spain* needed no leſs labouring to be brought to give way to the Truce: news was ſent to the King of *Spain* of the Propoſition made by the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England*, and of the new Negotiation introduced by their means.

The King would have been well enough pleaſed with the Truce, had it been according to uſual form, and all things left in the ſame terms on both ſides, as they were at preſent; but to declare the United Provinces to be altogether free, and to ſuffer them in expreſs words to traffick in the *Indies*, ſeemed to put too great a difference between the preſent Treaty, and ordinary Truces: yet 'twas ſeen that 'twas impoſſible ever to come to any accomodation without this Declaration of Liberty; and that if the United Provinces had ſtood ſo abſolutely upon it before they would be brought to a bare ſuſpention of Arms for a few months, they would now be much more reſolute in it, in a Truce which was to endure for many years.

The Arch-dukes who ſaw the difficulties and dangers of the war in caſe it ſhould be continued, at a nearer diſtance, were eaſilyer induced to give way to the Propoſal made by the Ambaſſadors; and *Jannines* both by word of mouth, and by Letters, had endeavoured to perſwade the Catholick Deputies, that to declare they made Truce with the United Provinces as with free Provinces and States unto which the King and the Arch-dukes made no pretence at all, did not any waies prejudice, the right which the King or Arch-dukes might pretend to have over them. 'He had ſhewed how that it was a general Declaration; that 'the word (as) bore with it a ſenſe of ſimilitude, and not of propriety: That 'in the declaring of one mans being friends with another, 'twas never ſaid I 'hold him as a friend; that the adding in the laſt words, not to pretend unto a-'ny thing, had reference to the ambiguity of the former words: And finally 'that ſuch a Declaration could not admit of any interpretation, ſave onely du-'ring the time of the Truce.

'That then the King and the Arch-dukes ought to be content to make it; ſince 'it was involved in words which might ſatisfie both parties.

'Firſt, The unskilful multitude of the Vnited Provinces, for the outward ap-'pearance of their pretended Liberty; then the King and the Arch-dukes, for 'the true ſubſtance which was retained in them of leaving their former right ſtill 'unhurt. Then opening himſelf more freely, *Jannines* ſaid; My King in ſuch a 'caſe, would not make any difficulty in granting this Declaration; for if the 'Vnited Provinces when they ſhall betake themſelves to Arms ſhall not have bet-'ter Canons and Muskets; words and interpretations will avail them but 'little.

In this manner, and by theſe wary and wily waies *Jannines* as a good mediator, endeavoured to draw both ſides to a Truce; to which the Arch-dukes were eaſily perſwaded, and endeavoured to bring the King to be ſo likewiſe; ſhewing that by this, neither they nor the King ſhould do any thing more, then what was yeilded unto at the firſt ſuſpenſion of Arms; much repugnancy did notwithſtanding appear in the King. 'Twas thought in *Spain* that the Clauſe wherewith the Vnited Provinces were to be declared Free States, though it were limited, vvould generally be interpreted in favour of their Liberty; and that vvhen they ſhould have got their deſires in that behalf, the King vvould not obtain leave for the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion in their Country, vvhich he vvas reſolved to have by vvay of interchange; and moreover if the Article concerning the *Indies* ſhould be condiſcended unto, how much would the King be thereby damnified?

How

How much reputation would he thereby loſe? To which difficulties the Arch-dukes replyed, ſhewing that when the King reſolved to have the aboveſaid requital, 'twas onely to be underſtood, if the peace ſhould be concluded ; and that the King and the Arch-dukes having abſolutely renounced all their right, the Vnited Provinces were abſolutely free;that the preſent Negotiation of the Truce did differ very much ; by which the King nor the Arch-dukes could not loſe any piece of their former right; that it was not to be doubted but that a clauſe ſo general and ſo limitated, would be interpreted rather in favour of them, then of the contrary party. That the Ambaſſadors themſelves thought ſo ; as alſo divers of the Inhabitants of the Vnited Provinces, who were againſt the Truce, as that which would be no whit more advantagious for them, then was the bare ſuſpenſion of Arms. And as for the point of the *Indies*, they ſeemed to have hopes to end it ſo, as it ſhould be no conſiderable prejudice to the King.

Theſe reaſons were not taken as fully ſatisfactory in *Spain* ; but on the other ſide the King did very much deſire the Truce, and that the ſo great, and ſo unneceſſary expences of *Flanders* ſhould ceaſe. The Duke of *Lerma* was then in great authority with the King ; and having gotten the ſole power over the King by ſuch arts as were available in peace,he was unwilling to ſhare it with them who might gain it by ſuch means as war affords : which made him from the very beginning very earneſt in endeavouring the Negotiation : and he did now no leſs labour that it might come to ſome good event of agreement ; the ſame deſires were known to be in the Arch-duke ; who therefore reſolved to ſend his Confeſſor to the Court of *Spain*, to anſwer all the difficulties which were inſiſted on in *Spain*, the which was thought neceſſary alſo to put an end to ſo long a Negotiation, wherein above two years had already been ſpent ; which had ſo tyred the two mediating Kings, as they began already to proteſt that they would meddle no more therein, if it were not all the more ſpeedily ended.

Father *Inico di Brazuela* , of the Order of the Dominicans, was the Arch-dukes Confeſſor, a very learned and upright man, and one who had been long experienced in the affairs of *Flanders* : ſo as men hoped well of him, and of his fidelity, that he might reconcile affairs with the King and State-Officers, he being a Spaniard, a Votary, and of a very noble Family, and commendable life. He was particularly to take all ſcruples from the King in the point of pretending by way of interchange the exerciſe of the Catholick profeſſion in the time of Truce, whereof he was to preſs the neceſſity even for the cauſe of Religion it ſelf. By repreſenting, That if they ſhould return to Arms again, manifeſt hazard would yet be run of loſing more then formerly on the King and the Arch-Dukes behalf in *Flanders*, and conſequenly of quite loſing the Catholick Religion in the yet obedient Provinces, inſtead of regaining it in thoſe that were revolted. The buſineſs was all this while put on by the two Kings Ambaſſadors: but becauſe to Negotiate by way of Letters was long and tedious, the Ambaſſadors minded the Catholick Deputies who had been in *Holland*, that it would make more for the purpoſe to have the meeting in *Antwerp*, to end thoſe difficulties which yet remained concerning the Negotiation. This Propoſition was willingly liſtned unto by the Arch-dukes ; whereupon the Ambaſſadors, and the Catholick Deputies, met in *Antwerp* in the beginning of *February* 1609. The greateſt difficulty was touching the point of the *Indies*. The Ambaſſadors had alwaies aſſured the Vnited Provinces, that in the Truce they ſhould be permitted to Traffick thither ; and they therefore deſired that that Article might be laid down in clear and expreſs words. On the contrary the Catholick Deputies deſired that if it ſhould be impoſſible to come to a Truce without condiſcending to that point, it might at leaſt be underſtood by tacit circumlocutions, then by nominating the *Indies* expreſly.

They deſired alſo howſoever, that the Vnited Provinces ſhould forbear from coming into or from trafficking in thoſe parts of the *Indies*, which were already under the Crown of *Spain*. At laſt after much arguing, this point was agreed upon, and was couched in ſuch tearms as both the Vnited Provinces, and the Catholick Deputies were ſatisfied therewith : for the name of the *Indies* was left out, and the ſaid Provinces were forbidden entring into the Kings Countries in thoſe

thoſe parts: And *Richardotto* had wont afterwards to ſay, that this Article was ſo obſcure, as he himſelf did not underſtand it: much diſputation was likewiſe had upon the Article of Contributions: 'twas ſaid that the United Provinces received every year 300000 Crowns of Contribution money, which was a great help to their expences. The Arch-dukes did not receive near ſo much; but becauſe theſe monies were all raiſed by hoſtility, it was thought a thing too repugnant to the publick tranquility which was endeavoured, that this kinde of Hoſtile proceedings ſhould be continued in times of quiet: ſo as the United Provinces were at laſt perſwaded, that all contributions of both ſides ſhould be laid down. On the contrary 'twas neceſſary to yeild to the pretention moved by them, that the precincts which did appertain to ſuch Towns as were enjoyed both on this and on that ſide, ſhould be reſtored to the ſaid Towns. Touching which point little or nothing returned to the Arch-dukes hands, whereas large bounderus were reſtored to the Towns of *Breda*, and *Berghenapzone*, together with ſome others in *Brabant* which were in the poſſeſſion of the United Provinces? Yet the Arch-dukes did ſo far prevail, and my endeavours were alſo ſo earneſt therein as the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion onely was left in thoſe precincts, as it was before. To the which the united Provinces obliged themſelves apart, being promiſed by *Jannines* and *Roſſi* his Collegue, who gave it them under their hands, that the King of *France* ſhould oblige himſelf to ſee it performed. Touching the point of exchange of Towns, there was no means of accommodation therein to be found; ſo as it was reſolved that each party ſhould ſtill enjoy what they did poſſeſs at the preſent: nor would the Vnited Provinces ever ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded in the point of taking away the Taxes and other impediments to which thoſe veſſels were lyable in *Zealand* which paſſed through the Scheld to come to *Antwerp*, whereby that City was much indamaged, as hath been ſaid. This buſineſs was refer'd to be propounded and examined in a friendly manner after the Truce ſhould be concluded. And the Arch-dukes hoped by the benefit of the Truce, the better to accommodate their own Ports in *Flanders*, into which much merchandize was to be brought, which in time of war went neceſſarily into *Holland* and *Zealand*; becauſe their Havens were continually block'd up by many of the Vnited Provinces men of war.

Theſe were the chief points on which the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England* treated with the Marqueſs *Spinola*, and the other Catholick Deputies in *Antwerp*: the Catholick Deputies endeavouring to proceed as ſlowly as might be, that the Arch-dukes Confeſſor might have time to Negotiate in *Spain*, and to ſend away the reſolution which was expected from thence; which not long after came; and was the ſame in ſum which the Arch-dukes had deſired, and the Confeſſor by the reaſons alledged by him, had perſwaded the King unto: great conſultations were had notwithſtanding before this determination, both in the Councel of State, and amongſt the graveſt and learneſt Eccleſiaſticks of *Spain*: for the King would be fully ſatisfied in all thoſe affairs which were to be conſidered in ſo important a buſineſs, before he would ſuffer it to be brought to a concluſion.

The Confeſſor himſelf returned ſoon after; ſo as the affairs being fitted by all parties for an agreement, the two Kings Ambaſſadors, who after the Negotiation at *Antwerp*, were gone to give an account of the whole buſineſs to the Vnited Provinces, thought it fitting to return again to that City, and to bring thither the ſame Deputies of the Vnited Provinces, who were firſt imployed in Negotiating the buſineſs in *Holland*; which was approved of by the Arch-dukes, and at the ſame time the Catholick Deputies returned thither likewiſe, amongſt which was Commiſſary *Neyen*, who was then returned from *Spain*.

The Vnited Provinces thought this to be the buſineſs of higheſt nature, and of greateſt importancy which had befaln them ſince their withdrawing themſelves from the obedience of the Crown of *Spain*, and therefore it was judged neceſſary that it ſhould be concluded by the Authority of the whole body of the great Aſſembly repreſenting the general Vnion; and that the Aſſembly ſhould conſiſt of as many Deputies, as could be gathered together upon ſo great an Occurrency. The Town of *Berghenapzone* was made choice of to this purpoſe, ſituated

ſituated not many leagues from *Antwerp*. Here the great Aſſembly met, and 'twas ſaid that the Deputies were eight hundred in number. The Deputies of both ſides, together with the two Kings Ambaſſadors, met every day in *Antwerp*, in the publick Palace of that City. From whence whatſoever paſt from time to time was ſent to *Bruſſels* to the Arch-dukes, and to the Vnited Provinces in *Berghenapzone*, and reſolutions were ſuddenly taken. When all points were then adjuſted, after ſo many and ſo long obſtructions, a Truce for twelve years was eſtabliſhed and concluded on the ninth of *April* in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred and nine, betwixt both parties: The Articles were eight and thirty. In the firſt it was declared, that the Arch-dukes made Truce with the Vnited Provinces as with Free-States and Provinces, unto which they did not make any pretence at all; and they obliged themſelves that the King of *Spain* ſhould ratifie the ſame Declaration, together with all the reſt, which was afterwards done in ſuch manner as was requiſit. The other chief Articles contained the affairs of chiefeſt importance, as hath been ſhewed above; and in the reſt divers reſolutions were contained, touching the affairs of Juſtice; and concerning rather partieular then publick intereſts.

Thus did this Negotiation of Flanders end at laſt; the iſſue whereof was ſo long expected throughout all *Europe*.

And truly at this Truce, as if it had been at an univerſal Quiet, all *Europe* ſeemed to rejoyce, which had ſeen for ſo many years, and amidſt ſo many fatal and dreadful ſpectacles, the blood of all her Nations run upon the Theatre of *Flanders*.

FINIS.

A,

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